

AN OPERATIONAL-STRATEGIC SKETCH OF  
THE RED ARMY'S COMBAT OPERATIONS



# THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

**1918-1921**

EDITED BY A.S. BUBNOV, S.S. KAMENEV  
M.N. TUKHACHEVSKII AND R.P. EIDEMAN

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY RICHARD W. HARRISON

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Front cover: The *Be on Guard!* poster by Dmitrii Stakhievich Orlov, published in 1920. The text is based on Order No. 257, 11 November 1921, issued at the end of the war, with Trotsky warning against renewed hostilities. (Wikimedia Commons)



# Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	vii	
<i>Editor's Introduction</i>	xi	
<i>Foreword</i>	xv	
1	The External and Internal Political Situation. The Theaters of War	1
2	The October Period of the Civil War	23
3	The German Occupation and the Beginning of the Intervention	33
4	The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Southern Front and in the North Caucasus	63
5	The German Occupation and Revolution. The Internal Condition of the Sides and the Development of Their Armed Forces	75
6	The Strategic Plans of the Sides' Command for 1919. The Campaign on the Southern and North Caucasus Fronts at the End of 1918. The Beginning of the Struggle on the Ukrainian Front	101
7	The Civil War in the Baltic States, on the Western Front and Along the Approaches to Petrograd	117
8	The Winter and Spring Campaign of 1918–1919 on the Eastern Front. The Northern Front	131
9	The Ufa Operation. The Forcing of the Ural Range by the Red Armies. The Pursuit of the White Armies in Siberia	161
10	The Spring and Summer Campaign of 1919 on the Southern Front	183
11	The Oryol Operation	209
12	The Pursuit of the Enemy and the Caucasus Front's Operation	231
13	The External and Internal Political Situation at the Beginning of 1920. Mutual Relations Between Soviet Russia and Poland. Both Sides' Preparation for Continuing the War	251
14	The White Poles' Ukrainian Operation. The Battle on the Berezina. The Red Armies' Counter Maneuver in Ukraine	269
15	The General Engagement in Belorussia. The Pursuit of the Polish Armies in Belorussia and Ukraine	303

16	The Preparation of the Operation Along the Vistula	325
17	Establishing the Coordination of the Fronts	345
18	The General Engagement Along the Vistula and Wkra Rivers	369
19	The 1920 Campaign on the Crimea—Tavriya Front	393
20	Operations Along the Lower Dnepr and the Kuban'	411
21	The Elimination of Vrangel'	429
	<i>Supplement: The Campaign in Bukhara in 1920 and a Brief Sketch of the 1921 and 1922 Campaigns</i>	459
	<i>List of Chief Sources for the Third Volume of the Civil War, 1918–1921</i>	475
	<i>Endnotes</i>	479
	<i>Index</i>	547

# Maps

1. The Fighting on the Ukrainian Left Bank and in the Donbas
2. The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Eastern Front
3. The Campaign on the Northern Front
4. The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Southern Front
5. The Summer Campaign in the North Caucasus (25 June–17 September)
6. The Autumn Campaign in the North Caucasus
7. The Civil War in the Baltic States and on the Western Front
8. M. V. Frunze's Plan of 10 April 1919
9. The Buguruslan—Sergiyevsk and Bugul'ma—Belebei Operations
10. The Elimination of the Northern Front
11. The Whites' Petropavlovsk Operation. 20 September–1 October
12. The Struggle for the Donets Basin
13. The Don—Manych Operation. Combat Operations in January 1920
14. Pilsudski's Offensive Against Ukraine, 25 April–9 May
15. The Battle of the Berezina
16. The Southwestern Front's Counter Maneuver
17. The Defeat of the Polish First Army in the Battle of 4–7 July
18. The Pursuit of the Polish Army in Belorussia and Ukraine
19. The Battle on the Wkra River and Around Warsaw, 12–15 August
20. The Pursuit of the Red Army
21. The Situation by 1 August
22. The Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya. Combat Activities on  
1–3 November
23. The Bukhara Operation
24. The Taking of Old Bukhara



# Plate Maps

1. The October Period of the Civil War
2. The German Occupation. The Struggle in Ukraine and the North Caucasus. The Czechoslovak Uprising and the Formation of the Eastern Front
3. The Campaign on the Southern and North Caucasus Fronts. The Beginning of the Struggle in Ukraine
4. The Whites' Ufa Operation
5. The Ufa, Zlatoust and Chelyabinsk Operations
6. The Elimination of the Eastern Front
7. The Beginning of the Struggle for the Donbas and the White Armies' Pursuit of the Southern Front
8. The Beginning and the First Period of the Decisive Battle (1 August–20 September 1919)
9. The Continuation of the Decisive Battle on the Southern Front. The Oryol Operation. The Crisis of the General Engagement (Middle of October–First Days of November)
10. The Battle of Oryol (9 September–13 November)
11. The Pursuit of the Armies of the Armed Forces of South Russia and the Evacuation of the Caucasus
12. The Don—Manych Operation. Combat Operations in February–March 1920
13. The Theater of Military Activities and the Disposition of Forces Before the Start of the Campaign
14. The General Engagement in Belorussia
15. The General Engagement on the Vistula (12–16 August)
16. The General Engagement on the Vistula. The Counter Maneuver of the Polish Armies (16 August–Beginning of September)
17. Vranghel's Arrival in the Northern Tavriya and the Beginning of the Struggle for the Initiative
18. The Organization of the Kakhovka Group's Rear. The Reds' New Offensive Operation
19. Vranghel's Operations to Reach the Don Area and Ukraine
20. Vranghel's Landings in the Kuban'

21. The Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya. The Situation in the Second Half of October. Combat Operations, 26–28 October 1920
22. The Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya. Combat Operations on 29 October
23. The Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya. Combat Operations, 30–31 October
24. The Perekop Operation. Combat Operations, 8–11 November



## Editor's Introduction

Now that the time for observing the one-hundredth anniversary of the First World War has passed, we must now turn our attention to the next major conflict of this era—the Russian Civil War, surely one of the most fateful struggles of the past century and one which is almost completely unknown in the west. The three-volume work *The Civil War, 1918–1921* (*Grazhdanskaya Voina, 1918–1921*) is, despite its advanced age (the three volumes of this work were published during 1928–1930), still the best and most objective Russian-language treatment of the war published under the Soviet regime.

However, the first two volumes of this study (*The Red Army's Combat Life* and *The Red Army's Military Art*) would be of little interest to anyone outside a very limited circle of military history enthusiasts. It is the present third volume, *An Operational-Strategic Sketch of the Red Army's Combat Activities* (*Operativno-Strategicheskii Ocherk Boyevykh Deistvii Krasnoi Armii*), which offers the greatest interest to the student of military history. This volume details the fighting on the several fronts of the civil war from the time immediately after the Bolshevik coup of November 1917 to the establishment of Soviet rule in European Russia and Central Asia at the end of 1920.

This volume, while it is undeniably a Soviet work and makes no claims to impartiality, is nevertheless quite frank in pointing out the Red Army's mistakes during the war. Moreover, it was published just in time to be relatively uncontaminated by the emerging Stalin cult that so distorted later works, although evidence of the latter nevertheless creeps in from time to time. And despite its serious tone, it makes for surprisingly easy reading, making it infinitely more interesting and informative than the usual turgid Soviet works that followed.

This volume also inadvertently reveals a great deal about the prewar Red Army and the fate of those who served in its ranks. Of the work's four chief editors, three (A. S. Bubnov, M. N. Tukhachevskii and R. P. Eideman) were later executed during Stalin's military purge of 1937–1938, while the fourth (S. S. Kamenev) had the good fortune to die of natural causes in 1936, although he was posthumously denounced as an "enemy of the people."

The work subscribes to no particular transliteration scheme, because no entirely satisfactory one exists. I have adopted a mixed system that uses the Latin letters ya and yu to denote their Cyrillic counterparts, as opposed to the ia and iu employed by

the Library of Congress, which tends to distort proper pronunciation. For the same reason, I have elected to transliterate the Russian letter *e* as *ye* only in vowel clusters (for example, the traditional Denikin instead of Dyenikin, but Sergeyevev instead of Sergeev), and its umlaut counterpart as *yo* (Oryol instead of Orel). Conversely, I have retained the Library of Congress's *ii* ending (i.e., Tukhachevskii), as opposed to the commonly used *y* ending. I have also retained the apostrophe to denote the Cyrillic soft sign.

In the further pursuit of greater clarity, I have also adhered to transliterate a number of names as the Russians actually pronounce them (i.e., Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin and Pyotr Nikolayevich Vrangel', instead of the traditional Joseph Stalin and Wrangel' and Budyonnyi).

There are a number of hyphenated cities listed in this work, such as Vladimir-Volynskii and Rostov-on-Don. In this case, the words are separated by a single space. In other instances, where the text describes the front line or a rail line through a number of locales (Orsha—Smolensk—Zhlobin—Gomel') the individual cities are separated by —.

A chronic problem throughout this work has been the proper names of various cities and other locales, in light of the territorial changes that have taken place over the years, both immediately following the civil war and after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The authors of this work are of little help, as they generally adhered to the pre-revolutionary Russian names for these places, particularly in those non-Slavic areas of the former Russian Empire that later became independent. In this case, I will retain the name used in this volume, with the modern version following in parentheses, after which I will revert back to the original text. Thus, for example, Gel'singfors becomes Helsinki, while Revel' becomes Tallinn, among many other cases. On the other hand, I have decided not to change the spelling of geographical locations in what are now the Slavic republics of the former Soviet Union (Belarus and Ukraine), which would have involved far too much work for relatively minor yield (changing, for example, L'vov to L'viv). This is not meant, however, as a slight to the national feelings of the citizens of these countries.

Likewise, the spelling of some cities, although incorrect, has become so entrenched over time that to attempt to change them would only cause confusion. This applies, for example to the city of Warsaw (not Warszawa) and Archangel (not Arkhangel'sk), among others.

Later Soviet editing practices, while excellent, are not in evidence in this volume. The original volume contains a long list of mistakes uncovered following its appearance. A careful translation reveals a number of others not caught by the editors. In these cases, I have made the necessary corrections in the text.

To avoid confusing the reader with a profusion of numbered units, all Soviet fronts (army groups) will be spelled out (i.e., Western Front), while smaller units are numbered (i.e., 13th Army and 18th Rifle Division). The armies of their opponents

are spelled out (i.e., Volunteer Army), while the corps appear as Roman numerals (i.e., III Corps). All smaller units are also numbered (i.e., 6th Infantry Division).

The work contains original endnotes by the editors. They have been supplemented by a large number of appropriately identified editor's notes, which have been inserted as an explanatory guide for a number of terms, places and people that might not be readily understandable to the foreign reader.

There are several numerical discrepancies throughout the text that cannot be accounted for, either due to poor editing of the original work or because the authors had access to other sources not identified. The same applies to place names, as there are a number of spelling discrepancies between the locales mentioned and the same places listed on the maps, as some of them may have been known by two or more different names. In both instances, we have decided to adhere to the original text, warts and all.



## Foreword

In setting about to publish the third volume of *The Civil War, 1918–1921*, dedicated to the operational-strategic description of the Red Army's combat activities, the editorial board was well aware of those difficulties which it faced in carrying out this task. It would be most correct if an operational-strategic sketch had appeared as the result of a thorough and scrupulous elaboration, according to archival materials, of at least the civil war's chief operations. Unfortunately, this does not exist. For the time being, individual monographs and memoirs, often suffering from subjectivism and not always faithfully illuminating events, make up the main mass of works in our military-historical literature. In the best case, these are works which have been written on the basis of far from complete archival materials and which treat individual episodes of the civil war, while the authors and editorial board have had to rely in their work not only on the works that have appeared, but also to carry out a significant amount of work in the archives. At the same time, the method of questioning active participants was employed by the editorial board for checking facts that could not be sufficiently clearly established on the basis of the existing literary and archival sources. These extremely abnormal work conditions on the third volume have occasioned a nearly two-year delay in its publication.

However, the editorial board is not so bold as to guarantee the thorough exactitude of this account in the present volume of all of the most important events of the civil war and their evaluation, all the more because while working up a number of questions the editorial board encountered contradictory materials, dates and figures which it was not always able to verify according to archival sources.

The fact that documents from the party archives relating to the field of the operational-strategic control of the Red Army's most important operations have still not been published has greatly interfered with the establishment of final evaluations of the operational-strategic leadership; nor has the the military correspondence with the fronts by V. I. Lenin,<sup>1</sup> who played, as is clearly obvious, an extremely important role in the Red Army's organization and in the matter of the strategic control of its activities during the year of the civil war, been published.

The editorial board understands the great responsibility it is taking upon itself by publishing an operational-strategic sketch of the Red Army's combat activities. It considers it necessary to stress once more that the publication of this volume is

viewed by the editorial board as only the beginning of a systematic collective work for studying the experience of the civil war during 1918–1921.

The editorial board foresees better than anyone in the Red Army all the objections that can be imagined regarding a number of questions in this volume and is aware of all the shortcomings contained in this work. However, despite all of this, the publication of this sketch is necessary if only because it will serve as a fillip to the development of military-scientific work which the Red Army and all its workers are so in need of at this time.

In turning to the elaboration of certain overall results, we must first of all particularly emphasize the extremely decisive significance of comrade Lenin in the leadership of the civil war of 1918–1921. In the matter of establishing the most important strategic directions (that is, overall strategic control), an enormous role belongs to a number of representatives of the old Bolshevik guard, most of all comrade Stalin.<sup>2</sup>

Lenin said that military tactics and political tactics are “related fields.” Here lies the chief reason that the old Bolshevik guard occupies such a place in the area of operational-strategic control during the time of the first civil war of the “proletariat organized into a ruling class against the bourgeois-landowner counterrevolution and imperialism”.

Soviet strategy, just like Soviet policy, was suffused with a unity of goal and had a firm and single leadership. This unified strategy was pitted against the “coalition strategy” of numerous external and internal enemies. This alone conditioned the favorable situation of Soviet strategy in relation to the strategy of its enemies. But the benefits of this situation increased even more due to the circumstance that the enemy “coalition” was a “coalition” in form only, and not in actuality.

At the same time, it is known from the experience of military history and that same World War that even correctly organized military coalitions, which were formed by a unity of political goal, encountered great difficulties and barriers in carrying out coordinated major operations. But there was no such unity of goal in the ranks of the revolution’s enemies. If this circumstance was not so noticeable in the camp of the Entente<sup>3</sup> powers, the difference between whom were exposed chiefly in the area of the competition of economic interests and the future division of the spoils, then it manifested itself fully in the relations between the various national formations, that strove to establish their bourgeois statehood, and the Russian counterrevolutionary governments which put forth as their final goal the reestablishment of a “unified and indivisible Russia.”

At the moment of the bitterest fighting along the Oryol axis, which determined the turning point of the entire campaign on the southern front at the end of 1919, the right flank of the Polish front in Volhynia<sup>4</sup> was a passive observer of this struggle. The White<sup>5</sup> Estonian and White Latvian armies played the same role during the second offensive by Yudenich’s<sup>6</sup> Northwestern Army<sup>7</sup> on Petrograd in the fall of 1919.



It was sufficient for the forces of General Denikin<sup>8</sup> and the Ukrainian Directory<sup>9</sup> to come into contact in Ukraine for a bitter struggle to begin between them.

Nor was there any internal unity in the counterrevolutionary formations which united on the platform of a “unified and indivisible Russia.” The government of the “Armed Forces of South Russia”<sup>10</sup> found it difficult to reconcile with the supreme leadership of the Siberian government of Kolchak,<sup>11</sup> which was only *de jure* considered all-Russian.

Finally, the operational unification of the armed forces of the domestic counterrevolution encountered insuperable difficulties in their isolated position in space and in geographical and climatic conditions, even when under a common political banner, not to mention the hidden competition of outlying dictators. As a result of all of this, one cannot speak of the counterrevolution’s unified strategy in our civil war.

No less favorable for Soviet strategy was the fact that the Whites’ strategy not only failed to find support in their external and domestic policy, but that the latter was its gravedigger. Thus no matter how this or that operational plan by the White commanders was distinguished by its correctness, in the final analysis all of them were doomed to failure.

Red strategy, being in the situation of the side operating along internal operational lines, correctly sought to take advantage of this situation, while attaching urgent importance, depending on the overall situation, to this or that front. But objective reasons, in the form of the unsatisfactory state of rail transport and the far flung theaters, prolonged to an extreme degree in time all of the operational movements of our forces, which was one of the chief reasons for the prolongation of the campaigns on various fronts. As a result of this circumstance, the actions of our strategy resembled a series of successively accumulating efforts, methodically developed to ultimate success, along the axes chosen for the launching of the main attacks.

The civil war of 1918–1921 was distinguished by its extreme intensity. In this sense, the other types of wars are sharply inferior. The Franco-Prussian, Russo-Turkish, Russo-Japanese, and a number of other wars had a comparatively small number of campaigns and operations. Even the imperialist war of 1914–1918 had a smaller number of intensive operations than our civil war. And this circumstance speaks to the fact that it is extremely difficult to produce a sketch of the civil war.

Several volumes will be required for writing a history of the entire civil war, even in a compressed form. Thus the third volume, in its sketch of the civil war, offers only a compressed exposition of events for the majority of campaigns and operations, sometimes limiting itself to only the chronological listing of operations. The greatest amount of attention in the sketch is devoted to our war with the White Poles, as well as the struggle against Vrangeli.<sup>12</sup> These two campaigns, which the Red Army conducted in an already well-established form and employed large forces, are not only of historical interest, but also have practical significance for the employment of this experience in the future. However, even this more or less

detailed approach to the study of these campaigns, which is allowable within the confines of a compressed sketch, nevertheless suffers from a number of defects. To be sure, the latest military-historical sources dealing with the war with Poland were used in the third volume, particularly Sikorski's book<sup>13</sup> *On the Vistula and the Wkra*, and A. I. Yegorov's<sup>14</sup> *L'vov—Warsaw*. But nevertheless, the archival side of things leaves a lot to be desired. According to the state of the archives, we often had to make use of only those documents touching the fronts' field headquarters. Documents at the army level are far from having been sorted out. This circumstance was reflected in the exposition of the war with the White Poles, but it sometimes takes on a very sharply different aspect in the descriptions of activities on other fronts. Very often the fronts' intentions were altered in the armies and, just the opposite; the independent actions of armies were only fixed by the decisions of the fronts. There were many frictions, difficulties and contradictions that arose in the control of large troop masses along huge fronts, which were moreover linked to the construction of the armed forces "under fire." Thus many participants of the civil war in all likelihood will find a certain lack of correspondence in the contents of this sketch. But this is already the affair of the further elaboration of archival materials and work of the participants of the civil war themselves, so that we may at last have a truly scientifically elaborated history of the civil war, which is unthinkable without the most scrupulous checking, most of all, of the factual material, which we still do not have.

The study of the civil war has enormous practical interest both for the Western European proletariat and for us, for the Red Army, for in the civil war we acquired the experience of armed struggle with imperialism.

Of enormous significance for the command element is the civil war's combat experience. Who lacks this experience looks for it among more experienced comrades and in books, while he who has it inevitably bases his preparations for the future on his past personal experience, personal impressions and feelings. Personal impressions are not the same as scientific conclusions from past experience. The knowledge and analysis of all sides of the matter may present many things in a different light than the way it is presented in memoirs. For example, the shortage of shells and rifle rounds, the depressing state of equipment and its shortage according to authorized norms and tables, alongside the enormous personnel strength of the armed forces during the civil war, and other matters, brought forth a widespread impression that in the civil war "we did great things without equipment." If we analyze the actual state of affairs, then we will see that the high command, while starving the secondary fronts as regards shells and rifle rounds, saturated the armies operating along the decisive directions with them.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that alongside the overall poverty of the civil war's materiel-technical base, the active part of the rifle divisions was often quite well supplied with technical equipment.

This circumstance, which reflected the lack of organizational planning of a Red Army which was built under fire, had the effect that the active Red Army infantry was sometimes better supplied with equipment than the soldiers of the czarist army. For example, in the czarist army in 1916 there were 3–4 guns and 8–10 machine guns per 1,000 infantrymen, while in the Red Army during 1919–1920 there were 6–12 guns and 30–50 machine guns (depending upon the number of infantry in the divisions). This is just one of the facts available. One can arrive at final conclusions from this only after the accumulation of a large number of such facts. But whatever the case, the commander who fought in conditions of economic ruin of the period of War Communism,<sup>15</sup> was nevertheless accustomed to gaining successes with up to 12 guns (and sometimes more) and up to 50 machine guns per 1,000 active infantrymen. This speaks to the fact that our commander and our Red Army soldier were far from achieving successes in battle with their bare hands and that this “habit” should be consciously realized in order that we may approach future fighting and future difficulties with a realistic measure of our men and materiel and not to overrate the strength of “bare” spirit in battle.

The civil war offers us an instructive example of mobility and energy. Mobility should not be confused with maneuverability. The latter is mobility that has found its expression in complex forms of the operational-tactical art. Maneuverability was manifested to a great extent in the civil war precisely in this way. Only there, where we have movement as the result of a definite grouping of men and materiel along the front; there, where movement develops on the basis of the consecutive defeat of the enemy’s tactical and strategic echelons into the depth; where this movement is organized according to a defined plan in the sense of supplying all means of sustenance—only there do we have true maneuverability.

The civil war augured a rebirth of maneuverability, which had been deeply buried in the trenches of the World War and girded with the barbed wire of its obstacles. The maneuver nature of the war brought forth the importance of the commander’s operational creativity. The school of commanders brought forth by the revolution yielded the highest examples of this creativity.

The skillful concentration of superior forces at the decisive point of the attack, the bold and energetic conduct of the attack following its preliminary and scrupulous preparation, the originality and daring of the plan, and the striving to achieve major results through a decisive attack—these are the characteristic external features of the civil war, one of the outstanding bearers of which was the late M. V. Frunze.<sup>16</sup>

The Red Army command resorted to maneuver for a sharply defined goal—to place the enemy in unfavorable conditions for an engagement or battle. The Red command’s striving for maneuver was suffused with the idea of the decisive battle and the idea of routing and destroying the enemy and in an uninterrupted pursuit to break his forces. However, the command’s operational work did not reach by the end of the war that perfection which it, reflecting the creative activity of the

revolution, seemed that it should have achieved. We are not preparing to analyze all of the reasons which limited the Red command's operational scope, particularly reasons of an economic nature. In speaking of these reasons, we consider it necessary to stress the weakness of the staff apparatuses, which were cumbersome, not very mobile and which often fell behind the course of events. The methods of command (long orders that sought to lay out the activities of the troops in detail, and slowness in command) were often in glaring contradiction with the very nature of maneuver warfare—mobile and dynamic, requiring a great deal of independence by commanders at all levels.

All of these command shortcomings increased the strength and seriousness of the frictions inevitable in war. We were often witnesses to how a correctly planned operation, which promised complete success according to the situation, was reduced to nothing because of the weight of these frictions. It was as if operational thinking in the civil war knew periods of high and low tide. We can find in the history of the civil war entire areas when the troops defended, attacked and fell back without an operational idea to guide or unite them. This was particularly apparent in some periods of failure.

The civil war of 1918–1921 brought forth fronts of even greater length than during the imperialist war. The civil war did not make any easier the chief operational difficulty that arose in 1914; that is, the problem of destroying the main forces of the enemy armies. This task, which was not achievable in a single battle, stretched out over a series of consecutive operations, which created enormous difficulties in organizing them. It is impossible to inflict a major defeat without them, and they require the inclusion of an enormous portion of enemy territory with all of the resulting military, political and administrative efforts.

The growth in depth of modern fronts, in its turn, makes the task of defeating the enemy army even more difficult.

Problems of the field control of troops are linked in the closest and most indissoluble way with these questions. The civil war, as well as the imperialist war, offered many contradictory answers to the forms of control, both operational and organizational-administrative. The diversity of the situation in previous wars demands an enormous expenditure of labor from the historian in order to understand these questions from all angles. Only by taking into account both past mistakes and new shifts in weaponry and equipment can we successfully prepare for a future war.

The civil war revived those combat arms which had declined during the World War. It was the “golden age” of cavalry in the operational and tactical fields. The cavalry proved capable of maneuvering and fighting in masses unseen on preceding battlefields (1st Cavalry Army). The lessons of the civil war as regards the cavalry are so instructive that Western European military-scientific thought had to review its opinion of the cavalry that had arisen on the basis of the experience of the World War.

In the field of infantry tactics, the civil war began the tactics of firing points independent of the experience of the World War's positional period. These tactics arose and were tested on the experience of the southern front's battlefields.<sup>17</sup>

Just as in the World War, the civil war proved the small utility of fortified areas and points (the Polish fortresses in the 1920 campaign); if self-sufficient significance is attached to them and their garrisons are not in close combat coordination with neighboring field forces. In the field of artillery tactics, the civil war, just as the World War, once again proved the importance of massed artillery fire and its centralized control (Kakhovka and Perekop, 1920).

The operational and tactical experience of the civil war is great and multi-faceted. Its study and employment may be the goal of special multi-volume studies. Our final word in this case comes down to the fact that in the military sense the civil war was for us a model for the rebirth of military art under the bracing breath of the revolution.

Organizational activity on the civil war's fronts, aside from the operational unification and servicing of the army masses, was broadened in the direct operational sense by the construction and formation of the armed forces on the fronts themselves. This entire process was often accompanied by the growth of an insurrectionist front in the enemy's rear. Mobilizations of communists and union members, which were carried out each time to gain a victory on the decisive fronts, were recognized as a characteristic feature of the civil war.

The civil war offers us an inexhaustible source of knowledge in the field of supplying war and the organizational activity of the state in controlling war and in mobilizing all social organizations for it. You know, Lenin said, that the autumn chills influence the Red Army soldier's morale, lowering it and creating new difficulties, increasing illness and leading to great catastrophes. Here, any assistance rendered in the rear to the Red Army soldier is immediately transformed into the strengthening of the Red Army, into a reduction in the number of diseases and an increase in offensive capabilities. It's necessary that each worker, in each meeting, in each shop, now make the slogan "Everything for the aid of the Red Army" the main topic of his conversations, reports and meetings.

The civil war gave us an example of a finished and well-functioning system of adapting the entire economic life and economy of the country to military requirements. The study of those valuable opportunities, which in this instance are unfolding before a country with a socialist form of national economy, is also one of the tasks which attracts the attention not only of military thinkers, but of civilian economists as well.

The study of this problem as a whole, as well as the work of state organizations on the fronts: extraordinary plenipotentiaries of the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Defense,<sup>18</sup> food supply plenipotentiaries, and representatives of the high command for post and telegraph, etc., must be broadly organized.

In the civil war we can find a good deal of data which sheds light on possible elements of the nature of future revolutionary-class wars. The role of the working class of Azerbaijan and Georgia, the British action committees,<sup>19</sup> the formation of the Polish Revolutionary Committee<sup>20</sup> and the formation by it of the Polish Red Army—all of these are facts in which the growth of the revolutionary movement and international working class solidarity were reflected. Even Pilsudski,<sup>21</sup> who categorically rejects the possibility of a socialist revolution in Poland, nevertheless must admit that in 1920, during our offensive that “for the Polish side, under the influence of these events, all the more clearly and expressively appeared in outline besides the external front, an internal front, the forces of which in the history of all wars were a harbinger of defeat and the greatest factor in losing not only the battle, but the war.”<sup>22</sup>

A characteristic feature distinguishing a revolutionary-class war from all other wars is the active participation of the population itself in this war. It not only comprises the armies at the front, creates materiel for supporting the waging of the war, but itself takes an active part in the armed struggle. The political mood of the population in the enemy rear and in one’s own is one of the decisive factors determining the Red strategy’s course of action. For example, in choosing the Kursk—Khar’kov (the rout of Denikin) direction for the main attack, the Red command in October 1919, in choosing this direction, took into account, among other factors, the presence to the south of Khar’kov a strong and firm anti-Denikin insurrectionist front.

White strategy in the civil war could not but take this element into account. For example, in the Poles in the spring of 1920 chose as their ally Petlyura,<sup>23</sup> the “opera bouffe” leader of *kulak*<sup>24</sup> Ukraine, not for his few feeble and understrength divisions which he had withdrawn from Ukraine, but as the result of the hope, which obviously failed, of Petlyura’s political influence on the peasant masses in the Reds’ rear. In the matter of conquering right-bank Ukraine,<sup>25</sup> the Poles openly counted on significant aid from the Petlyura insurrectionists operating in the rear of the Reds.

We fully admit that in this work, in which we consciously limited our tasks to an explication of the history of the command and troops operating in the “greater” civil war, that the role of Soviet insurrections, which played a not unimportant role in the victorious conclusion of the civil war by the Soviet government in 1918–1921, has been insufficiently highlighted.

The partisan war in the civil war often acquired a quite independent significance. One may believe that such a kind of war will be a quite full-bodied compatriot of regular war in future European class wars and the national-liberation wars of the peoples of the East. From this arises yet another pressing task for theoretical work of our military-scientific thought: the study of the character of modern “partisan war” and the establishing of a prediction for the future.



The civil war revealed to the fullest extent the significance of the political element not only in the field of strategy and operational art, but in tactics as well. This circumstance broadly expands the horizons of military-scientific thought. New ways of research and study have opened before it. Political support for the operation, living and dying centers and areas, the political support of the rear, and operational axes according to political considerations—this is an entire series of new and pressing questions in the field of military art, which the history of our civil war is putting forth for our military workers.

We must in particular emphasize that the heroic Communist Party was the main organizer of the Red Army's victories.

In waging war against the bourgeoisie and landowners in their own country, we at the same time were fighting against international capital. This was on particular display in 1920 during our offensive to the Vistula.

"If Poland," Lenin said, "had become soviet, if the Warsaw workers had received aid from Soviet Russia, which they were awaiting and which they welcomed, the Versailles<sup>26</sup> peace would have been destroyed and the entire international system, which had been conquered by the victories over Germany, would have been destroyed."

The experience of the civil war of 1918–1921—the first war in the world of the proletariat, "organized into a ruling class," against imperialism—is extremely instructive for future armed class battles of the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the colonies and semi-colonies.

The third volume of the Civil War as yet offers only an incomplete and far from verified, in the factual sense, history of the great class battles of 1918–1921. But the entire volume, as a whole, nevertheless will help the reader to understand the course of the war and make it easier for him to conduct further independent military-historical work.

In compiling the present sketch, the editorial board for the first time adopted the method of collective creativity, which undoubtedly justified itself. The first draft of the work, which was made by comrade Kakurin<sup>27</sup> and partially by comrade Vatsetis,<sup>28</sup> was passed through the general editorship of A. S. Bubnov,<sup>29</sup> S. S. Kamenev,<sup>30</sup> M. N. Tukhachevskii,<sup>31</sup> and R. P. Eideman<sup>32</sup> and reviewed by an entire group of civil war participants (P. P. Lebedev<sup>33</sup> and A. I. Yegorov and others), after which the volume was reworked three times and required the addition of a large amount of factual material and the amplifying of a number of events. Comrades Mordvinov,<sup>34</sup> Ogorodnikov,<sup>35</sup> Kotov,<sup>36</sup> Shelavin,<sup>37</sup> Shirokii,<sup>38</sup> and others took part in the review and reworking. During the final work on the volume both additionally elaborated materials in the possession of some individuals were used, as well as military-historical works that have appeared for the first time in our country and abroad.

The maps were compiled under the guidance of A. N. De-Lazari.<sup>39</sup>

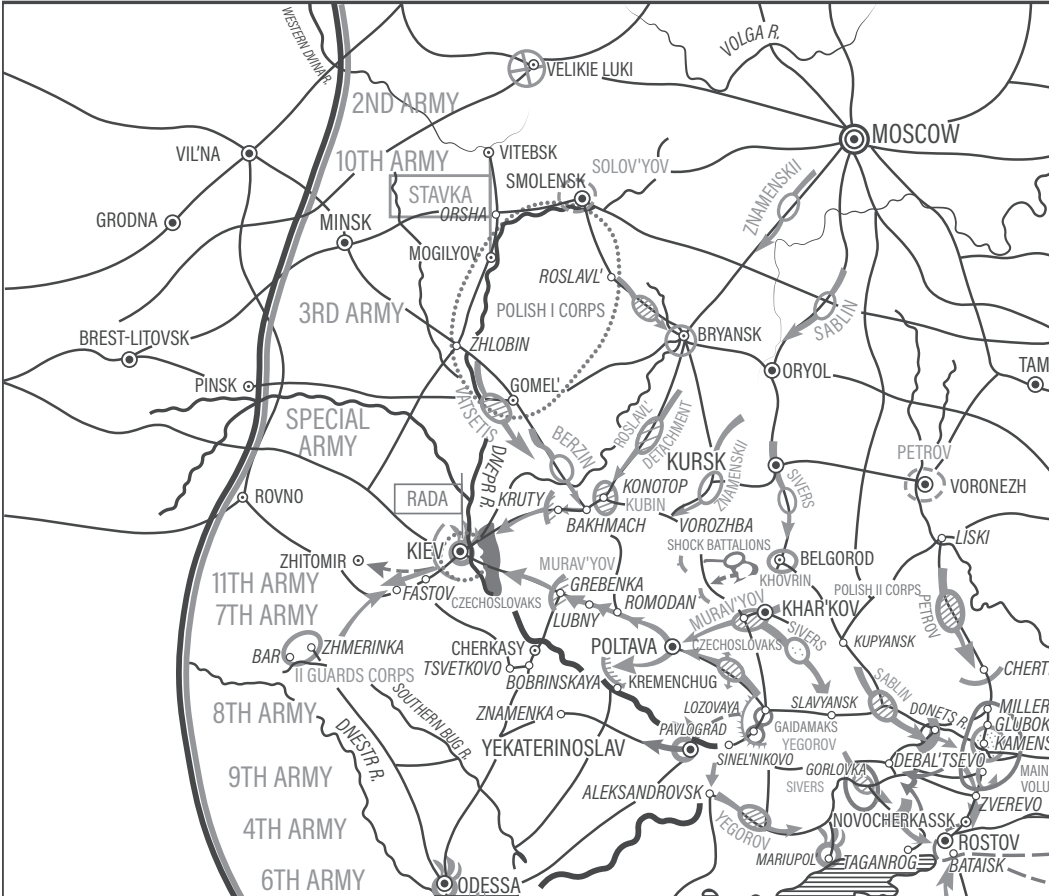
All of the preparatory work during all four editorial reviews was done under the immediate guidance of R. P. Eideman. The entire volume in its second edition was reviewed by M. N. Tukhachevskii.

The final text was edited and prepared for publication according to the instructions of A. S. Bubnov and R. P. Eideman, and by the military editor of the State Publishing House's military section, V. V. Sokolov.<sup>40</sup>

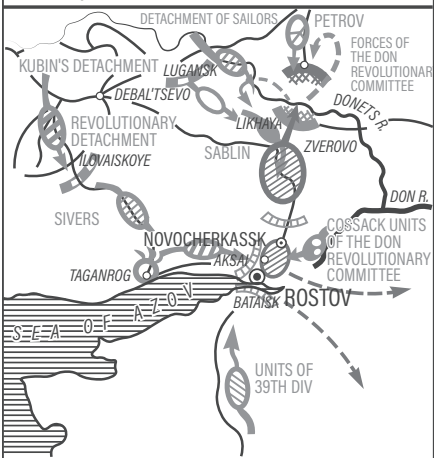
The entire organizational-technical work was carried out by the editorial-publishing section of the military academy under the guidance of comrade K. N. Galitskii.<sup>41</sup>

The editors

# Plate Maps



**The Capture of Rostov and Novocherkassk**

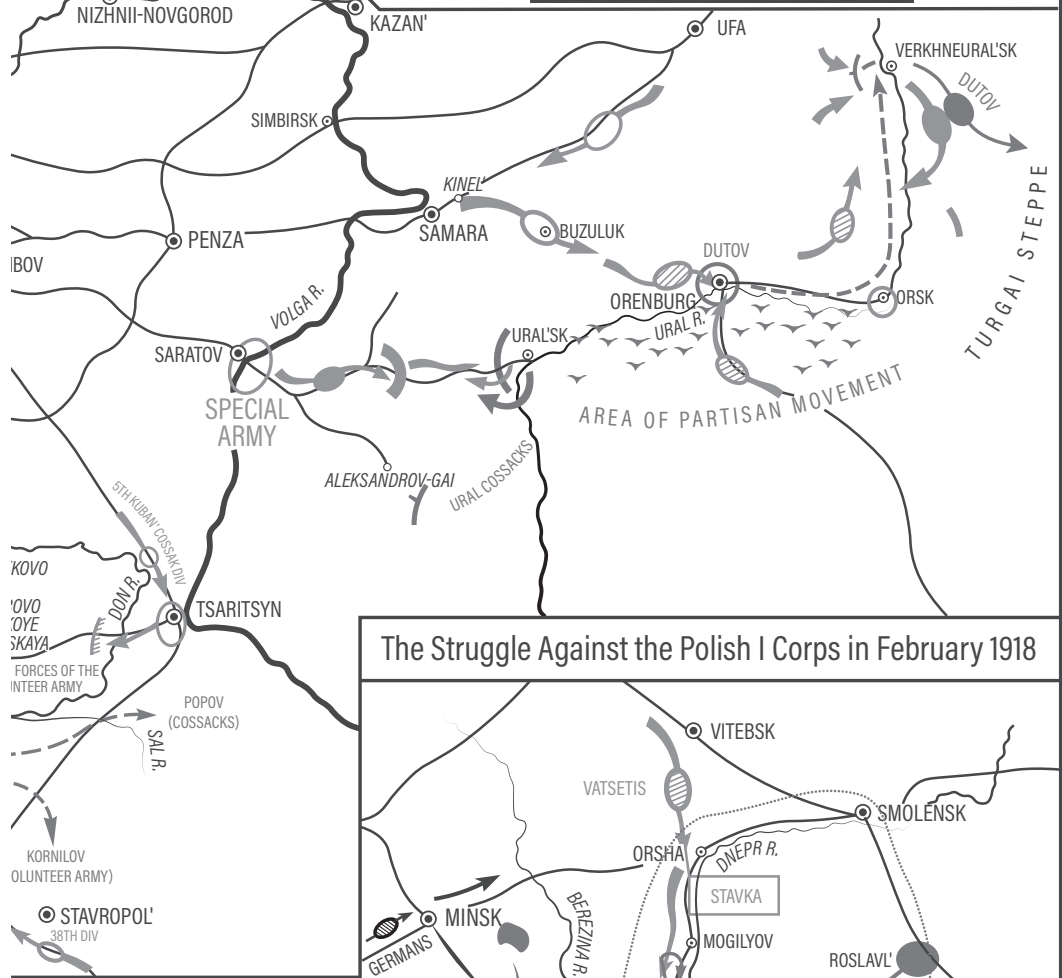


**LEGEND**

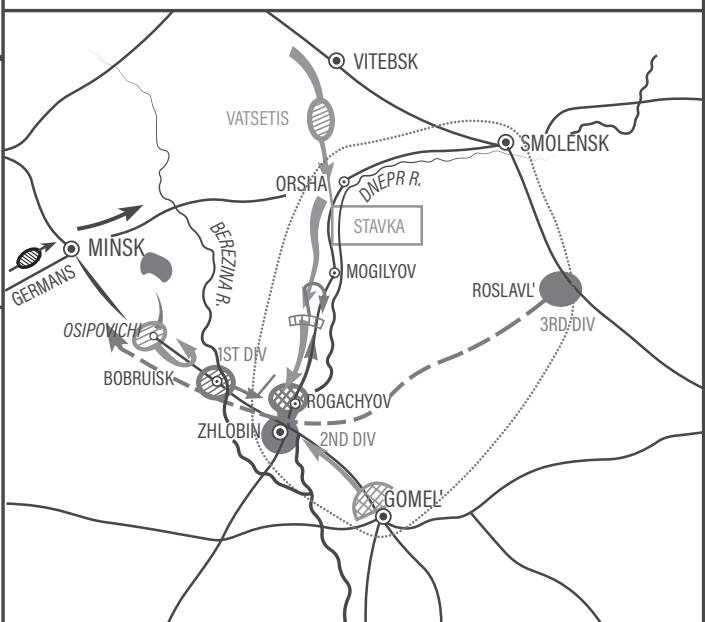
	Concentration Area		Screen
	Reserves		The Situation on 20 December
	Formation Areas		Mover
	Formation Areas of National Units		Mover
	Movements		Mover
	The Situation of Yegorov's Detachment		Mover
	Movements and the Situation in January		Mover

# Map 1. The October Period of the Civil War

Scale  
120 60 0 120 360KM



## The Struggle Against the Polish I Corps in February 1918

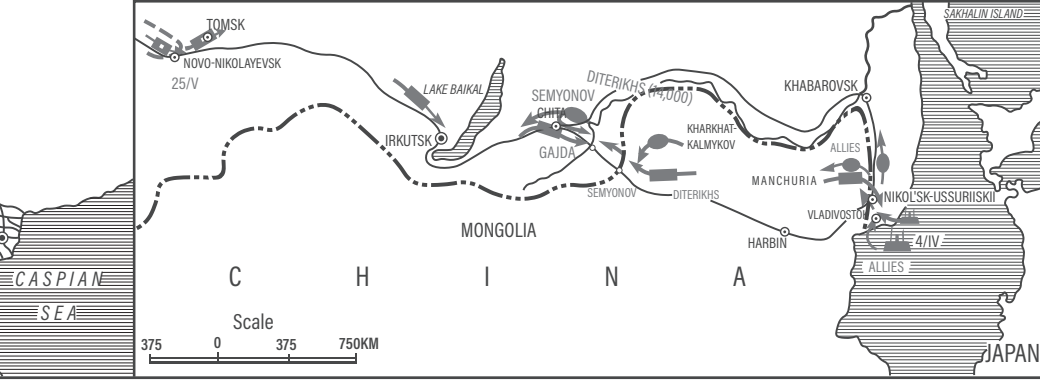
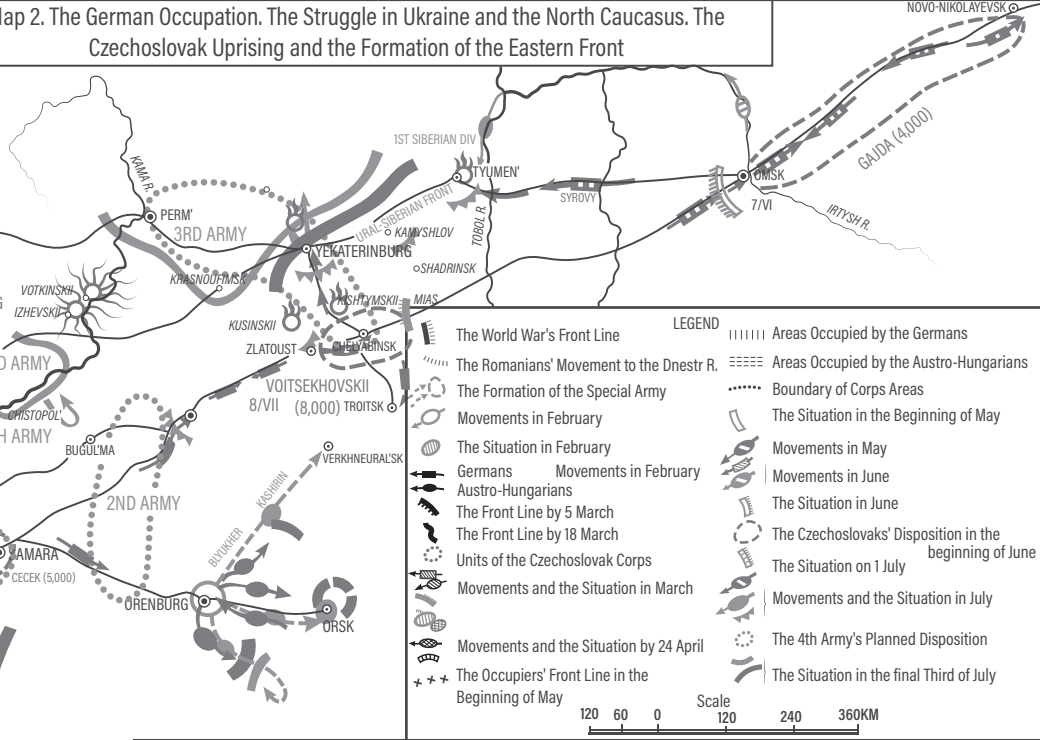


n  
 tuation at the End of January  
 nents and the Situation up to 10 February  
 nents and the Situation After 10 February  
 nents and the Situation in May





Map 2. The German Occupation. The Struggle in Ukraine and the North Caucasus. The Czechoslovak Uprising and the Formation of the Eastern Front





**Map 3. The Campaign on the Southern and North Caucasus Fronts, The Beginning of the Struggle in Ukraine**

**LEGEND**

- The Situation in the Beginning of December (20 January for the Ukrainian Front)
- The Situation on 5 February
- The Line Along Which the 11th Army Sought to Consolidate on 14 January
- The Situation of the Remnants of the Red's 11th and 12th Armies Following the Abandonment of the North Caucasus
- The Situation at the End of April
- Ukrainian Border

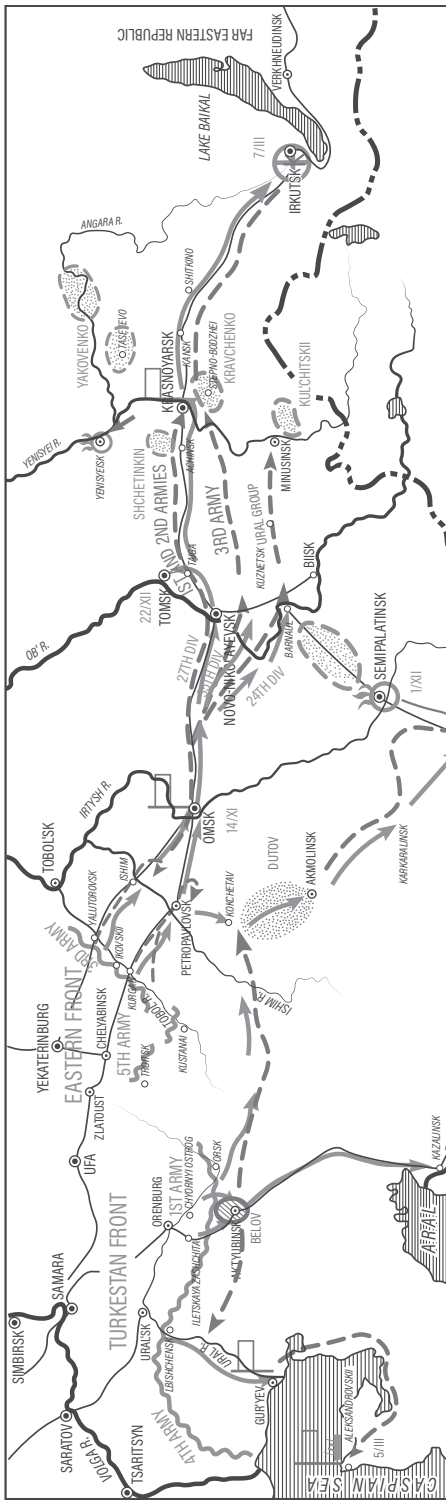
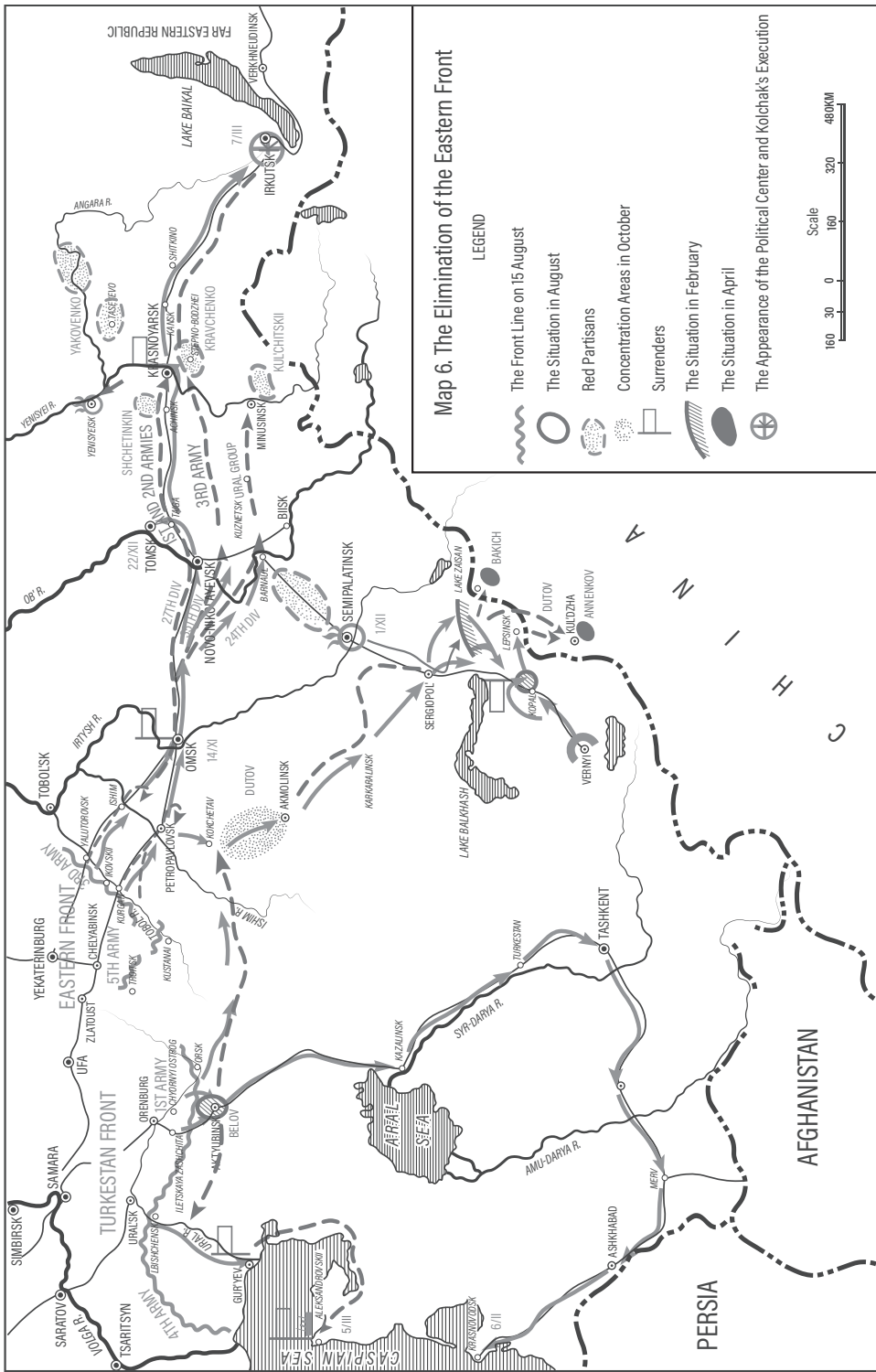
**LEGEND**

- The Caucasus
- Shifting of Units
- Stambas that Established Soviet Power
- The Situation on 10 January
- The Situation on 20 January
- The Tsaritsyn Fortified Area

Scale 0 30 60 120 180 KM







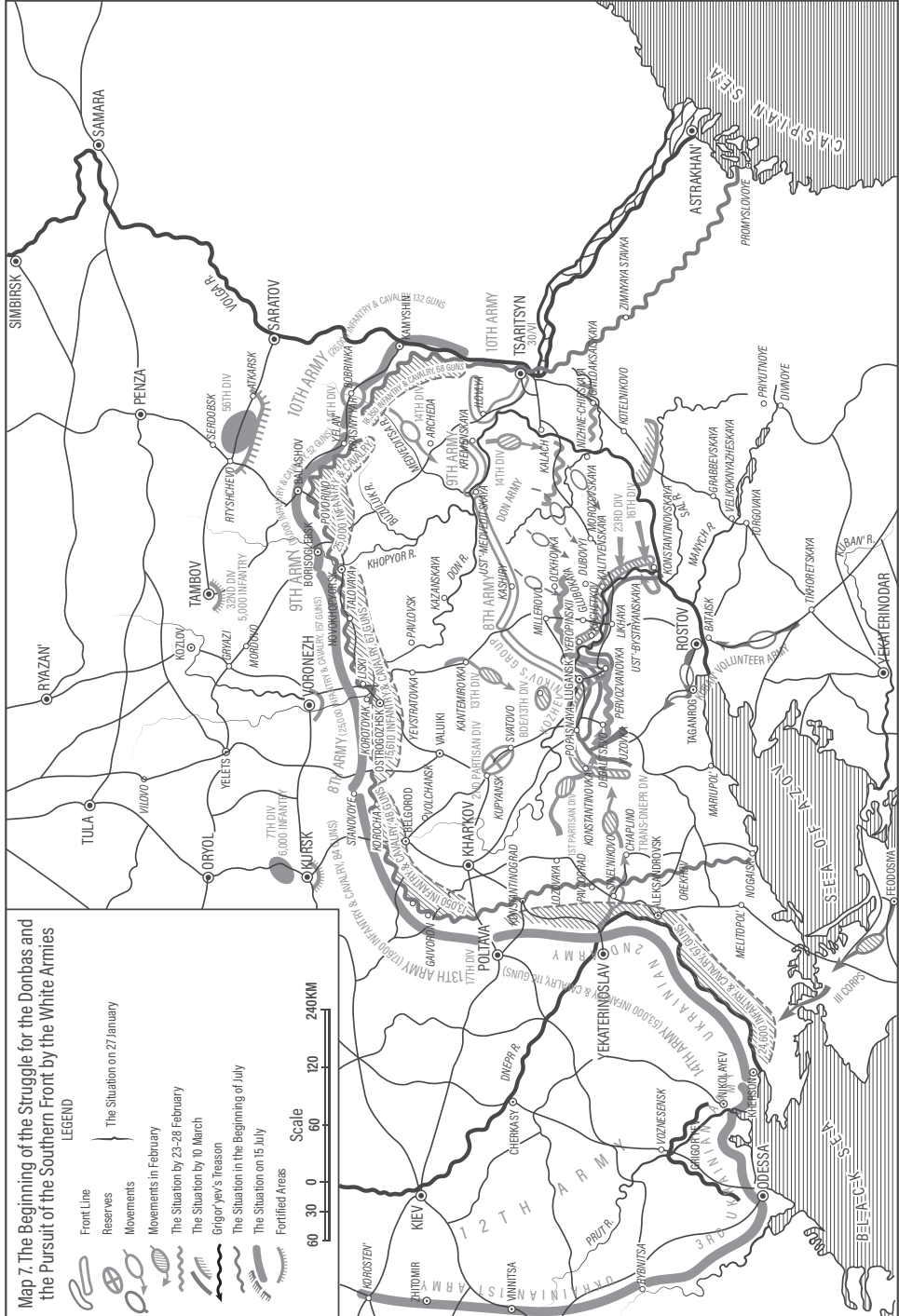
**Map 7. The Beginning of the Struggle for the Donbas and the Pursuit of the Southern Front by the White Armies**

**LEGEND**

- Front Line
- Reserves
- Movements
- Movements in February
- The Situation by 23-28 February
- The Situation by 10 March
- Grigor'iev's Treason
- The Situation in the Beginning of July
- The Situation on 15 July
- Fortified Areas

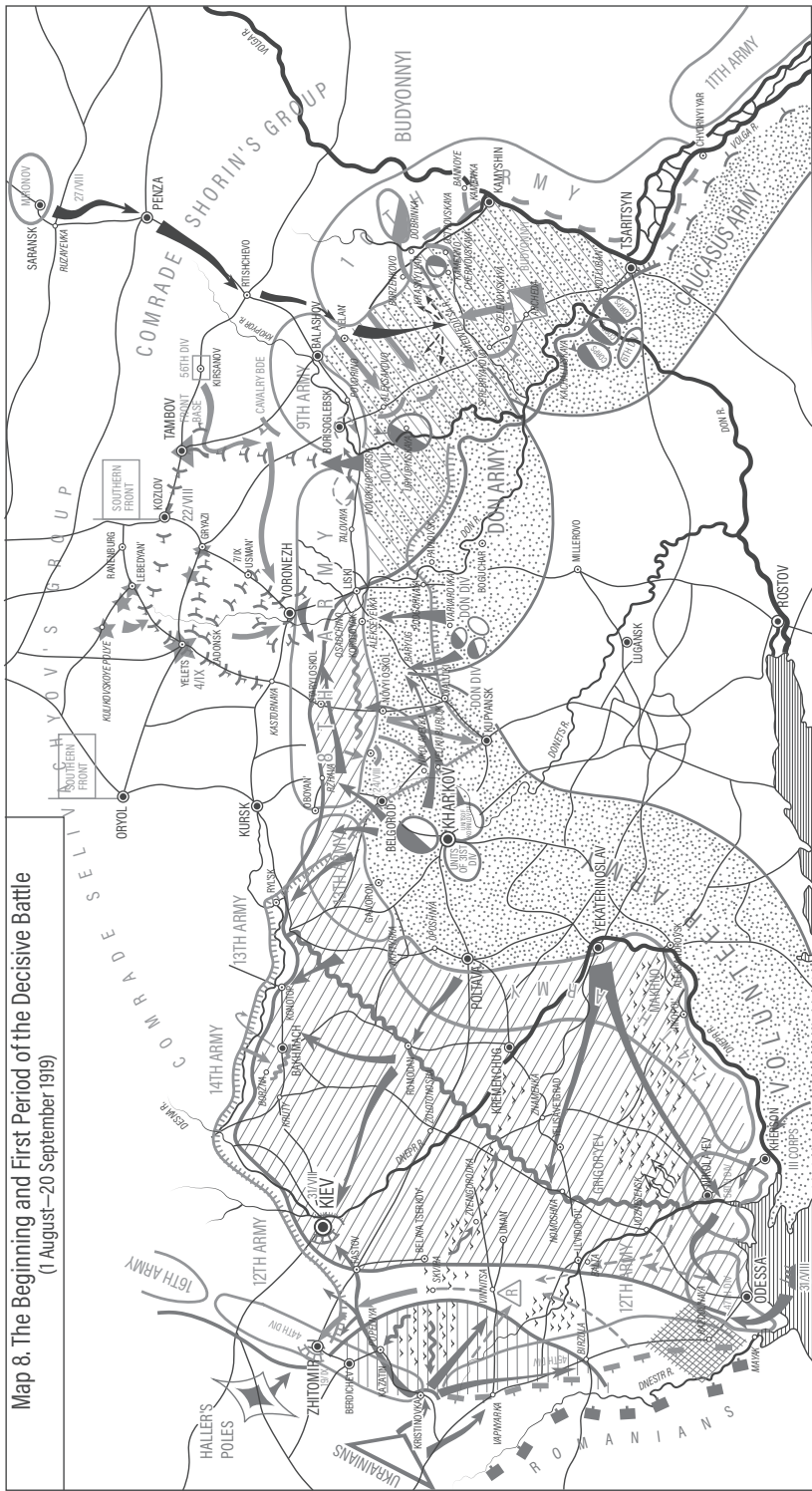
**Scale**

60 30 0 60 120 240KM





**Map 8. The Beginning and First Period of the Decisive Battle**  
(1 August–20 September 1919)

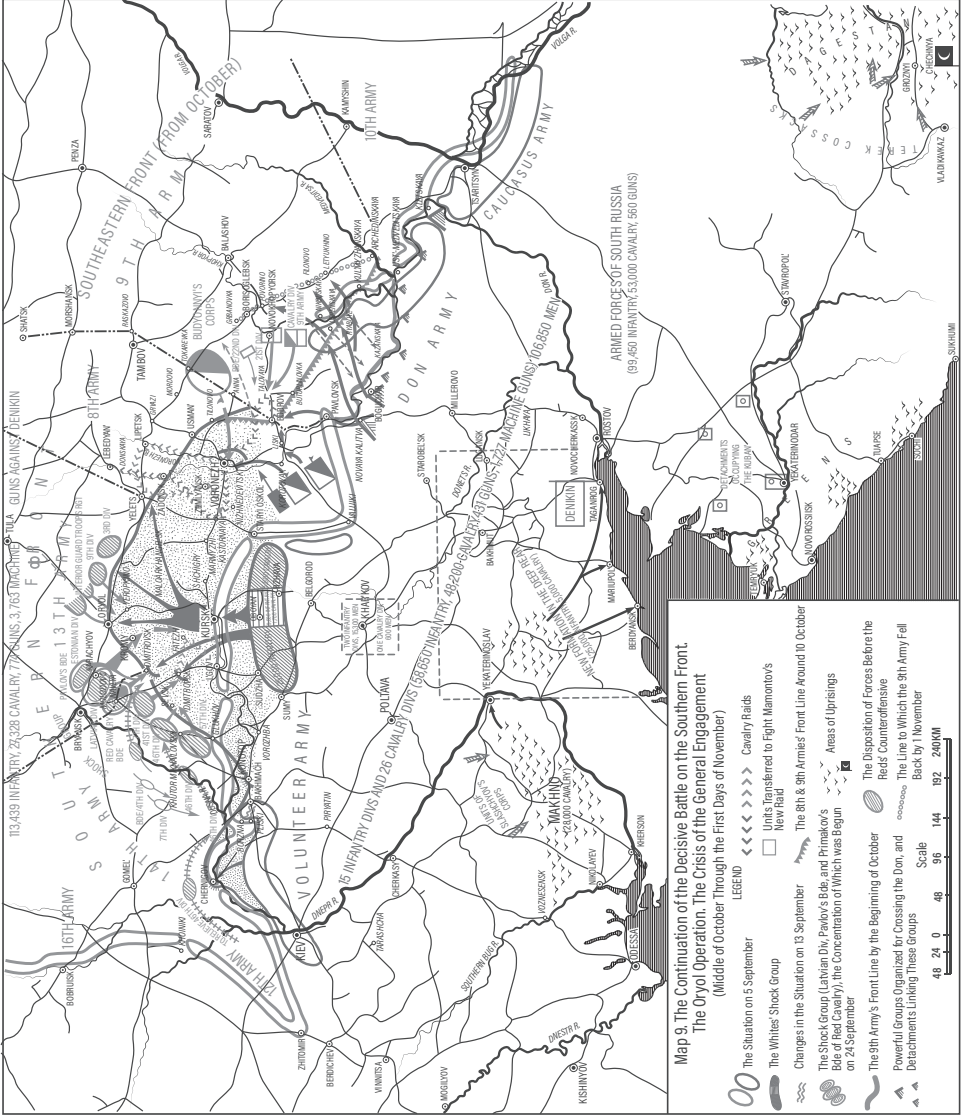


**LEGEND**

- Mamontov's Raid
- Areas of Uprising
- The Front Line by 1 September
- Changes in the Front Line by 13 September
- Garrison and Forces Put into the Fight Against Mamontov
- The Concentration Area of Budyonny's Corps Before Being Transferred to Novokhopyrsk
- The Shock Groups Concentration Areas and Their Sectors
- Changes in the Front Line by 13 September
- Garrison and Forces Put into the Fight Against Mamontov
- The Concentration Area of Budyonny's Corps Before Being Transferred to Novokhopyrsk

The Situation by 1 August  
The Situation of Shomin's Group on 31 August  
The Front Line in the First Half of September

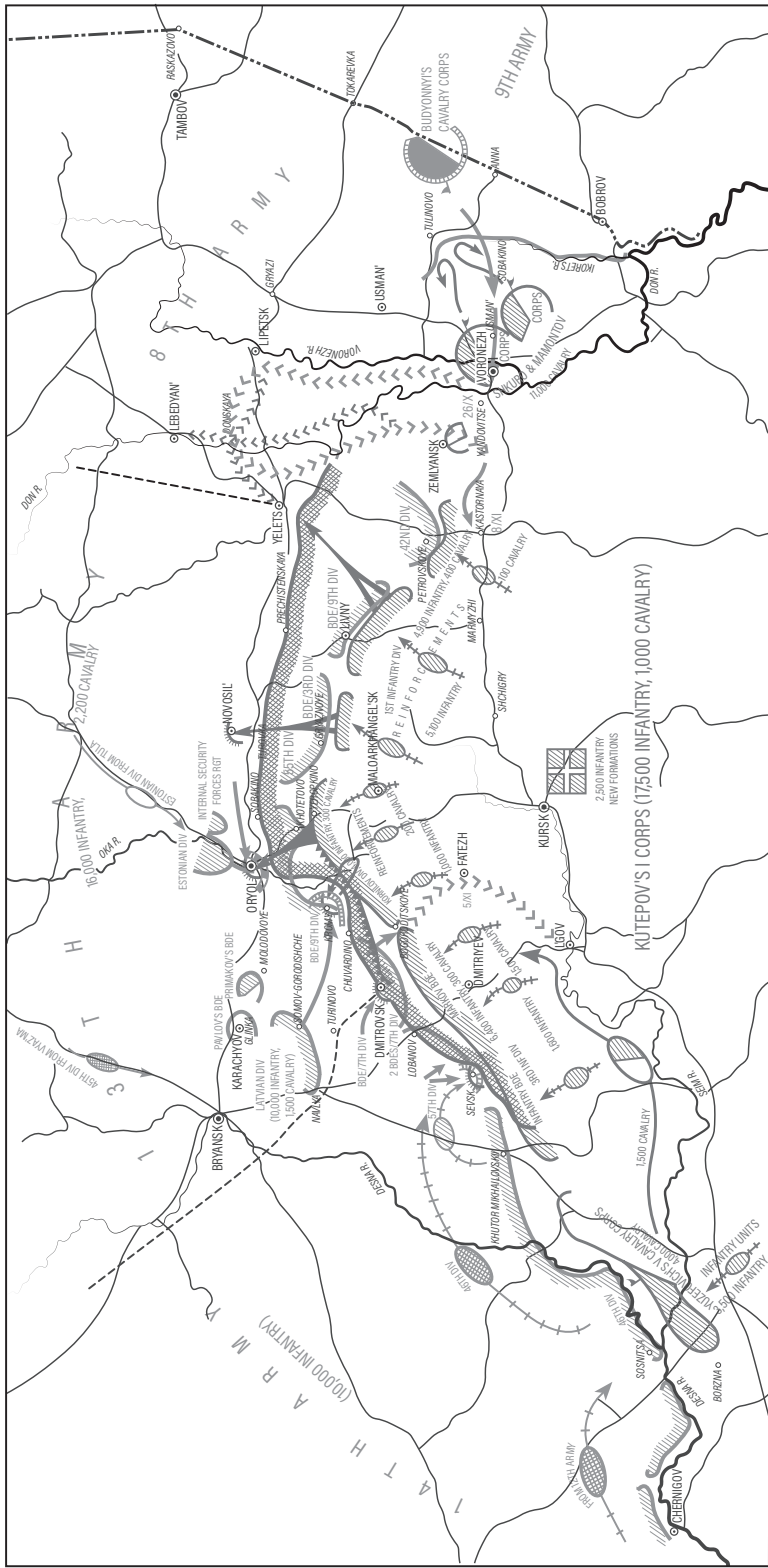
Scale  
48 24 0 48 96 144 192 KM



Map 9. The Continuation of the Decisive Battle on the Southern Front. The Orlov Operation. The Crisis of the General Engagement (Middle of October through the First Days of November)

- LEGEND**
- 00 The Situation on 5 September
  - ▭ The Whites' Shock Group
  - ⋯ Changes in the Situation on 15 September
  - ⊖ The Shock Group (Latvian Div, Pavlov's Bde, and Primakov's Bde of Red Cavalry), the Concentration of Which was Begun on 24 September
  - ⋈ The 8th Army's Front Line by the Beginning of October
  - ⋈ Powerful Groups Organized for Crossing the Don, and Detachments Linking These Groups
  - ◀ Units Transferred to Fight Mamontov's New Raid
  - ⋈ The 8th & 9th Armies' Front Line Around 10 October
  - ⋈ The Shock Group (Latvian Div, Pavlov's Bde, and Primakov's Bde of Red Cavalry), the Concentration of Which was Begun on 24 September
  - ⋈ Areas of Uprisings
  - ⋈ The Disposition of Forces Before the Red's Counteroffensive
  - ⋈ The Line to Which the 9th Army Fall Back by 1 November
- Scale 0 24 48 96 144 192 240 KM



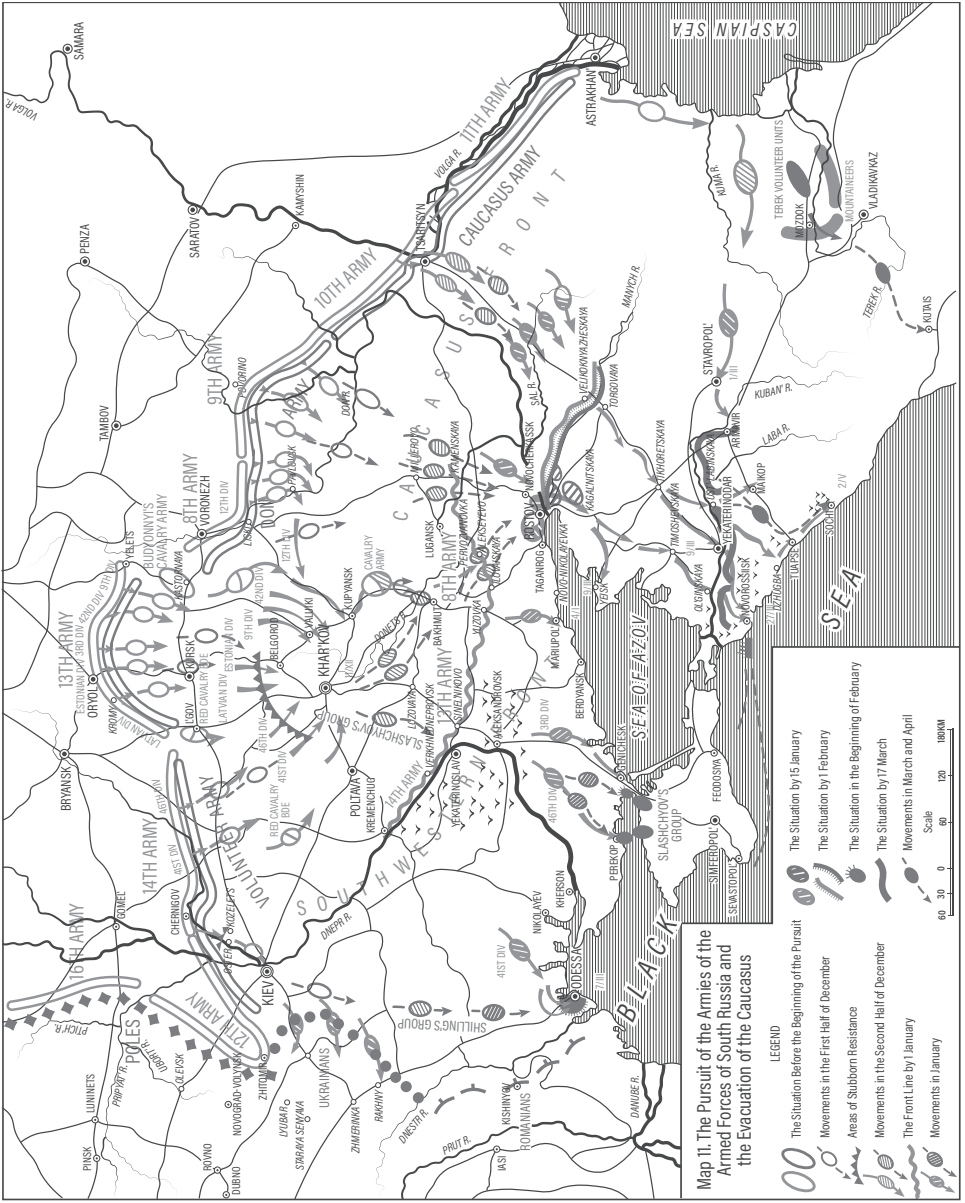


Map 10. The Battle of Oryol (9 September-13 November)

LEGEND

-  The Front Line on 9 October
-  Kutepov's Reserve March
-  Units Arriving by Foot
-  The Main Attack Axis Following the Regrouping
-  Locales Captured Following the Regrouping
-  Changes in the Situation on 16 October
-  Changes in the Situation on 20 October
-  Cavalry Raid in the Last Third of October
-  Clearing the Area of White Cavalry and the Raid by Primakov's Bde
-  The Front Line Along Which the Whites Sought to Put up Following the Second Abandonment of Kromy
-  The Front Line on 21 October





**Map 11. The Pursuit of the Armies of the Armed Forces of South Russia and the Evacuation of the Caucasus**

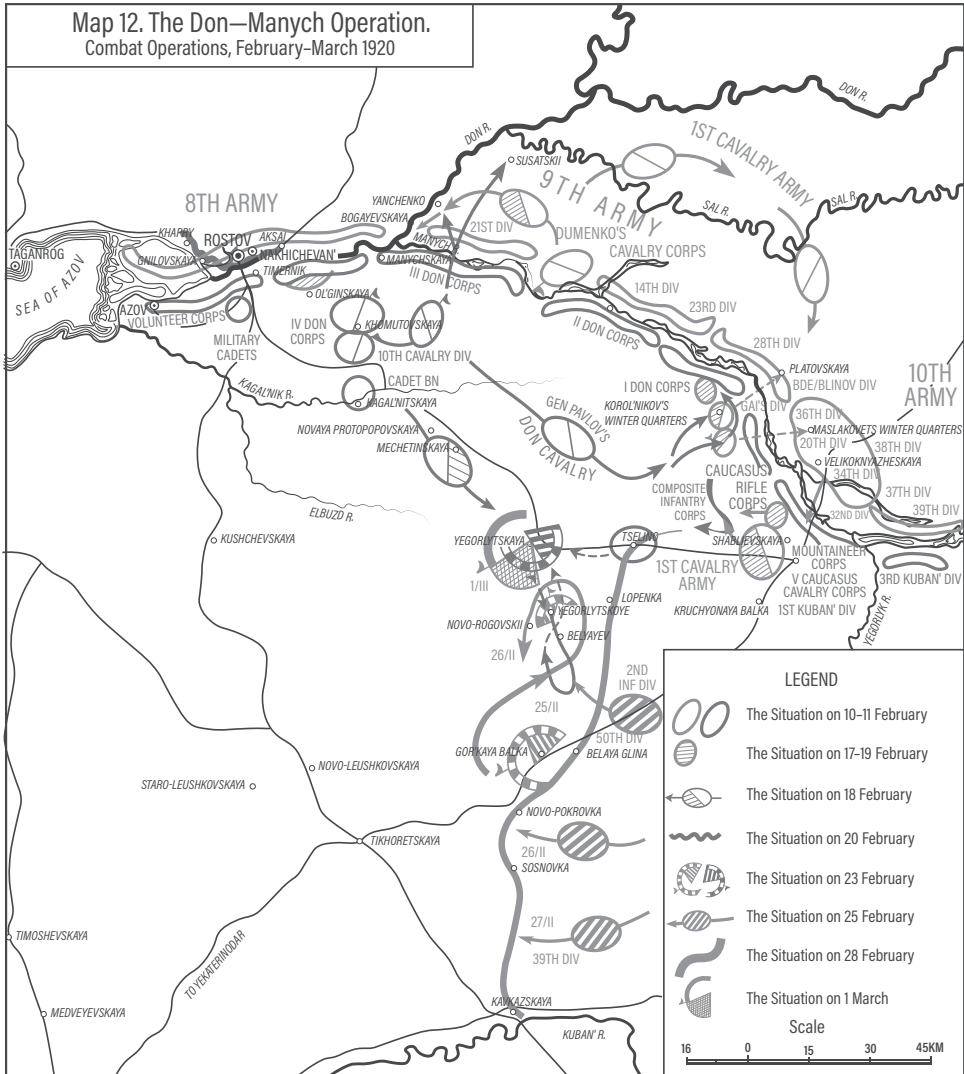
**LEGEND**

- The Situation Before the Beginning of the Pursuit
- Movements in the First Half of December
- Areas of Stubborn Resistance
- Movements in the Second Half of December
- The Front Line by 1 January
- Movements in January

The Situation by 15 January  
 The Situation by 1 February  
 The Situation in the Beginning of February  
 The Situation by 17 March

Scale  
 0 30 60 120 180 KM

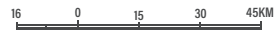
**Map 12. The Don—Manych Operation.**  
 Combat Operations, February–March 1920

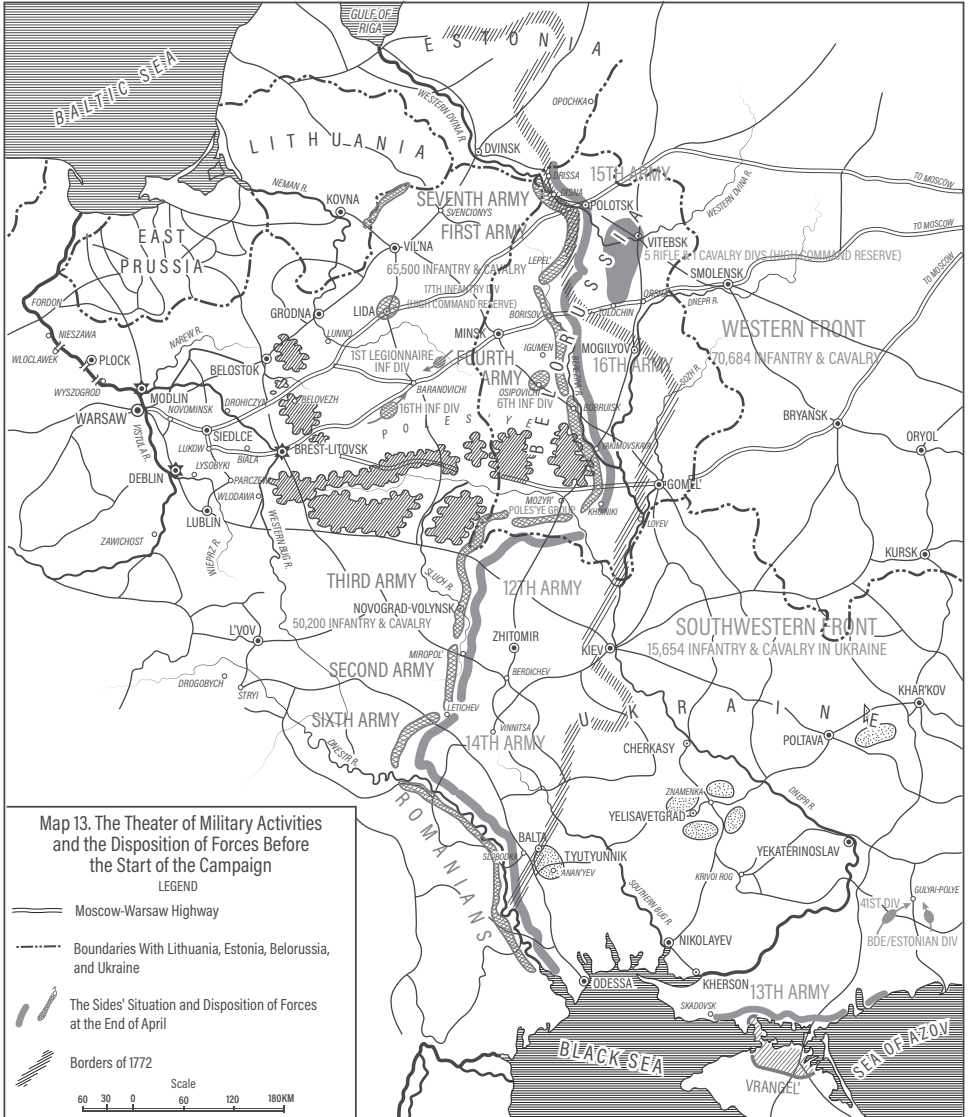


**LEGEND**

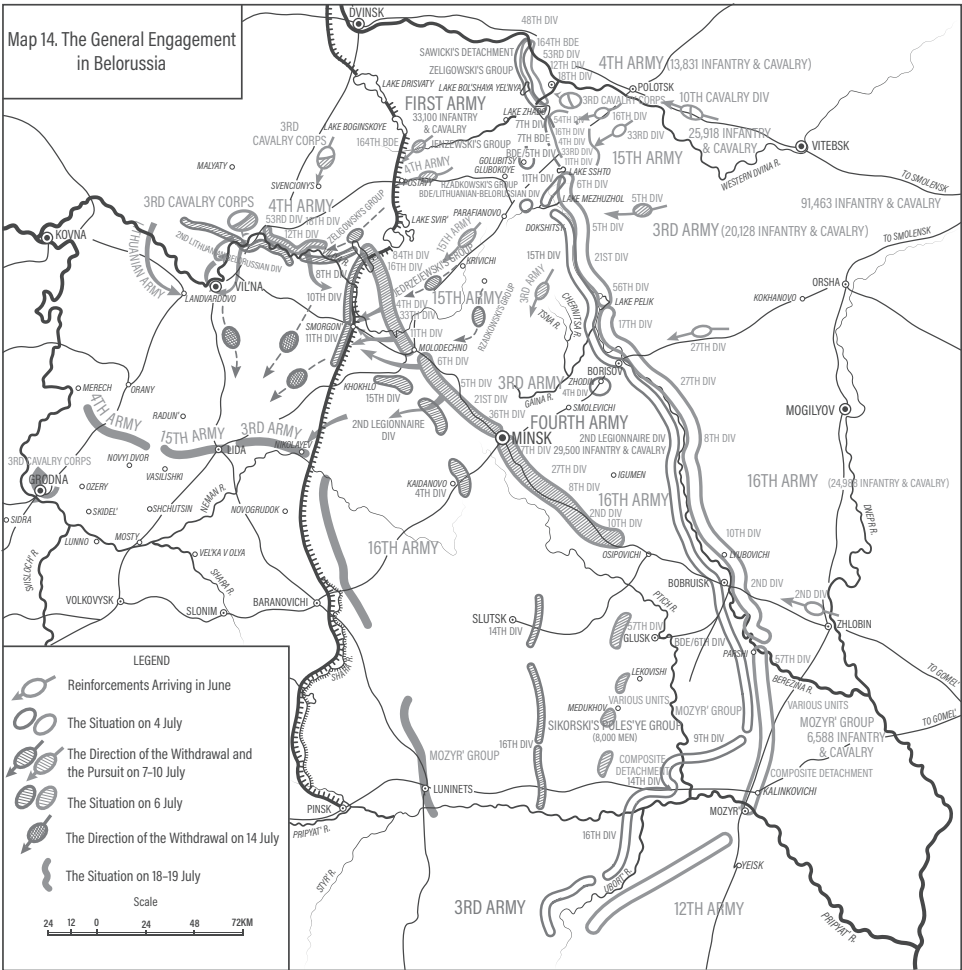
- The Situation on 10–11 February
- The Situation on 17–19 February
- The Situation on 18 February
- The Situation on 20 February
- The Situation on 23 February
- The Situation on 25 February
- The Situation on 28 February
- The Situation on 1 March

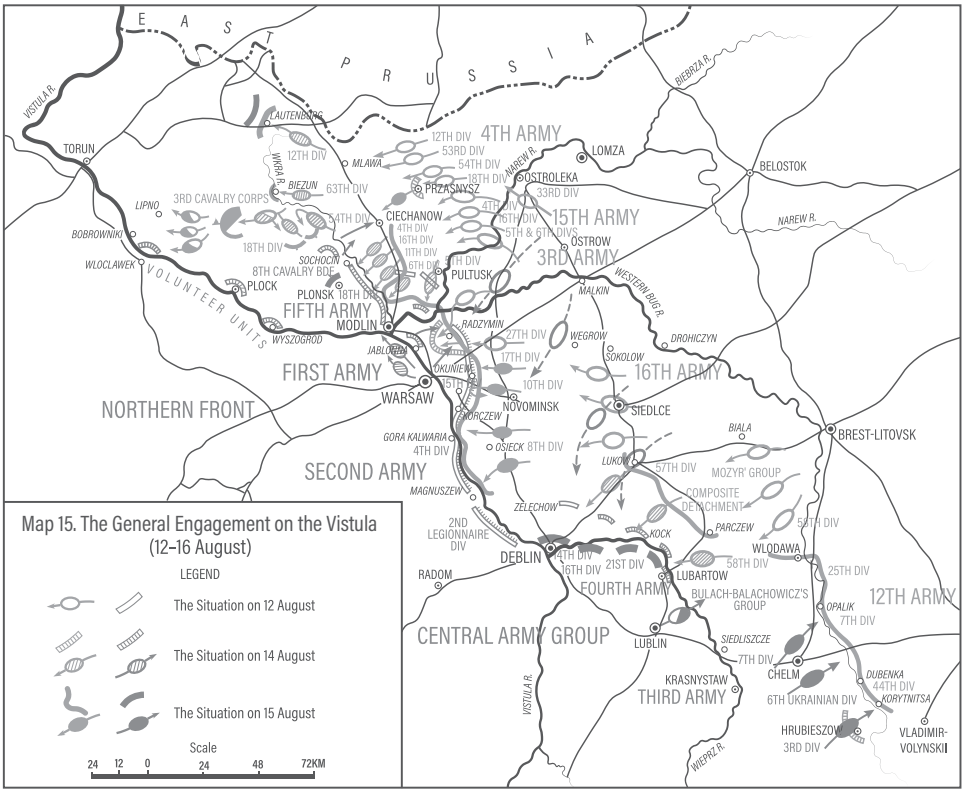
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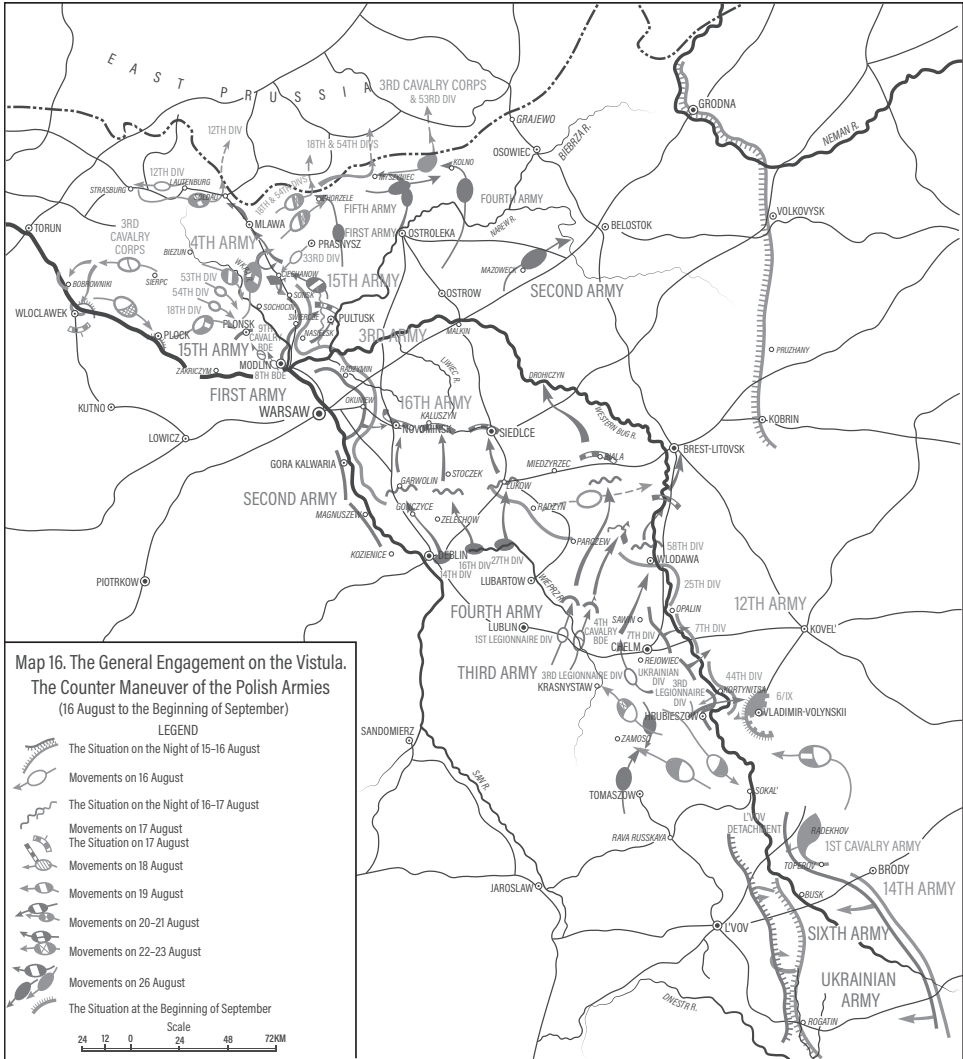




Map 14. The General Engagement in Belorussia

















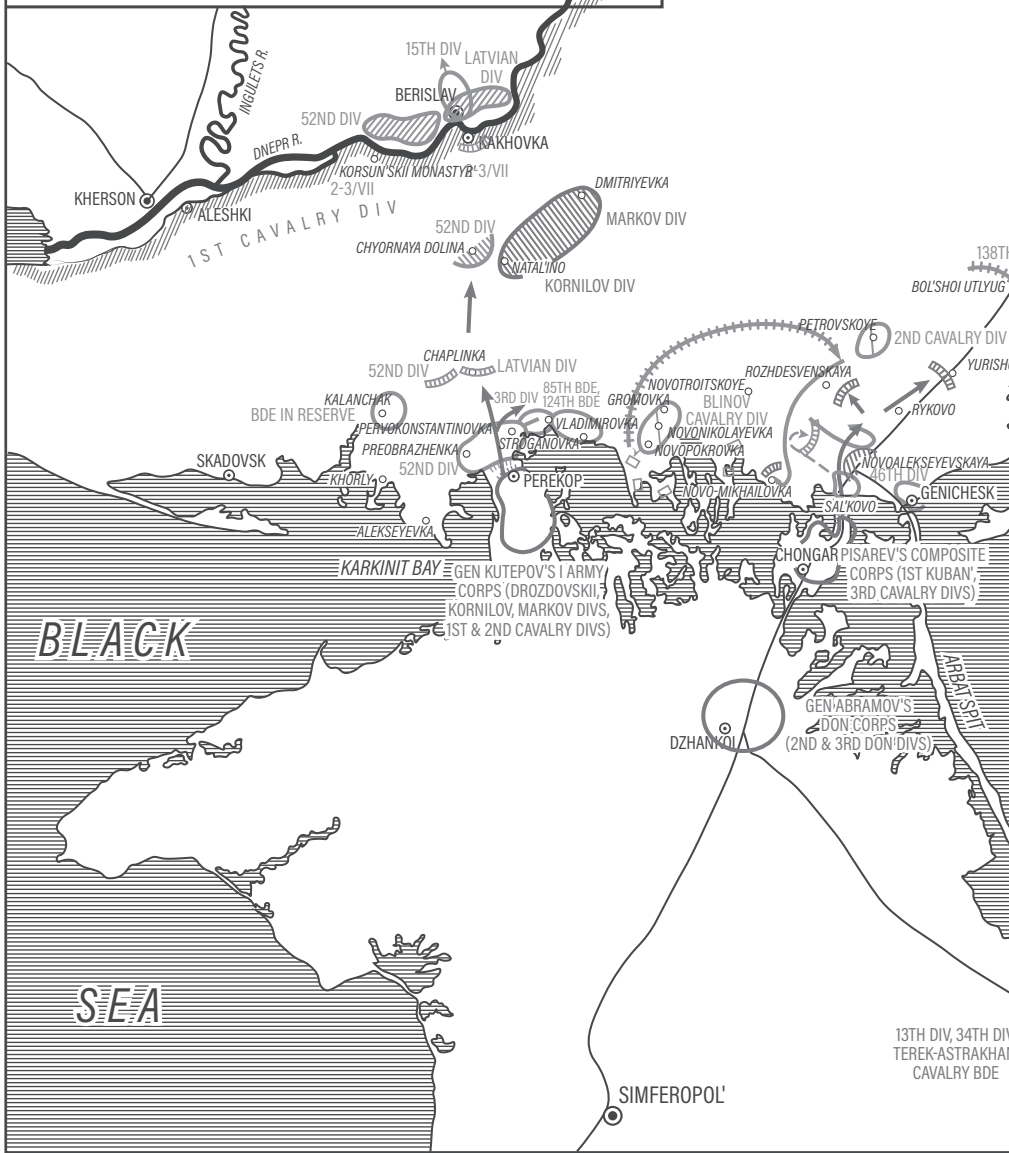


# Map 17. The Arrival into Northern Tavriya and the Beginning of the Struggle for the Initiative

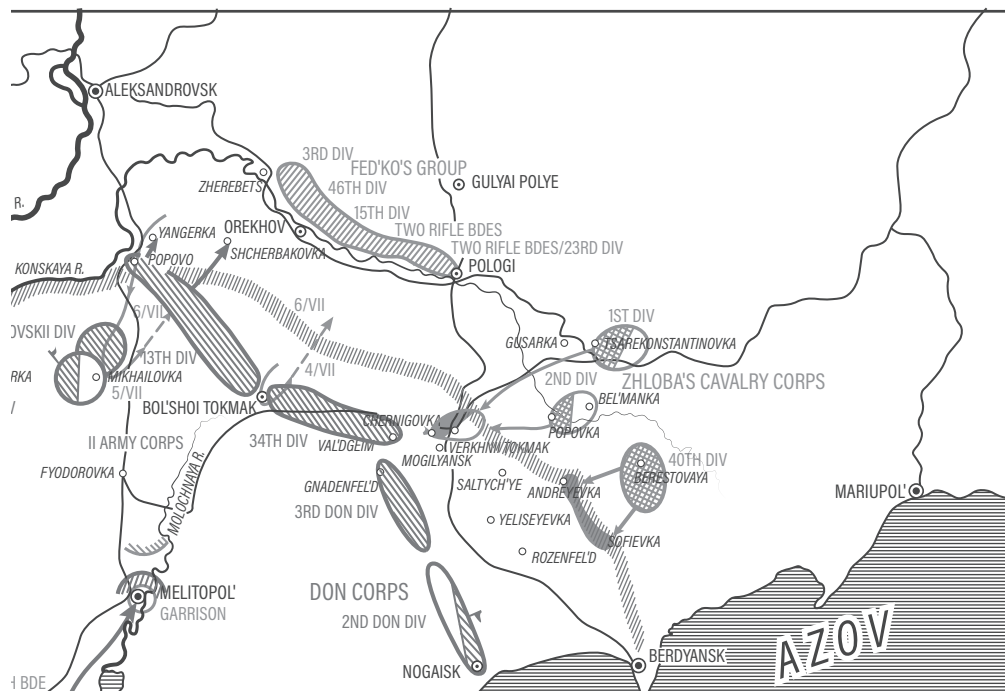
**LEGEND**

-  The Situation by 5 June
-  Changes in the Situation on 6 June
-  Changes in the Situation on 7 June
-  Changes in the Situation on 8 June
-  Changes in the Situation on 10 June
-  Changes in the Situation on 11 June
-  The Situation on 23 June
-  Reconnaissance & Security
-  The Situation on 27 June
-  The Situation on 28 June (Evening)

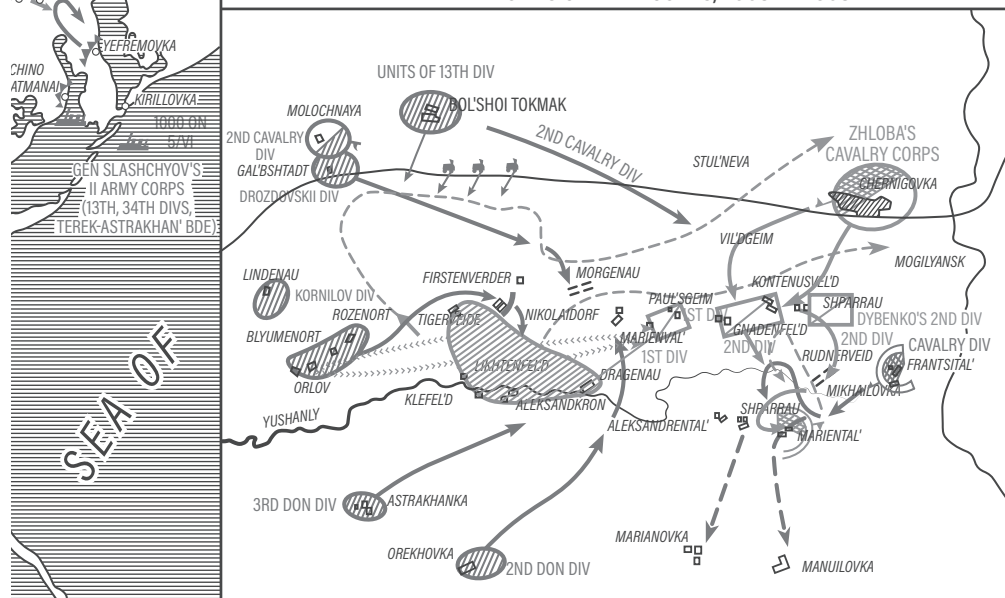
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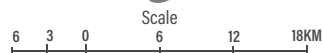




THE RAID BY ZHLOBA'S CAVALRY CORPS, 29 JUNE—3 JULY



- LEGEND
- The Situation on the Morning of 29 June
  - 1st Cavalry Division's Raid on Night of 1-2 July
  - Encampment on Night of 2-3 July
  - The Whites' Situation on 3 July
  - Encampment on Night of 30 June-1 July



GEN SLASHCHYOV'S II ARMY CORPS  
FEODOSIYA

Map 18. The Organization of the Kakhovka Group's Rear.  
The Reds' New Offensive Operation

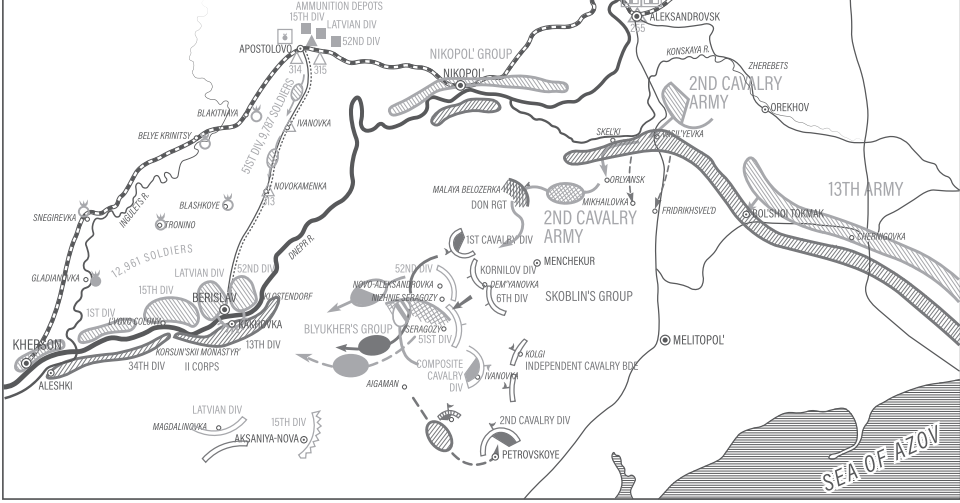
**LEGEND**

The Outfitting of the Rear  
 □ Base Depots      ( SN Supply      ⚡ Artillery A Medicine  
 ⚡ Army Field Hospitals      I Isolation-Filteration Station B Bakeries W Workers' Battalion  
 ⚡ The Group's Depots      F Food Stores )

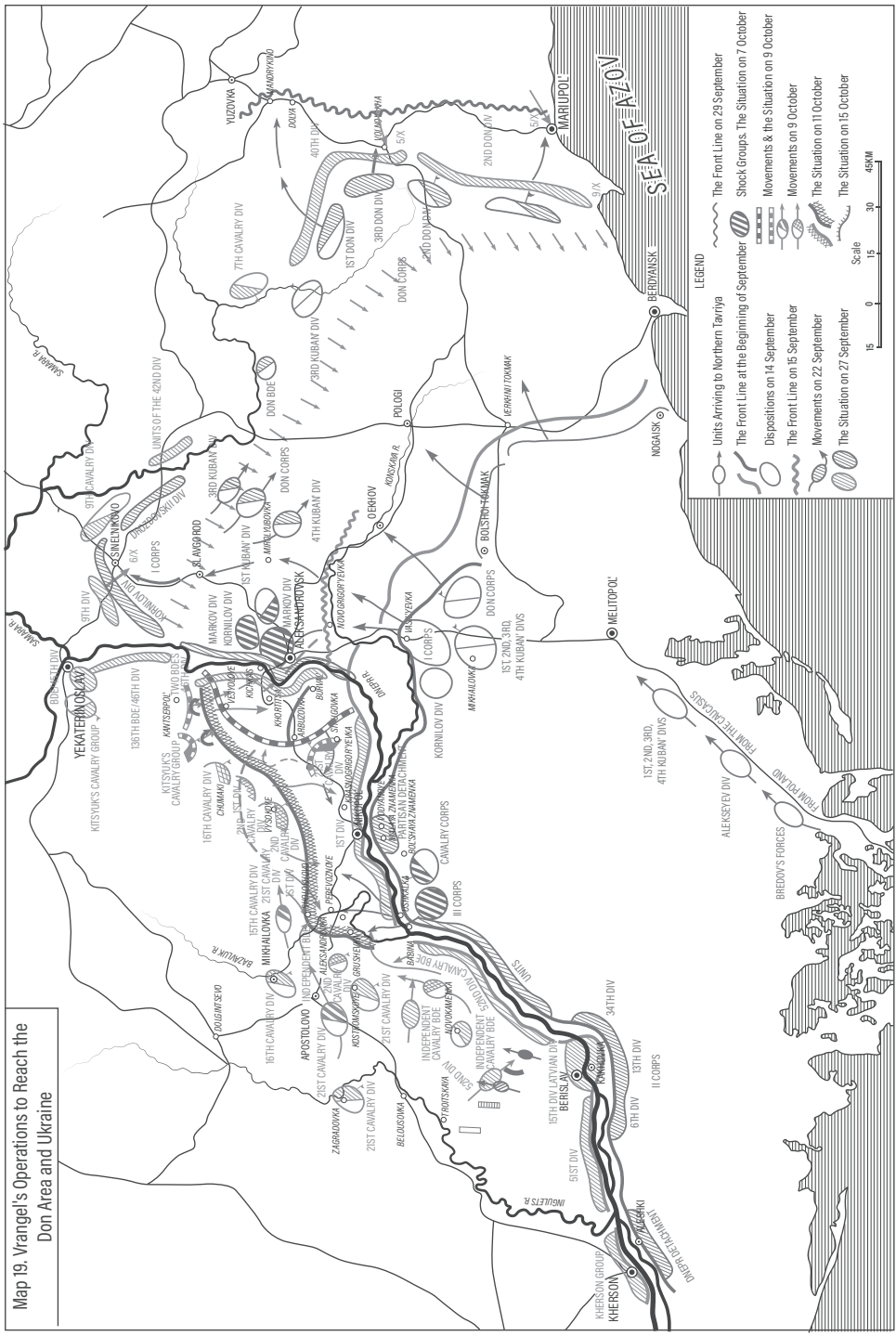
Combat Operations, 27 August-1 September

☉ The Situation on 26 August      ☉ The Situation on 28 August  
 ☉ The Bridgehead Remaining in the Reds' Hands After the First Offensive      ☉ Movement & the Situation on 29 August  
 ☉ The Situation by the Evening of 27 August      ☉ The Situation on 30 August

Scale  
 15 0 15 30 45 KM











Map 19. Wrangel's Operations to Reach the Don Area and Ukraine

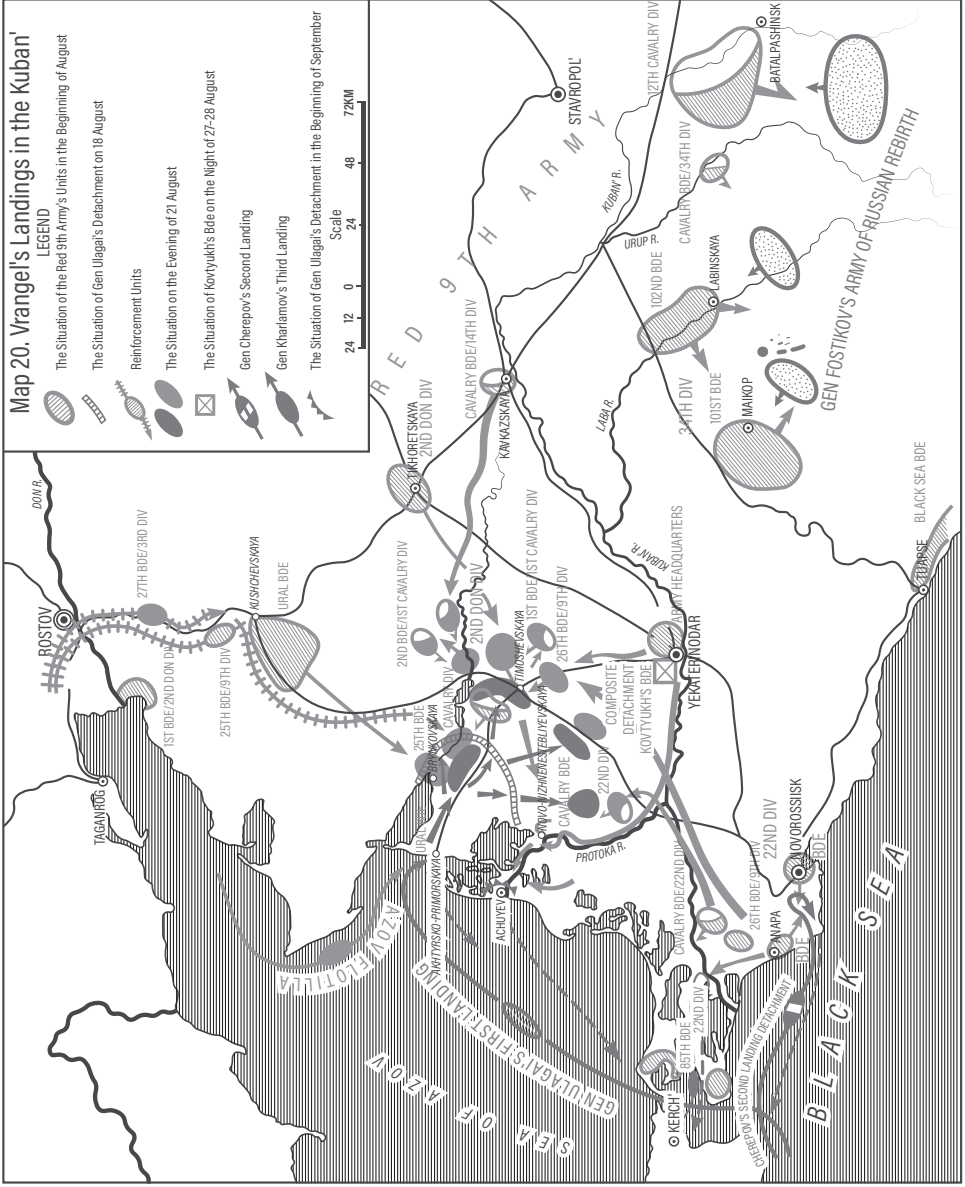


# Map 20. Wrangel's Landings in the Kuban'

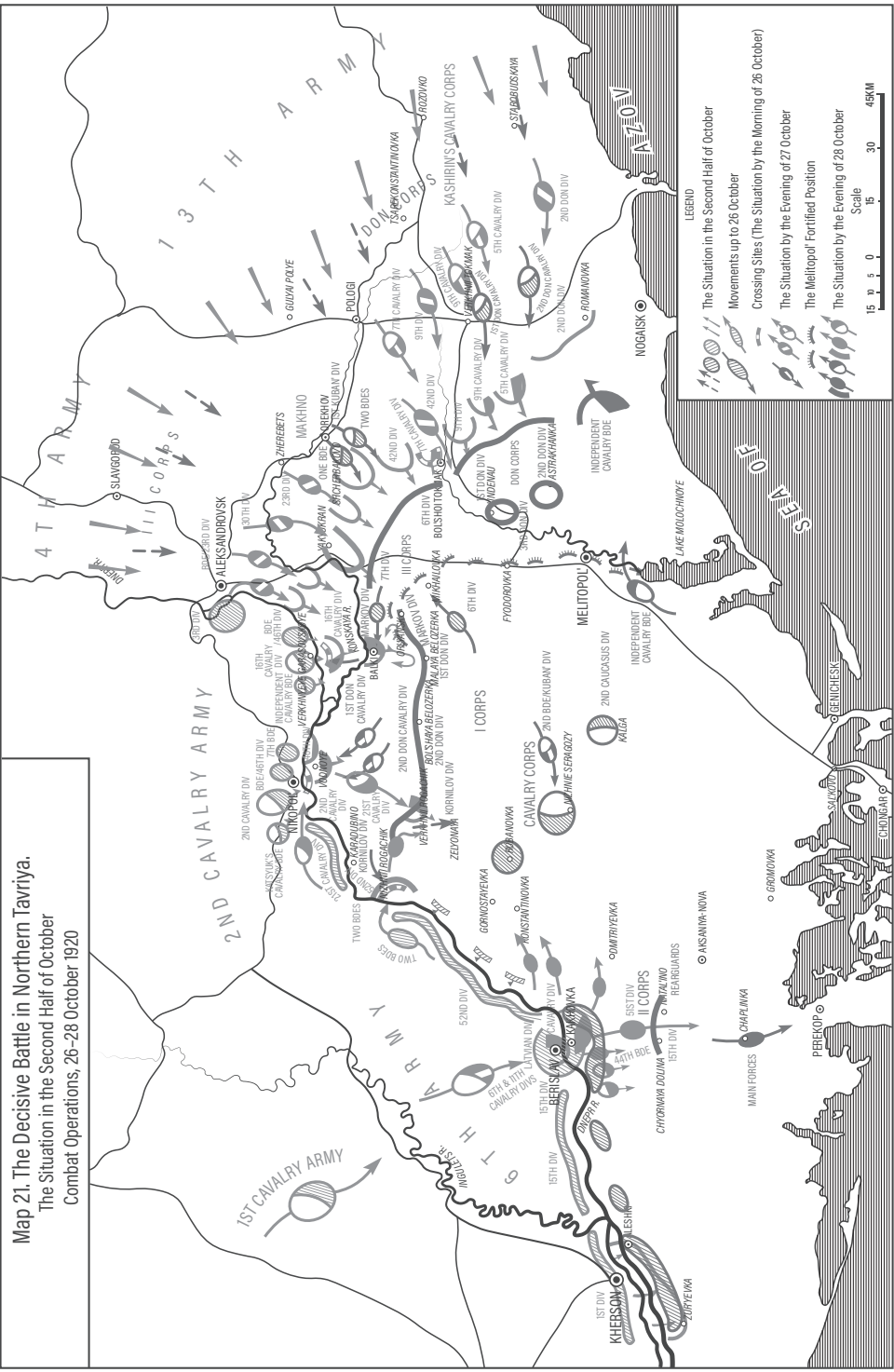
## LEGEND

-  The Situation of the Red 9th Army's Units in the Beginning of August
-  The Situation of Gen Ulagai's Detachment on 18 August
-  Reinforcement Units
-  The Situation on the Evening of 21 August
-  The Situation of Koryukht's Ride on the Night of 27-28 August
-  Gen Cherepanov's Second Landing
-  Gen Kharlamov's Third Landing
-  The Situation of Gen Ulagai's Detachment in the Beginning of September

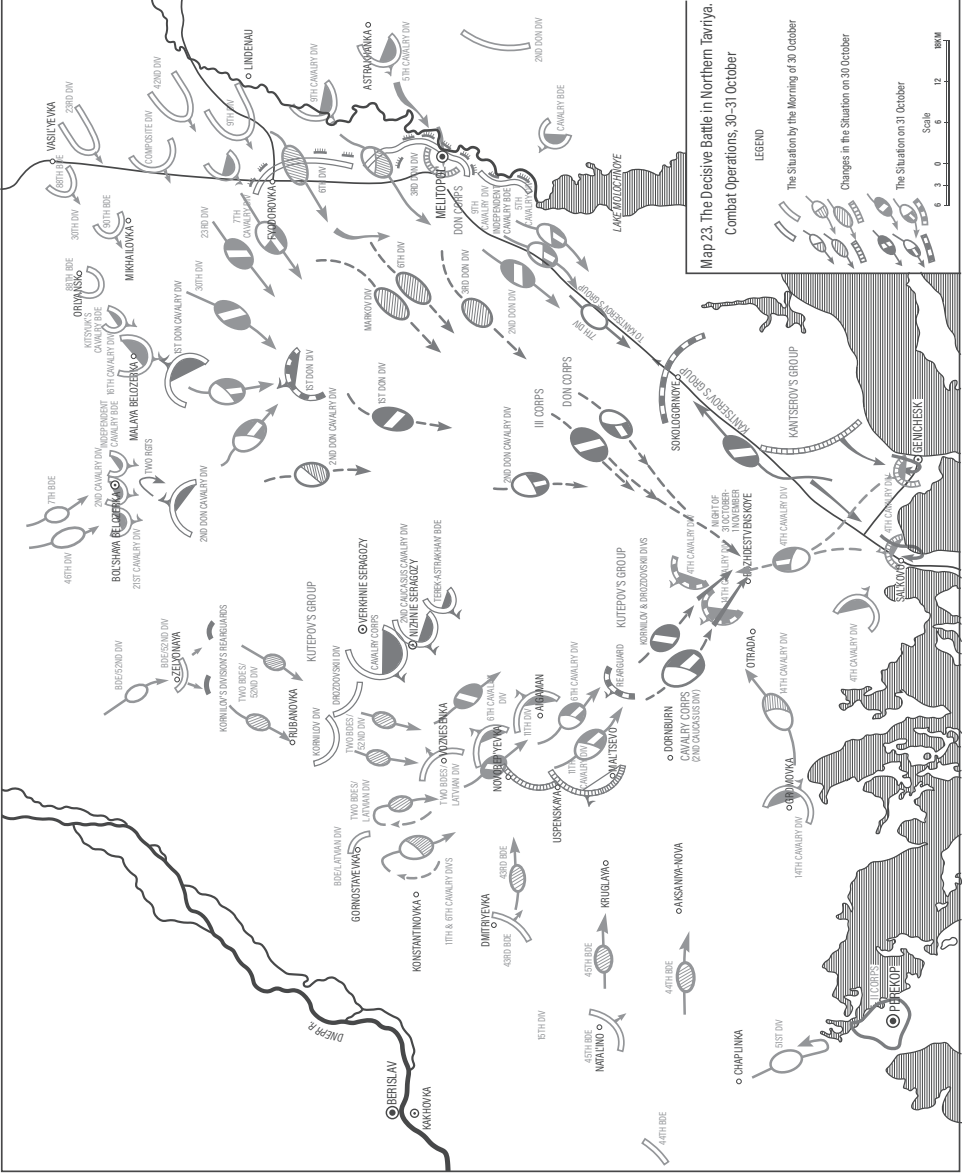
Scale  
24 12 0 24 48 72KM



**Map 21. The Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya.**  
 The Situation in the Second Half of October  
 Combat Operations, 26–28 October 1920







Map 23. The Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya. Combat Operations, 30-31 October

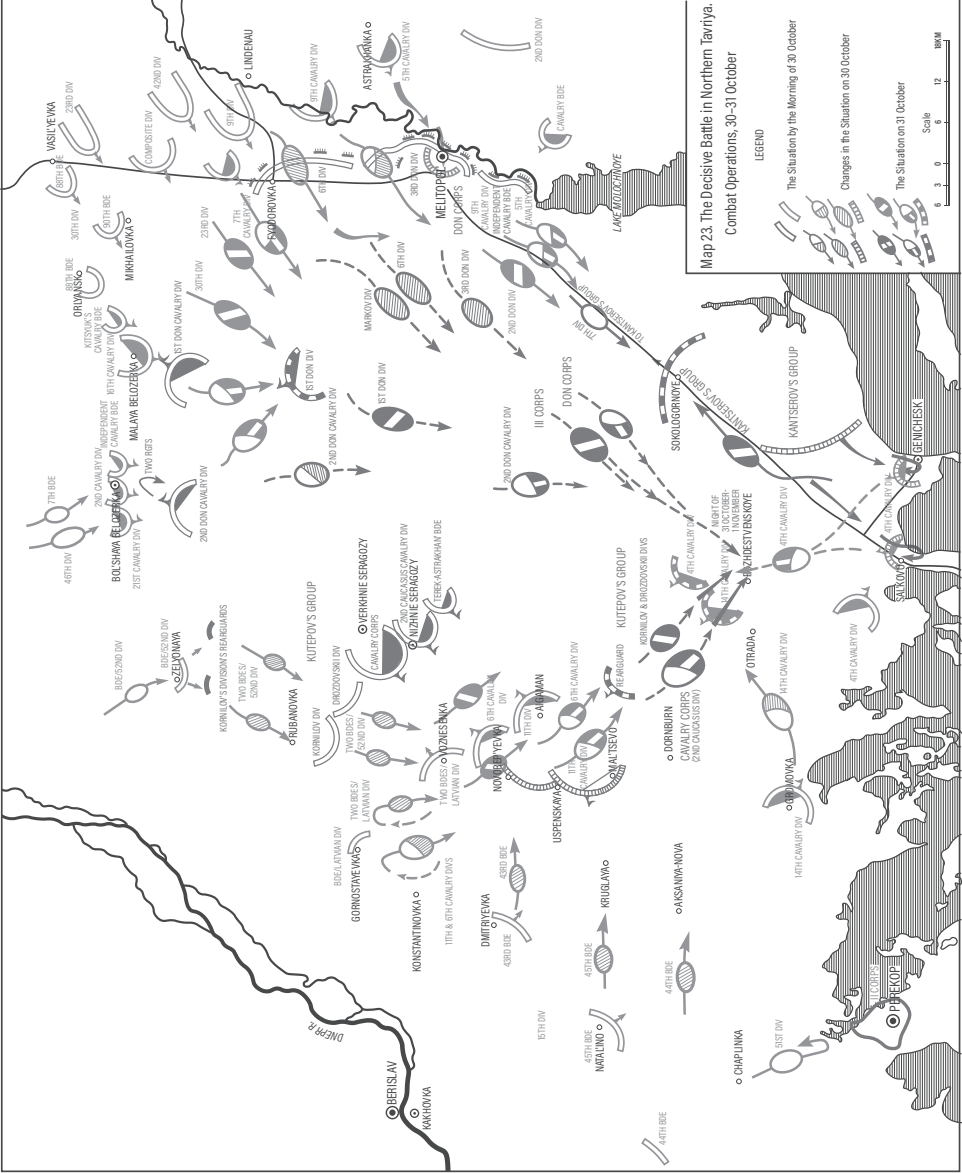
**LEGEND**

The Situation by the Morning of 30 October

Changes in the Situation on 30 October

The Situation on 31 October

Scale 0 3 6 9 12 KM









## CHAPTER I

# The External and Internal Political Situation. The Theaters of War

*Intervention. Stages of its Development. The Revolution's Chief Driving Forces. The Formation of Centers of the Counterrevolutionary Movement. A Short Description of the Theaters of War. The Most Important Operational Directions*

One of the consequences of the October revolution in the field of foreign policy was a series of transpositions in the mutual relations between Russia and other states.

The most vital element in this transposition was that Soviet Russia got out of the war with the Central Powers (Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria). Germany, having officially recognized Soviet rule and having concluded peace with it, while at the same time taking advantage of Soviet Russia's extreme military weakness, occupied Ukraine and Finland with its troops. The occupation of Ukraine broadened extremely the Central Powers' economic base, particularly Germany's and secured for them favorable strategic flanking positions in the event of a resurrection of a new anti-German eastern front under the influence of the Entente's efforts. Germany, while recognizing the Soviet government, was at the same time rendering support to the counterrevolutionary organizations and groups, for example along the Don and in Georgia, etc., which made our situation more difficult to a great degree. Austria-Hungary, which displayed no independence in matters of foreign policy, humbly followed behind Germany. Sultanate Turkey, satisfied with the cession of Ardagan, Kars and Batum to it, had no immediate claims against the RSFSR.<sup>1</sup> Aside from this, Germany aided the isolation of Turkey by rendering support to the Menshevik<sup>2</sup> government of Georgia<sup>3</sup> for the purpose of obtaining access to the raw materials of the Trans-Caucasus.

Here it is necessary to stop on that typical shift in relation to the RSFSR which was noted in the policy of imperial Germany on the eve of its military and political collapse. Under the influence of the catastrophic situation on the military front and the rising wave of revolution within the country, the German government was faced with two immediate objectives: to conclude an armistice in the west and the struggle against the approaching revolution. The switch to an actively hostile

approach to the RSFSR, in the opinion of the German ruling class, was supposed to be one of the means of combating its own revolution and one of the mitigating factors in the upcoming peace negotiations with the Entente. One may explain the break in diplomatic relations with us, which took place on the Germans' initiative on 5 November 1918, by these circumstances. The revolutionary explosion of 9 November 1918 hindered German imperialism from joining hand in hand with world imperialism in its struggle against Soviet Russia.

Brought down by the conditions of the armistice and the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which were dictated to it by the Entente's imperialism which had triumphed in the imperialist war, and reduced to the rank of an insignificant political and military power, Germany stopped playing a leading role in the external encirclement of our republic from the autumn of 1918. The support by her of counterrevolutionary organizations, in the form of von der Goltz's<sup>4</sup> volunteer corps, pursued a limited goal: with the assistance of this corps, Germany strove to preserve its influence in the Baltic States and secure its borders from the wave of Bolshevism approaching it. However, as early as the summer of 1919 Germany, under pressure from the Entente powers, was forced to recall von der Goltz's corps back home and disband it. The entire subsequent policy of Germany as regards the RSFSR, until the resumption of direct diplomatic relations, was also characterized by a dual line of conduct. Too weak both politically and militarily to conduct an independent and active policy toward the RSFSR, Germany, under pressure from its own reactionary circles, was sometimes not unwilling to work hand in hand with the Entente in the latter's struggle against us, but for this she demanded the review and easing of the Treaty of Versailles. Only the sharp rejection of these demands by the Entente forced Germany to once again change the direction of its policy. In the fall of 1919, when the Entente decreed a blockade of Soviet Russia, Germany refused to take part in it, agreeing, however, to participate in other forms and methods of "fighting against Bolshevism."

In 1920 Germany conducted a policy of absolute neutrality in the Polish-Soviet war, despite the efforts of certain of its military and reactionary circles to actively come out against the Soviet Union (this effort was a response to the proposal by the British war minister Churchill<sup>5</sup> to draw Germany into a campaign on Moscow and to compensate it in the form of a certain softening of the Treaty of Versailles). A description of the further path that brought Germany and the RSFSR to the restoration of normal relations, which was fixed by the Treaty of Rapallo<sup>6</sup> of 16 April 1922, lies outside the scope of our work.

An incomparably more complex and broad role in the civil war belongs to the Entente powers and those new states that arose from the ruins of the former Russian Empire and known as border states (Finland, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).

The Entente governments understood the international significance of the October coup and its socialist character very well. However, their hands were tied by the struggle against German imperialism and thus the Entente was not able to

immediately intervene against the first workers' state. After the Entente managed to achieve a decisive victory over the Central Powers, Great Britain and France, its main representatives in Europe, openly proclaimed as their slogan the struggle against Soviet power until its destruction. Until the defeat of Germany, that is, until the second half of 1918, the position of the Entente countries in the so-called "Russian question" remained undefined, undecided and contradictory.

On 12/25 November<sup>7</sup> 1917 a representative of the British government, Robert Cecil,<sup>8</sup> officially announced in parliament the non-recognition of the Soviet regime by his government, without excluding, however, a certain type of business relations with it.

France's diplomatic and military representatives, while not recognizing the Soviet government, came out more sharply and definitively and sought to directly influence the military command of the old army in the person of General Dukhonin.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the press of both countries, in getting ahead of their respective governments, continued to forcefully discuss the matter of intervention, even naming Japan as the agent of this intervention. As regards the USA, in the beginning of the Soviet regime's existence it sought to remain neutral in the Russian question until the situation could be further cleared up. The position of the other powers did not have time to reveal itself sufficiently.

A sharper wavering in the policy of the Entente powers as regards the Soviet republic coincided with the beginning of the Brest<sup>10</sup> peace negotiations. Great Britain, while waiting for the final result of these negotiations, sought to remain neutral as regards the Soviet government. On the other hand, the isolated move by Japan, which carried out a small landing in Vladivostok on 12 December (29 November) 1917, was warmly welcomed by the French press. At the same time, the Japanese government categorically protested against the plans for intervention in Russia ascribed to it. The line of the American government in the Russian question was defined in the hypocritical and false speech by the American president Wilson<sup>11</sup> at a session of Congress on 8 January 1918, where he spoke of America's wish to render possible assistance to the Russian people and of its "desire" to achieve freedom and an orderly peace.

In January 1918 France set out on the path of decisive assistance to the enemies of the Soviet regime. On 9 January 1918 it granted a loan to the Ukrainian *Rada's*<sup>12</sup> anti-Soviet regime and appointed the chief of its military mission in Ukraine its official representative with the Ukrainian *Rada*. At the same time, the French government refused to dispatch its representative to Petrograd and refused to issue passports to French socialists wishing to travel to Soviet Russia.

Against the background of this overall political situation, one of the members of the Entente, Romania, hurried to take advantage of the Soviet regime's difficulties and set out at the end of January 1918 to seize Bessarabia<sup>13</sup> under the guise of securing its supplies and lines of communications. The Soviet government replied with the

temporary arrest of ambassador Diamandi<sup>14</sup> and adopted measures to defend the territory of the republic.

On 18 February Germany, having broken off the negotiations in Brest, resumed its offensive against Soviet Russia, having as its goal to first of all occupy Ukrainian territory and then the Baltic area.

The fact of the expansion of Germany's economic bases at the expense of Ukrainian territory and the Soviet regime's ongoing negotiations with the German government to conclude a peace revived the Entente's interventionist desires; the idea of the necessity of creating an anti-German front on Russian territory, independent of the Soviet government's participation in it, was put forth as an argument.

Marshal Foch,<sup>15</sup> the Allied supreme commander-in-chief, expressed himself more definitely on this matter. In an interview, which appeared in the American press on 26 February, he openly stated that "America and Japan must meet Germany in Siberia, and they have the opportunity for doing that."

From this time the question of the possibility of creating an anti-German front in Russia, with or without the participation of the Soviet government, was the main question upon which the efforts of Allied diplomacy were concentrated up until their open break with the Soviet regime. Actually, as early as 28 February the American press was reporting, as yet semi-officially, Japan's proposal to America and the Allies to begin joint military operations in Siberia for the purpose of saving the large amount of military supplies concentrated in Vladivostok. This proposal was taken up by almost the entire Allied press, which conducted an intensive campaign in support of Japanese intervention. French political circles, along with the French press, viewed an occupation of Siberia by the Japanese as "a just punishment of the Bolsheviks for annulling Russia's debts and concluding a separate peace." At the same time, Chinda,<sup>16</sup> the Japanese ambassador in Great Britain, declared that in this case Japan was proceeding from an overall Allied point of view, and not just a strictly Japanese one. However, before long it became clear that Japan foresaw complete freedom of action in Siberia as payment for its move. This freedom of action was at first thought of as the seizure of the entire Trans-Siberian Railroad under the guise of "defending" it against German pretensions. But the Japanese move did not take place. It encountered the energetic opposition of the USA, in the person of President Wilson.

On 3 March 1918, the Japanese emissary in Washington, in the presence of the British, French and Italian representatives, received Wilson's note in which he declared that he very much doubted the utility of intervention. The reasons that guided Wilson in this came down to the fact that the policy of intervention would only strengthen the extreme revolutionary elements in Russia and would cause indignation throughout the country. Besides this, the very embarkation on the path of intervention contradicted America's supposedly democratic military goals.

It is necessary to keep in mind that this declaration only masked the true reason for America's not wishing to take part in an intervention together with Japan. The

reason lay in the radical divergence of interests between Japan and the USA. America followed the efforts of Japan to strengthen its influence on the Asian continent with disapproval.

Wilson stubbornly held to this point of view during the course of the next six months and, when finally forced to agree to intervene under pressure from the Entente's diplomacy and bourgeois public opinion in his own country, he authorized the participation of American troops mainly to secretly counterbalance Japan, France and Great Britain. British reactionary circles, in their turn, readily seized upon the idea of Japanese intervention, the result of which they believed would be the complete destruction of Soviet rule.

On 4 March 1918 *The Times* wrote of the necessity of "supporting the healthy elements of the Siberian population and offering them the opportunity of adhering to the banner of order and freedom under the aegis of Russia's allies and the United States." On 5 March 1918 *The Daily Mail* insisted on the necessity of inviting Japan into Siberia and creating out of Asiatic Russia a counterweight to European Russia.

The result of Japan's preparation for an active move in Siberia was the appearance along our Far Eastern boundary of *ataman*<sup>17</sup> Semyonov's<sup>18</sup> bands. Considering our Far Eastern borderlands the first launching site for intervention, the Allies hurried to form in Beijing the first fictitious Russian counterrevolutionary government under Prince L'vov<sup>19</sup> and Putilov.<sup>20</sup> Besides this, Japan sought to draw China into its move. Thus one may consider that beginning with the Brest-Litovsk peace, the thought of intervention predominated among the diplomats and political figures of the Entente powers.

In order to explain the further course of events, one must now briefly halt on the work of the Entente's diplomacy.

A characteristic feature of the mutual relations that had come about following the October revolution was that the head of the diplomatic corps, in the person of the British ambassador Buchanan,<sup>21</sup> the French ambassador Noulens,<sup>22</sup> and the American ambassador Francis<sup>23</sup> had taken up a sharply irreconcilable position toward the Soviet regime, shying away from any kind of dealings with it, while ongoing relations were carried out by secondary executors. Some of these proved to be less prejudiced and, taking advantage of their influence on their ambassadors, sometimes managed to influence important decisions by their governments in the Russian question. Before long, following the departure from Russia of the British ambassador Buchanan, Lockhart<sup>24</sup> remained as his deputy, who was at first was a fiery enemy of intervention and a partisan of an accommodation with the Soviet regime. This policy of Lockhart's found support in the person of the representative of the French military mission in Russia, Captain Sadoul,<sup>25</sup> who was also striving for a rapprochement with the Soviet regime; during February and March he managed to significantly neutralize the influence of his ambassador, Noulens.

Francis, the American ambassador and a rabid opponent of the Soviet regime, neutralized himself by the fact that through his own initiative the Allied ambassadors left for Vologda. Raymond Robbins<sup>26</sup> remained as his deputy to the Soviet government and was also head of the Red Cross mission. These three men, that is, Sadoul, Lockhart and Robbins sought to get their governments to recognize the Soviet regime in order, as they thought, to restrain the regime from signing the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Under the influence of Robbins, Francis compiled a corresponding draft report to his government. But at the same time the foreign missions were intensely involved in matters of preparing the internal counterrevolutionary forces of Russia to overthrow the Soviet government. They secretly grew close to counterrevolutionary groups within the country and began to render them their assistance. Even earlier, namely in December 1917, the military representatives of France and Great Britain managed to reach the Don and promised generals Kaledin,<sup>27</sup> Kornilov<sup>28</sup> and Alekseyev<sup>29</sup> significant monetary assistance in the name of their governments.

On 25 March 1918 Japan got China's agreement for an intervention in Siberia in the event "if hostile influence should penetrate into Siberia." This agreement freed Japan's hands for operations in Manchuria and Siberia. Following this, on 5 April 1918 Japanese Admiral Kato<sup>30</sup> made a landing in Vladivostok that was completely unexpected for the Entente powers. Nevertheless, they did not protest this landing, declaring it a simple police precaution. It was precisely in this spirit that in Vologda on 16 April Francis explained the significance of this landing, ascribing it to the Japanese admiral's initiative. The British government adhered officially to the same point of view.

The Allies adhered to the policy of trimming throughout the first half of May, awaiting the results of the organization of counterrevolutionary plots and uprisings that were being organized with their assistance. But as early as the second half of May a sharp turn in the Entente's policy was noted in matters of mutual relations with the Soviet government.

This turn signified that Entente diplomacy had completed its preliminary work in preparing an explosion from within and considered that the mask could now be removed. The French ambassador Noulens played the chief role in this.

In its negotiations with the Socialist Revolutionaries,<sup>31</sup> the French mission had already managed to work out an entire plan for creating a Volga counterrevolutionary front; one of the links in this plan was the seizure of Yaroslavl'. Relying on this, the Allied forces, which were supposed to seize Vologda, could threaten Moscow. Secret officer organizations were invited to simultaneously rise up in Rybinsk, Yaroslavl', Vladimir, and Murom. The mutiny of the Czechoslovak Corps<sup>32</sup> was to begin at the same time.

Gradually, under the influence of instructions of his government, Lockhart began to take Noulens's side. Thus at the end of May 1918 the point of view of the necessity of intervening against the Soviet regime had triumphed among the Entente's

missions in the RSFSR. Bountifully supplied with money, the Czechoslovak Corps openly revolted under the shameful pretext of changing its route of movement from Vladivostok to Archangel, which suited the expressed wishes of the Allies themselves. On 4 June 1918 the Allied governments were already categorically reviewing the possible disarmament of the Czechoslovak Corps as a hostile act against the Allies. On 20 June one of the members of the British government, Balfour,<sup>33</sup> declared in the House of Commons that “The British government cannot give any guarantees that it will not participate in an armed intervention.” Voices were also raised in America for intervention. Former president Taft<sup>34</sup> openly declared that American should allow Japan to enter Siberia. In order to observe outward decorum, they allowed the “Russian Far Eastern Committee,” which appealed for the Allies’ immediate intervention, to be formed in Harbin.

The published notes of several Entente diplomats reveal to us that throughout June and July 1918 the French government was busy winning over the other Entente powers in favor of a broad intervention. French diplomacy was forced to work particularly hard in Washington, where Wilson continued to categorically come out against intervention and against any kind of territorial reward for Japan at the expense of Russia. Great Britain was wavering as to the possibility of reestablishing the eastern front. Thus we see that on the very eve of the intervention, sufficient unanimity of views and coordination in the Entente’s policy could not be observed, which awarded the Soviet government about another month of breathing space.

Despairing of breaking Wilson’s stubbornness, British and French diplomacy decided to come to a direct agreement with Japan, which led to a change in the position by the United States. Wilson decided to come out actively on the side of the interventionists in order to prevent Japan from carrying out an independent policy in Siberia.

On 6 July 1918 the Czechoslovak detachments, following street fighting with Soviet detachments, seized Vladivostok. Allied detachments, which had been landed from ships, took part in this fight on the Czechoslovaks’ side, so that this day may be considered the beginning of open and active intervention (in essence, of course, the intervention had begun earlier). The intervention was legally formulated only following the departure of the Entente missions from Vologda and their safe arrival on the Murman<sup>35</sup> coast. The American government’s declaration of 5 August 1918 thus explains the goals of the intervention: the United States does not have in mind any kind of territorial acquisitions; it only desires to help the Czechoslovaks, who are threatened with attack by armed Austro-German prisoners of war. The declarations by the British and French governments of 22 August and 19 September 1918 stated, with frank hypocrisy, the main goal of the intervention to be the desire “to help save Russia from the division and ruin threatening her by German hands, which are striving to enslave the Russian people and to use its innumerable riches for itself,” because it was quite clear that the chief goal of the Allied intervention was the



overthrow of the workers' and peasants' government in order to seize our country's "innumerable riches" and the untrammelled exploitation of the worker and peasant masses. It is clear from these high-flown phrases that the imperialists were striving to mask the actual goal of the intervention: the defeat of the proletarian revolution, the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship, and the transformation of the Soviet republic into a semi-colony under imperialist control.

The rising wave of the revolutionary movement throughout all of central and eastern Europe made itself known to the capitalist-bourgeois world through quite sinister signs. The working class was rapidly revolutionizing in the defeated countries: the Spartacist<sup>36</sup> movement in Germany was reaching such scope and strength that before long the powerful explosions of revolution were resounding on the streets of Berlin, with its echoes bringing to life the Bavarian<sup>37</sup> and Hungarian<sup>38</sup> soviet republics. A strike movement seized the victorious countries. A wave of strikes rolled across Great Britain, France and Italy. Here are data which could potentially increase the Soviet state's relative weight and significance and correspondingly quicken the start and the scale of the intervention as a means of eliminating the revolutionary "infection." From now on the struggle against the "poison of Bolshevism" became a matter of life and death for the capitalist world. The Entente no longer considered it necessary to cover itself with the mask of hypocrisy and thus its policy moved toward its goal along more open paths, which enables us to better lay bare its rapacious and counterrevolutionary essence. Having put forward as one of the conditions for an armistice with Germany the demand to withdraw its troops from the territory of the former Russian Empire, the Entente nevertheless stipulated that this liberation of territory should take place only when the Allies recognize that, according to the internal condition of this territory, the appropriate time had come for the withdrawal of German troops. In and of itself, this stipulation was a desire to carry out an intervention through the force of German bayonets. Circumstances completely independent of the Entente's will, in the form of the dissolution of the German occupation forces, thwarted this plan.

The first discrepancies between British and French policy in regard to the "Russian question" were noted in the views on the future role of Germany in its relations with Soviet Russia. Lloyd George,<sup>39</sup> the head of the British government, was recommending moderation toward Germany, so as not to speed up its bolshevization.

As regards Soviet Russia, British policy pursued the task of its overall weakening and isolation with the aid and support of counterrevolutionary forces and the unleashing of a civil war. The cynical expression of these hidden aims of British foreign policy was the British ambassador in Paris, Lord Bertie.<sup>40</sup> This is what this British diplomat wrote in his diary: "If we can only manage to achieve the independence of the buffer states bordering Germany on the east, that is, Finland, Poland, Estonia, Ukraine, etc., no matter how many we can knock together, then as far as I'm concerned everything else can go to the devil and stew in its own juices." This guiding line of



British policy precisely coincided with the views of French foreign policy as regards the RSFSR. This is why both powers, which began to experience friction between themselves immediately after the capitulation of Germany over the predominant political superiority on the European continent, nevertheless continued (at least outwardly) to move in a united front in the Russian question. The French foreign policy line at this time was distinguished by its extreme reactionary and irreconcilable character.

This French policy, the exemplar of which was Clemenceau,<sup>41</sup> triumphed at the Paris conference,<sup>42</sup> which had gathered on 19 January 1919. Its results were not slow in manifesting themselves in the fantastical slicing of territories and borders of those intermediary states which were supposed to play the role of a buffer between Russia and Germany, of which the most promising one was Poland. The latter was viewed by Clemenceau as a “future bastion of French military might in the east,” and was supposed to be the most reliable barrier between German and Russian Bolshevism. Clemenceau’s policy had other real consequences in the strictly military sense.

With energetic French support, all the new state formations along the western boundaries of the Soviet Republic set about creating their own armed forces, which in the immediate future was supposed to complicate and increase the tasks facing the Soviet command.

It seemed that the military situation that arose as a result of the military defeat of Germany and its allies would open the most sparkling prospects for French policy as regards the deepening and broadening of the intervention. The opening of the Dardanelles<sup>43</sup> would render it possible to carry out an intervention into the new vital centers of the Soviet Republic (southern Russia and Ukraine).

In preparing to extend the intervention to these areas, in the middle of November 1918 Britain and France issued a new declaration in which they openly proclaimed their entry into Russia for “the maintenance of order” and for its “liberation” from the “Bolshevik usurpers.” Proceeding from this declaration, they concluded in Iasi an agreement with the ruins of the Russian and Ukrainian counterrevolutionary parties regarding an intervention in the south of the Soviet Union. This agreement was necessary to the Allies only as a juridical peg, because the occupation of southern Russia had already been decided beforehand. As early as 27 October 1918 Clemenceau, the head of the French government, informed the French commander of the eastern front, General Franchet d’Esperey,<sup>44</sup> about the adopted “plan for the economic isolation of Bolshevism in Russia for the purpose of bringing about its downfall.” In this letter it was proposed that General Franchet d’Esperey draw up a plan for creating a base for the Allied forces in Odessa.

It was initially planned to move 12 Franco-Greek divisions to carry out the intervention in the south of our republic. A number of objective reasons, the chief being the instability of the internal situation in Europe itself and the mutinies in many units of the French army and navy thwarted this broad scheme, so the

intervention in the south took place in quite modest form. At the moment of its actual implementation, France and Great Britain rushed to conclude between themselves an agreement on the delineation of spheres of influence, guided by the economic interest of their capital in them. According to this agreement of 23 December 1918, Ukraine, Poland, the Crimea and the western part of the Don area was to be part of the French sphere of influence. Britain reserved the right of predominant influence in the north, in the Baltic States, in the Caucasus, the Kuban', and the eastern part of the Don area. The desire to firmly establish itself in the Trans-Caucasus and in Central Asia bespoke of the British fear for the fate of its Asian colonies in which the October Revolution, which had proclaimed the freedom of nations to determine their own destiny, threatened to ignite the flame of national-revolutionary uprisings. At the same time, in both countries voices began to be heard which found echoes at the Versailles Peace Conference, that with the appearance of a "Greater Poland" in Eastern Europe the Russian question had lost its significance for the European balance of power and that Russia more likely belonged to Asia than to Europe.

In order to understand the significance of subsequent events, we must once again, in a few words, pause on that political line which America took in general European affairs, insofar as its attitude toward the RSFSR proceeded precisely from the overall state of affairs in Europe. America did not seek the excessive strengthening of France and Great Britain. America had no wish to take part in a final splintering of Germany and Russia. As regards the latter, Wilson wished to see it as a major state-political formation, although without Poland and Finland. Wilson took advantage of the existence of unofficial negotiations between American and Soviet representatives for putting forth his proposal to invite Soviet representatives to the negotiations in Paris. He openly pointed out that it would be impossible to carry out an intervention either with the aid of British or American bayonets. Wilson's opinion found support in Lloyd George's declaration in Parliament that it was impossible to send troops against Russia, while at the same time it was necessary to restore order there. The stout resistance by the Red armies was, of course, the main argument for supporting Wilson's and Lloyd George's proposals. The Soviet government's peace proposal to America, which was contained in a note from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on 2 January 1919, pointed out that the Soviet government was not rejecting the discussion of reasonable proposals. Only Clemenceau continued to maintain his previous position, which is why it was decided not to invite Soviet representatives not to Paris, but to the Princes' Islands (near Constantinople). The representatives of all the White Guard governments that had been formed on Russian territory were also invited to this conference. On 25 January 1919 the Soviet government expressed its agreement to participate in a conference. However, Clemenceau used all measures to force the representatives of the White Guards governments to refuse to take part in the conference. Wilson could no longer continue his attempts to establish some kind of agreement with the RSFSR, insofar as powerful opposition

had arisen against him in America on this question. Subsequent attempts by Wilson in the spring of 1919 to set up new negotiations between the RSFSR and the Entente powers encountered, under the influence of the temporary success of certain White armies, an organized repulse by the Entente.

The intervention in south Russia, which was primarily carried out by French forces, ended in a complete collapse, due first of all to the internal demoralization of the French troops. This collapse, which took place in April 1919, pushed French policy onto a new path. In leaving the camp of active, direct participants in the intervention, France decided to continue "to render real aid against the Bolsheviks to the nations bordering on Germany." By the way, while backing out of active participation in the intervention, France continued to take part in monetary expenditures to support the Russian counterrevolution (Kolchak, Denikin). Throughout the first half of 1919 it spent on this cause up to 300 million francs in Siberia alone. Only on 9 August 1919 did France, "as the result of growing difficulties," cease its monetary support for the Siberian government of Kolchak. As France withdrew from the number of active interventionists on the territory of the RSFSR, it also removed its troops. In April 1919 it cleared its troops out of some of our Black Sea ports. Before long France withdrew her forces from the White Sea coast. Finally, in September 1919 the French fleet abandoned the Black Sea, but at the same time all of France's efforts were directed at supporting the new border states hostile to the Soviet Union, of which the chief was, as we have already mentioned, Poland.

However, as early as the end of our civil war, when the success of Soviet arms in the campaign of 1920 began to threaten Poland, the French government on 13 August 1920 rushed to recognize the government that had arisen in the Crimea on the ruins of the southern counterrevolution and resting on the bayonets of Vrangel's army, as the government of South Russia. This recognition was purchased at the price of the complete economic enslavement of the south of the country to French interests, which in the event of Vrangel's success would have made a French colony out of our rich south.

At the same time, while France was gradually removing itself from the ranks of the active interventionists from the spring of 1919, the line of British policy in this matter remained unchanged throughout almost all of 1919. British troops continued to occupy the White Sea coast. The British fleet was operating in the Gulf of Finland against the Red fleet and our coastal ports. Great Britain was materially aiding the small Baltic states with instructors, as well as Kolchak and Denikin and had built up Yudenich's Northwestern Army in the Baltic States. However, the unsuccessful course of the intervention and civil war for the internal counterrevolution finally forced British policy to change its attitude toward our civil war.

In August 1919 the British press of all stripes began to sound the alarm about the situation of the British troops along the White Sea coast and demand their withdrawal from there. The government evidently followed this press campaign,

because the evacuation of British troops from the White Sea coast began as early as September 1919. Following the White armies' failures in the autumn of 1919, Lloyd George was already openly proclaiming in Parliament that Bolshevism could not be defeated by the sword and that it was necessary to search for ways to reach an agreement with the RSFSR. On 18 November 1919 he declared there that it was impossible to endlessly finance the White Russian governments and that it was necessary to summon an international conference for resolving the Russian question.

This new direction in British policy found its final expression in the entry of the British government into business negotiations with comrade Krasin's<sup>45</sup> mission. Throughout 1920 Britain held to the line of non-interference in our civil war, although it supported Vrangel's army diplomatically and financially and also tried to diplomatically ease the situation of Poland. For example, on 9 April 1920 the supreme British commissioner in Constantinople, Admiral de Robeck<sup>46</sup> appealed to the Kuban' and Don Cossacks to continue the struggle against the Soviet regime. The British government transferred a credit of 14.5 million pounds which had not been spent on Denikin, to Vrangel', and it was only in June 1920, under the influence of negotiations about the conclusion of a trade agreement with Soviet Russia and the decisive struggle of the British working masses against intervention that Britain finally called home its representatives from Vrangel's army. Britain's "protection" of Poland, as we have already mentioned, was exclusively diplomatic in character. The most typical act in this regard was Curzon's<sup>47</sup> note of 13 July 1920, in which he demanded categorically that the Red Army cease its further offensive, threatening, in the case of a refusal, to maintain complete freedom of action.

Now we must turn to the group of powers bordering on our country. We have already spoken of Romania and the reasons for its hostile neutrality toward Soviet Russia. This country, which was busy securing its new territories which it received according to the Versailles Treaty, was not particularly desirous of actively interfering in our civil war for fear of losing that which it had already seized. Thus the Entente powers, chiefly France, placed all their hopes on the mightiest border state—Poland. In its struggle against Soviet Russia the latter pursued its own interests besides those of France. It sought to restore its eastern boundary within the borders of 1772,<sup>48</sup> which would have yielded it Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukrainian right-bank, with a non-Polish nationality which gravitated toward the fraternal Soviet Republic. The border states of Finland, Estonia and Latvia, which were political foes of the Soviet state, were of themselves too weak to independently carry out an actively hostile policy toward it. Thus they did not form blocs either between themselves or with Poland, which conducted itself quite independently during our civil war. Neither Poland nor the other new states enumerated above could form a bloc with the internal Russian counterrevolution, insofar as one side was striving for complete national and state self determination, while the other had as its final goal the reestablishment of a "united and indivisible Russia" within her previous boundaries.

Thus there was insufficient unity and agreement in the foreign political encirclement of the Soviet Union.

However, as we have seen, the absence of sufficient unity and agreement in the imperialist camp as regards the RSFSR in no way interfered with organizing an intervention into the Soviet Republic or in that support which the imperialists rendered the counterrevolutionary formations on the territory of former czarist Russia. All the imperialists were united by a rabid class hatred for the proletarian state, fear of the socialist revolution, and fear of the influence of the October coup in Russia on the international proletariat. They well understood the international significance of the socialist coup. This is why despite the contradictions existing in the details of imperialist policy in regard to the workers' and peasants' government, basically all of the imperialists saw in it the face of the class enemy which was organizing the international proletariat for the world socialist revolution—an enemy which must be destroyed. In this desire to defeat the organizing source of the international socialist revolution, imperialism came together with those classes within Russia which were unable to reconcile themselves to the victory of the proletariat and who bet everything they had in order to organize a civil war against the Soviet state. The internal counterrevolution relied, in its turn, not only its internal forces that could be mobilized for the struggle with the Soviet regime, but also on international imperialism. Without the latter's assistance, the national counterrevolution would not have attained the size and longevity that it had in 1918, 1919 and 1920.

On just what forces did the counterrevolution within the country rely and which classes were the organizers and leaders of the struggle against the Soviet regime?

The answer to that question will be more than obvious from only a brief review of the moving forces of October and those conquests which the October Revolution brought to the toiling masses. The main and chief moving force of the October Revolution was the working class. Only the proletariat, in league with the peasantry, could resolve those tasks which had been put forward with such urgency by the entire course of the historical development of Russia.

Only the proletariat could completely destroy gentry land ownership and transfer the land to the peasantry. The bourgeoisie was not capable of this, because it was closely linked to the gentry's ownership of the land and would have lost a lot from its elimination. Petite bourgeoisie democracy, which followed in the wake of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, was also incapable of the decisive elimination of gentry land ownership, because it was connected through its class roots with industrial and agrarian capitalism and was its yes-man and trembled before the specter of a proletarian revolution. Thus the working class was the single revolutionary class capable of destroying gentry land ownership and securing the transfer of the land into the hands of the peasantry. Only the working class was capable of leading the peasant masses out of the war through the seizure of power, the organization of a worker's state and the conclusion of peace. As a result of their

class situation, neither the great nor the petite bourgeoisie, were able to renounce annexations and indemnities and, it follows, the continuation of the imperialist slaughter. The proclamation then by the Socialist Revolutionary-Menshevik majority in the soviets<sup>49</sup> of a peace “without annexations and indemnities” was made only under pressure from the masses who did not want war. There is not the slightest doubt that if the bourgeoisie had been in a condition to maintain itself in power until the end of the imperialist war, then the Socialist Revolutionaries-Mensheviks would have actively helped the bourgeoisie in its annexationist demands.

Thus the working class was the sole revolutionary class which could deliver the workers from the war.

Finally, only the proletariat, as the most consistently revolutionary class, could completely destroy the remnants of feudalism in the state, social and national, etc. structure of Russian life. Thus the objective prerequisites for the proletarian dictatorship were at hand. These objective prerequisites were multiplied by the political activism of the Russian proletariat, which had acquired in preceding battles a magnificent revolutionary tempering, its concentration in the decisive centers (Leningrad,<sup>50</sup> Moscow, the Urals, the Donbas,<sup>51</sup> Baku, and Ivano-Voznesensk, etc.) and the presence of the Bolshevik party, which led the proletariat and which was linked to the working class by close ties and which possessed all of the qualities of a proletarian revolutionary party—the leader of its class. The strengthening of the Bolsheviks’ influence on the working masses was to no small degree facilitated by the policy of the parties of appeasement, which were acting at the behest of the bourgeoisie and which quickly revealed their true class visage as bourgeois yes-men. During the period from February to October,<sup>52</sup> through the April (Milyukov’s<sup>53</sup> note), July<sup>54</sup> and August days (the Kornilov mutiny<sup>55</sup>), the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries lost their influence on the masses with what was for them catastrophic rapidity. The sympathies of the masses were shifting uninterruptedly to the left, to the Bolsheviks. The enumerated subjective prerequisites created the opportunity for such an employment of the objective prerequisites of the immediate revolutionary situation before October, and through which the October victory was almost completely assured.

The working class moved to seize power in league with the main mass of the peasantry. The peasantry needed to seize the gentry’s land, get out of the war and to secure itself once and for all against landowner-feudal and capitalist-*kulak* exploitation. But the peasantry, as the result of its dispersed and scattered nature, its backwardness and intermediate class situation (on one hand there was the private owner, and on the other the laborer, exploited by capital), cannot play an independent revolutionary role. It can resolve revolutionary tasks only in alliance with the working class and under its leadership. If not, then the peasantry will inevitably fall under the class dominance of capital and will be an object of its exploitation, detailing from its ranks and at the cost of its own impoverishment only a small

number into the group of village bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the peasantry, in alliance with the working class and under its leadership can play a revolutionary role of worldwide-historical significance. It played such a role in October 1917, when the peasant masses joined the proletariat and under the latter's leadership overthrew the Provisional Government.<sup>56</sup> Thus the poor and middle village masses were the second moving force of the October Revolution.

However, the proletariat could not set itself the limited goals of a bourgeois-democratic revolution: the seizure of the land and the elimination of feudal holdovers; it set itself the task of a socialist revolution and the task of constructing a new socialist society and the elimination of bourgeois-capitalist relations, because only a socialist revolution was in full and complete accord with the working class's class interests. Lenin, on the matter of the relationship of a bourgeois-democratic revolution to a socialist one, wrote the following:

In order consolidate for the peoples of Russia the conquests of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we had to advance further, and we advanced further. At the same time, in passing, we resolved the questions of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, as a side effect of our main and true proletarian-revolutionary and socialist work... The first grew into the second. The second resolved the questions of the first, in passing. The second consolidated the cause of the first.

But the socialist revolution is not only the elimination of feudal holdovers, but the elimination of capitalist relations, and it is natural, therefore, that against the workers' and peasants' bloc, which was the support of the proletarian dictatorship even before the October Revolution in its, so to speak, embryonic state, there began to form and, following October, finally formed a bloc of all three classes and groups against which the October Revolution had been carried out. Large feudal landowners and capitalist agrarians, bankers and owners of trade and industrial concerns, arrant Black Hundreds,<sup>57</sup> and left liberals came out in a united front against the proletarian dictatorship. Together with them against the workers' and peasants' bloc arose all the protégés and representatives of the former ruling classes in the army and the state apparatus: generals and officers, bureaucrats and the clergy. All of these groups were the spearhead of the counterrevolution, its organizers and inspirers. Officers and the village bourgeoisie created the first cadres of White forces. Naturally, the counterrevolution appealed first of all to those class groups in the city and countryside whose interests had been to a greater or lesser degree harmed by the October Revolution. The basis of the counterrevolution in the countryside was the *kulak* class, whose rage against the Soviet regime reached its particular apogee following the organization of the committees of the poor<sup>58</sup> and the decisive struggle for bread: the *kulaks*, in and of themselves, could not, of course, reconcile themselves to the slogan of the socialist revolution. The *kulak* class was interested in eliminating the large landowner holdings only insofar as this meant the elimination of a dangerous competitor in the matter of exploiting the poor and middle peasantry



and insofar as the removal of this competitor opened up broad vistas for the *kulak* class. But the socialist revolution, among its slogans, also has the slogan of decisively struggling against the *kulaks* as carriers of capitalist tendencies in economic life, while this struggle intensified as the poor and hired-work masses in the countryside set about expropriating the *kulaks*' holdings. The *kulaks*' struggle against the proletarian revolution unfolded in the most varied forms: in the form of serving in the White Guard armies, in the form of organizing their own detachments, and in the form of a broad rebel movement in the rear of the revolution under various national, class and religious slogans, all the way to anarchistic ones. Regardless of the form and slogans of the *kulak* uprisings, their essence was that the *kulaks* were in a united front with large-scale capital and the landowners against the workers' and peasants' bloc. The counterrevolutionary bloc was particularly strong in those areas of our country in which class and national contradictions manifested themselves with particular sharpness. For example, along the Don, where on the one hand there was a numerous proletariat and the non-Cossack peasantry, which was essentially without rights, and on the other the large landowners, Cossack generals and officers, and Cossack *kulaks*, who enjoyed age-old privileges, the civil war took on particularly acute forms, scale and length, because both sides enjoyed sufficiently powerful class support in the countryside. The civil war unfolded with no less bitterness in Ukraine, where there was a sufficiently large number of *kulak* holdings. Here those methods of taking advantage of the national attitudes of the masses, with the assistance of which the Petlyura's bourgeois-nationalist counterrevolution and Skoropadskii's<sup>59</sup> landowner-bourgeois counterrevolution and German imperialism attempted to fight the proletarian revolution in Ukraine, are very instructive. The circumstance that the counterrevolution began to form its armies namely in the borderlands and that even before the October Revolution counterrevolutionaries began to gather to the Don, Ukraine and the Kuban', etc., may be explained first of all by the class and national features of these border areas and also partially by the fact that there were obviously elements of the "hard power" of the landowner-capitalist restoration (for example, Kaledin along the Don) here. The bourgeoisie and landowners well understood that in the center, where the *kulak* was weak, where the proletariat was numerous and organized, where the masses could take the bait of nationalist slogans, they could do nothing. This is why the counterrevolution first of all raised its head in Finland and Ukraine, and along the Don and in the Caucasus, etc. The greater geographic proximity of the borderlands to the imperialist countries influenced to a certain extent the concentration of the counterrevolution's moving forces precisely in the borderlands.

Such was the disposition of forces and the geography of this disposition. On one hand there was the workers' and peasants' bloc under the leadership of the proletariat and under the slogans of the socialist revolution, and on the other there was the bourgeois-landowners' bloc under the slogans of bourgeois-capitalist restoration.



An estimate of the counterrevolution's strength at the time of the October coup would be incomplete if we did not say a few words about the processes of stratification going on in the ranks of the old army. The latter, while it was disintegrating, produced cadres not only for the future army of the revolution, but for the army of the bourgeois-landowner counterrevolution. Shock units, national formations, part of the Cossack troops, the higher staffs, and officers' societies, which arose during the February Revolution, were organizations, the majority of which represented a force hostile to the October Revolution.

The October Revolution, which was victorious in Petrograd, Moscow and in a number of decisive centers in the country, still faced a difficult struggle to firm up its victory across the entire country.

One may say without exaggeration that by the time of the October Revolution all the elements of a bourgeois-landowner counterrevolution had obviously matured under the cover of the blathering Kerenskii<sup>60</sup> government's socialist phrases. Only the proletarian revolution interfered and could interfere with this. As we have already stated, the counterrevolutionary bloc coalesced with the intervention and formed with it a united front for the struggle against the proletarian dictatorship.

For a complete description of the disposition of moving forces, it is necessary to briefly touch upon the wavering of the middle peasantry, which exerted an influence on the course of the civil war. In certain areas (the Volga region, Siberia) this wavering brought to power the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and sometimes facilitated the movement of the White Guards into the depth of the RSFSR's territory. However, during the civil war this wavering inevitably led to the movement of the middle peasantry to the side of the Soviet regime. The middle peasants saw with their own eyes that the shift in power to the appeasers was only a short episode, to be replaced by an unvarnished dictatorship of the generals (from the democratic "Samara Committee of the Constituent Assembly"<sup>61</sup> to Kolchak's dictatorship), was a step from which the old landowner, capitalist and general would come to power and the arrival of the White forces was inevitably accompanied by the arrival of the landowner and the reestablishment of pre-revolutionary relations. The strength of the middle peasants' wavering in favor of the Soviet regime was particularly manifested in the combat capability of the White and Red armies. The White armies were essentially combat-capable as long as they were more or less homogenous in the class sense. It was when the front expanded and they advanced that the White Guards resorted to mobilizing the peasantry and accumulating these mobilized masses that they inevitably lost their combat capability and fell apart. Quite the opposite, the Red Army grew stronger with each month and the mobilized middle-peasant masses of the countryside stoutly defended the Soviet regime against the counterrevolution.

The civil war, which embraced a significant part of the Soviet Republic's territory and unfolded from the center to the borders of the country, naturally had several

theaters of military activities. These theaters were sharply distinguished from each other according to economic, social and geographical conditions.

Without going into the details of describing the theaters, we present here a brief operational description of each of them.

The northern theater included the enormous space of north Russia from the northern polar seas to the basins of the upper Volga and Kama rivers inclusively. To the east, its border was the Ural range, and to the west the state border with Finland. The theater's operational significance was that routes led through it from the northern Russian ports (Murmansk, Archangel) to the interior of the country and to its vital revolutionary centers. This theater, according to its features, could be classified among the underdeveloped theaters. Huge areas of marshy forests made it accessible, not everywhere, but along a few axes (the course of major rivers and the few railroad lines). The population was very sparse and scattered and concentrated along the river valleys or along the coast, where it was engaged in fishing. Due to the poor development of factory industry, the industrial proletariat was almost absent. There was no abundance of local means. The climate is severe, particularly in winter. In the military sense, the theater was a typical wooded and underdeveloped theater, good for the activities of individual detachments consisting primarily of infantry adapted to local conditions. The theater's remove from the main vital centers and areas of the country, due to the unfavorable physical and climatic features of the area, kept it a secondary theater throughout the course of the entire civil war.

In terms of size, the eastern theater was the largest theater not only of our civil war, but of all wars. It stretched in depth many thousands of kilometers from the middle Volga to the meridian of Lake Baikal; its borders in the north coincided with the shoreline of the European and Asian continents; in the south its boundary ran along the shore of the Caspian Sea, and then along the land boundary with Turkestan, Mongolia and China. The theater could constitute neither a geographical or economic whole within these extended boundaries. Thus it is natural to subdivide it into three local theaters: the Volga, Ural and Western Siberian. The economic significance of the Volga theater was determined by the presence of a mighty natural grain trade route in the form of the middle Volga, which ran through the producing areas. The military significance of this local theater was determined by the presence of this powerful line, which was the final barrier along the routes from Siberia into the depth of the most politically and economically important areas of the country, as well as the most convenient and shortest routes leading from the Ural range to the revolutionary center of Moscow. And also according to its relief features, which were easy and varied, as well as the presence of local resources and the qualities of the climate, as well as according to the development of a network of dirt road routes, the theater was quite convenient for the activities of large masses of troops. The overwhelming majority of the population was engaged in agriculture.

The Ural theater differed sharply from the Volga theater, both in the geographic and in the economic and social senses. Economically, the Ural theater should be listed among the consuming areas, insofar as mining was its sole type of producing industry. The presence of major factory centers and areas made the Urals one of the areas where the proletariat was concentrated. A characteristic feature of the latter was that it had not lost its ties to the peasantry, being to a significant degree tied to the land. Thus in its attitudes the Ural proletariat often reflected the wavering attitudes of the peasant mass (the uprisings in the Nev'yansk, Izhevsk and Votkinsk factories in the summer of 1918). But overall, the class composition of the Ural theater's population should be recognized as sufficiently favorable for the Soviet regime. In the military sense, the Ural theater was a typical mountain theater, powerful in its natural features. Its large extent (more than 1,200 kilometers) rendered it a mighty natural line dividing the republic's European and Asiatic parts.

According to its relief and the composition and way of life of the population, the Western Siberian theater was closer to the Volga theater than the Ural theater. It was distinguished by the peculiar stratification of the peasantry into a native, strong and prosperous peasantry, which was unfamiliar with the power of the landlords, and the newly arrived resettled peasantry from Russia, which had settled along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and which was familiar with the landlord and with the agrarian revolution of 1905. This layer of the peasantry was a reliable ally of the Soviet regime in the political sense. In the military sense, the Western Siberian theater, like the Volga theater, despite the somewhat harsher climate, was accessible in the western part for actions by large masses of troops, although their freedom of maneuver was curtailed by the poor development of communications routes and the necessity of being based on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, as the country's main nerve. The vulnerability of the communications of the armies operating here, the large expanse of the theater, and the poor communications routes—all of these conditions determined the possibility of the broad development of partisan activities in this theater, particularly along the flanks and communications of the armies.

The southern theater, which at times included the Ukrainian theater, embraced the rich producing areas of south Russia. Overall, it was distinguished by its plains, in places steppe country, which made it quite favorable for operations by large masses of cavalry, as well as the comparatively mild climate. In the class sense, the theater's population was characterized by its diversity and the complexity of mutual relations. The southeastern part of the theater, the Cossack areas, represented socially two categories of population which were antagonistic toward each other on the basis of unregulated agrarian relations: the newly arrived peasantry, the "outsiders" (about 50% of the population), and the Cossacks. The exacerbation of relations between the privileged upper crust (the officer class) and well-to-do Cossacks and the middle and poor Cossacks could be observed among the Cossacks. The proletariat from the

factory areas was sprinkled among the overall mass of the population in individual islands, sometimes significant ones (the Donbas).

The population of Ukraine in the class context had as a feature the fact that the working proletariat, which primarily did not belong to the native population of the country, was concentrated in the major urban centers, as well as in the mining areas (the Donbas); the country's native population consisted of a peasantry which was quite heterogeneous in the economic sense, while the *kulak* elements which supported the national-chauvinist yearnings of the urban petite bourgeoisie and intelligentsia was, in places, significantly sprinkled among the overall mass of poor and middle peasants.

The western theater of the civil war encompassed all of the western and north-western areas of the former Russian Empire. One can roughly trace its eastern border along the headwaters of the Western Berezina River and the line of the Dnepr River. The theater's operational significance was determined by the fact that through it ran the shortest and most well-made roads from the Russian revolutionary centers toward the newly independent states. Being quite accessible for operations by large masses of troops according to its physical and climatic features, the theater was much poorer in the way of local resources than the Ukrainian and southern theaters. From the class point of view, the theater was predominantly a country of poor and middle peasants, dominated by ruling classes from another nationality (Germans, Poles and Russians). The proletariat in the eastern part of the theater was small in number and grouped in the cities and small towns and did not belong to the native national groups (Jews). As regards the proletarian areas, which arose before the World War in the western part of this theater, they had been to a significant degree destroyed by the World War (Riga, Warsaw, Lodz, etc.).

The above-enumerated four theaters were the main ones throughout the course of the entire civil war.

The North Caucasus, which was close to the eastern part of the southern theaters, and finally the northwestern theater, which included the approaches to Petrograd from Finland, Estonia and Latvia, acquired episodic significance as theaters. The latter theater offered no noticeable features distinguishing it from the western theater in the climatic and physical sense. In the class sense, this theater was one of the most favorable ones for Soviet strategy, insofar as it included the Petrograd area, with its powerful class-conscious proletariat which had been tempered in the revolutionary struggle.

An overall feature of all the theaters was the predominance of the rural population over the urban one, which, according to the data from the 1897 census, was expressed as 86.5% for the rural population and 13.5% for the urban. The working class, according to its number and degree of organization, dominated among the urban population, while among the rural population the numerous mass of middle peasants dominated.

Thus from the class point of view, the composition of the population was, overall, favorable for Soviet strategy; even in the most vital areas for the counterrevolution, that is, in the Cossack areas, the Soviet regime could count on the sympathy and support of at least half of the population.

As regards local resources, all the advantages were initially with the enemy, who during 1918–1919 controlled the sources of the extraction industry and the agricultural areas, while the Soviet forces were concentrated in the processing and consuming areas.

An overall feature of all the theaters in the matter of roads was their comparative poverty in artificial communications routes. The central part of the country was in a more favorable condition in this sense. Behind it were the western theater and then the southern theater. The eastern and northern theaters had the most unfavorable conditions.

Proceeding from the political goals of its strategy, namely “the struggle against Bolshevism until its final destruction,” the Whites’ operational directions ran from the areas where the counterrevolutionary armies were initially formed (the Volga, Ukraine, the new states) to the vital centers of the revolution—the revolutionary capitals of Petrograd and Moscow.

The counterrevolutionary armies’ operational directions did not always correspond to the criteria of shortness and favorability, because in choosing them the individual groups in the White movement often had to be guided by the wishes of those countries which supported them. We earlier noted those contradictions which divided the united front of the imperialists in the “Russian question.” One should explain by these contradictions that circumstance, which at first glance is hard to understand, that even while advancing under the overall slogans of a “unified and indivisible Russia,” the White groups reflected within themselves the contradictory interests of their foreign bosses. On the other hand, the slogan of “unified and indivisible” brought forth a distrustful attitude toward its defenders on the part of the bourgeois and petite-bourgeois governments of the previously oppressed nationalities during the course of the civil war.

Soviet strategy’s operational directions ran from the central area to the vital areas of the southern, Siberian and Ukrainian counterrevolution, in many cases coinciding with the enemy’s operational directions.

In favor of Soviet strategy during the initial period of the war was the great extent of the theaters, which allowed its forces, which were forming in the interior of the country, to win time for organizing in immediate proximity to the front line.



## The October Period of the Civil War

*The Struggle Against Kaledin and the Ukrainian Rada. The Disintegration of Kaledin's Army. The Taganrog Uprising. The Struggle of the Old Army's Bolshevized Remnants Against the Ukrainian Rada. The Seizure of Kiev and the Ukrainian Right Bank by Antonov-Ovseyenko's Detachments. The Counterrevolutionary Movement of Dowbor-Musnicki's Polish Corps. The Struggle Against Dutov in the Orenburg Steppe. The Strengthening of the Soviet Regime in Siberia. Semyonov. Overall Results*

Of the White Guard governments that appeared initially (before the German occupation) on the territory of Soviet Russia, the most dangerous for the revolution were the Don and Ukrainian ones.

The central Soviet regime singled out the Don as the main and most immediate object of operations. Soviet forces under the leadership of comrade Antonov-Ovseyenko,<sup>1</sup> who had been appointed the commander-in-chief of the forces operating against the southern counterrevolution, began to concentrate against the Don.

Antonov-Ovseyenko's plan consisted of the following:

1. Relying on the revolutionary Black Sea Fleet sailors, to organize the Red Guard<sup>2</sup> in the Donets Basin.
2. To move mixed detachments from the north and the Red revolutionary *Stavka*<sup>3</sup> (the former *Stavka* of the supreme commander-in-chief), having concentrated them beforehand in their departure points: Gomel', Bryansk, Khar'kov, and Voronezh.
3. To move the II Guards Corps, which was quite actively revolutionary in its attitudes, from the Zhmerinka—Bar area, where it was stationed, to the east for concentrating in the Donets Basin.

In the latter third of December 1917 the red detachments, having eliminated along the way in the Belgorod area several shock battalions of the old army, which were trying to get to the Don from Mogilyov, began to concentrate in the following manner: 1) Berzin's<sup>4</sup> detachment of 1,800 men and four guns in the direction of

Gomel' and Bakhmach; 2) Sivers's<sup>5</sup> "northern flying detachment" of 1,165 infantry, 95 cavalry, 14 machine guns, and six guns in the direction of Oryol and Belgorod; 3) Solov'yov's<sup>6</sup> "second column," consisting of 1,100 infantry, ten machine guns and two guns, was forming in Smolensk; 4) Khovrin's<sup>7</sup> detachment of 300 men, which was not subordinated to Sivers, was stationed in Belgorod; 5) in reserve were the Bryansk and Velikie Luki detachments of 300 infantry and 50 cavalry, the Smolensk battery and some units from the XVII Army Corps. (See Map 1 of the plate section)

Beside this, Sablin's<sup>8</sup> detachment of 1,900 men, one battery and eight machine guns, was moving from Moscow to be subordinated to the commander-in-chief. Finally, the pro-Soviet Kuban' Cossack Division was moving from the front of the World War toward Tsaritsyn.<sup>9</sup>

Overall, the main core of the Soviet forces did not initially exceed 6,000–7,000 infantry and cavalry, 30–40 guns and a few dozen machine guns. This core consisted of heterogeneous units from the old army, detachments of sailors, the Red Guard, and others, some of which were not very combat capable and undisciplined and which quickly became demoralized and had to be disarmed. Their numbers increased as they moved south, with Red Guards from various cities (up to 4,000 men) and the pro-Bolshevik 45th Reserve Infantry Regiment (up to 3,000 men).

The counterrevolutionary forces were not inferior according to the number and strength of organized units. Kaledin's main forces had concentrated in the Kamenskaya—Glubokoye—Millerovo—Likhaya area; The Volunteer Army<sup>10</sup> (up to 2,000 men) was forming in Rostov-on-Don and in Novochoerkassk. Besides this, individual partisan detachments and several regular Cossack units were occupying the Donbas's Gorlovo—Makeyevka area, having pushed out Red Guards units. Morale was in favor of the Soviet regime; Kaledin's mobilization had not been successful and some demoralization could be observed among the Cossack forces.

The Soviet command decided to carry out the following plan of operations: 1) to cut all lines of communications along the rail lines between Ukraine and the Don; 2) to open communications with the Donbas around the Northern Donets rail line, by operating through Lozovaya and Slavyansk; 3) to establish contact between Khar'kov and Voronezh through Kupyansk and Liski, and 4) to arrange communications with the North Caucasus, where the pro-Bolshevik 39th Infantry Division was coming up from the Caucasus front. Overall, the plan foresaw the formation of a screen against Ukraine and the concentration of all efforts against the Don. On 17/30 December 1917 Yegorov's<sup>11</sup> detachment (1,360 men, three guns and one armored train) occupied Lozovaya station and then the town of Pavlograd, while the *gaidamaks*,<sup>12</sup> who were occupying the former place ran away, and in the latter they surrendered without a fight.

Meanwhile, along the Don front Sivers's column was advancing slowly from Khar'kov to the Donbas, disarming small Ukrainian garrisons along the way, and on 4 January 1918 linked up with the Red Guards from the mines.



By 7 January 1918 the Soviet forces, having secured themselves from the west with a screen along the front Vorozhba—Lyubotin—Pavlograd—Sinel'nikovo, were occupying the Donets Basin with their main forces; Petrov's<sup>13</sup> column, with a strength of 3,000 infantry, 40 machine guns and 12 guns, which had been formed in Voronezh, was attacking toward Millerovo and Novocherkassk; its lead units were approaching Chertkovo station. On 8 January Antonov-Ovseyenko decided to eliminate Kaledin's forces with an attack by his main forces from the Donbas, for which Sablin's column was supposed to develop the offensive from Lugansk on Likhaya station; Sivers's column, while securing it from the south, was to move on Zverevo station, with the idea of subsequently moving on Millerovo; Petrov's column was to move on Millerovo from the north.

While developing the offensive, Sivers's column became carried away by the advance to the south, stopping near Ilovaiskaya station, where two regiments refused to follow orders and were disarmed; Sablin's detachments proved to be weak for an offensive and such a gap in the operation enabled the Cossacks to carry out a brief counterattack on Debal'tsevo and to delay the Soviet forces' offensive.

Petrov's column had begun negotiations with the Cossacks near Chertkov.

The front-line Cossacks, being pro-Soviet in their attitudes, either maintained neutrality or went over to the Soviet side. The non-Cossack peasantry was also hostile toward Kaledin's supporters. Thus thanks to the attitudes that had arisen on the Don, a military-revolutionary committee was formed at *stanitsa* Kamenskaya<sup>14</sup> at the end of January, and the "Northern Cossack Detachment" (Golubev), which joined the Soviet forces, was formed. With the aid of some of Kaledin's units that had gone over to its side, the detachment seized Likhaya and Zverevo stations. The revolutionary committee was to have begun negotiations with Kaledin, which ended without result, because a White partisan detachment, under Chernetsov's command, captured Likhaya and Zverevo and forced the revolutionary committee to move to Millerovo station.

Along the Voronezh and Khar'kov axes, the Don Cossacks, due to their demoralization, were replaced by units of the Volunteer Army, which delayed the advance by Soviet forces for a certain time. Sivers's detachment resumed its offensive on 3 February, while being reinforced from the center with newly arrived revolutionary detachments and a powerful armored train with naval guns. While overcoming the resistance by Kornilov's forces at every station, on 8 February Sivers established communications with revolutionary Taganrog, where the workers of the Baltic Factory, numbering 5,000 men, rose, seized the city and forced the White Guard garrison to fall back on Rostov with heavy losses.

Meanwhile, Kaledin's units, which had become mixed in with those from the Volunteer Army (Chernetsov's detachment), launched an attack against Sablin's column near Likhaya and threw it back to its jumping-off point at Izvorino station, after which Chernetsov resumed pursuing the forces of the Don Revolutionary Committee in the direction of Kamenskaya and Glubokaya *stanitsas*. In falling

back, these forces linked up near *stanitsa* Glubokaya with Petrov's column, which was arriving from Voronezh. The White Cossacks would have been able to capture this station, but they were then decisively defeated by the Reds' combined forces and scattered. Sablin, who had been reinforced by a freshly arrived detachment of Black Sea Fleet sailors, numbering 400 men and four guns, as well as Kudinskii's revolutionary detachments, launched in his turn an offensive and on 8 February once again occupied Zverevo station and Likhaya.

Simultaneously, the disarming of the Cossack trains, which were moving from Ukraine and Romania toward the Don along the southern railroads, was proceeding successfully.

Detachments from revolutionary Tsaritsyn, which had occupied Chir station, were threatening the White Don from the east. In the south, units of the old army's 39th Infantry Division, which was returning from the World War's Caucasus front, were concentrating in the area of *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya, in Kaledin's rear.

By 10 February resistance by the Volunteer Army's units and small detachments of Kaledin's forces had been finally crushed, but the advance by Soviet forces proceeded slowly, due to the damaged railways and concern for their rear. On 16 February Sablin's column reached the outskirts of Novocherkassk; *ataman* Kaledin, in the resulting situation of the panic and demoralization of the White Cossacks forces and his followers, committed suicide.

The Volunteer Army was delaying the advance by Sivers's detachment along the Taganrog axis, but on 13 February the latter had already reached Rostov; at the same time, units of the 39th Infantry Division occupied Bataisk. The city of Rostov was occupied by Sivers only on 23 February, while the town of Novocherkassk was occupied on 25 February by Sablin's detachment, along with the Don Revolutionary Committee's Cossack brigade which had outflanked it from the east, while the Small Cossack Assembly,<sup>15</sup> which was meeting there, was dispersed.

Units of the Volunteer Army (Kornilov and Denikin) and 1,500 Cossacks under *ataman* Popov,<sup>16</sup> fell back across the Aksai River into the Sal'sk Steppe on toward the Kuban' River.

During the development of the offensive by Soviet forces against the Don, the following events occurred in Ukraine. The proximity of Soviet forces gave a fillip to the appearance of forces hostile to the Central *Rada*, the power of which had been overthrown in many industrial and port centers of Ukraine.

On 8 January 1918 the proletariat in the city of Yekaterinoslav<sup>17</sup> rose up, supported by Red Guard troops from Yegorov's detachment that had arrived from Sinel'nikovo. The city of Mariupol' was occupied by a workers' uprising on 12 January. Yegorov's detachment was ordered to turn south from Yekaterinoslav, to establish Soviet power in Aleksandrovsk (Zaporozh'ye), to establish contact with the Crimea, and to concentrate its forces for operations in the direction of Mariupol', Taganrog and Rostov, which was accomplished by 15 January.

On 18 January, following stubborn fighting against the supporters of the Central *Rada*, the proletariat of Odessa seized power with the assistance of the Red Black Sea Fleet.

At the same time Kiev, where the central government of the *Rada* was located, was being threatened by pro-Bolshevik remnants of the old army's Southwestern Front (among them, the II Guards Corps, stationed west of Kiev). The *Rada* was successfully fighting these forces, as a result of which the *Stavka* of the supreme commander-in-chief, which had already been seized by the Bolsheviks, was forced to dispatch against the *Rada* its detachments, numbering 3,000 soldiers, 400 sailors and 12 guns, which attacked under the command of comrades Berzin and Vatsetis, from Gomel' to Bakhmach.

The resulting situation forced Antonov-Ovseyenko to speed up the start of decisive operations against the *Rada*. These operations were brought about by foreign policy considerations, because at this time negotiations were proceeding with the Germans over the conclusion of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk and it was important to hinder the *Rada* from thwarting these negotiations, thus strengthening the Soviet government in Ukraine.

The beginning of the decisive offensive in Ukraine was set for 18 January 1918. It was decided to launch the main attack from Khar'kov on Poltava, together with those forces which were threatening Kiev from different directions. The command of all operations along the main axis was entrusted to Murav'yov,<sup>18</sup> to whom an armored train, 500 "Red Cossacks" and Red Guards were attached for this purpose. Yegorov's detachments from Lozovaya and Znamenskii's<sup>19</sup> (a special detachment from Moscow), which were following in trains as far as Vorozhba station, were to support the offensive by the main forces. The offensive by Znamenskii's, Murav'yov's and Yegorov's columns developed successfully. Murav'yov, while moving through Poltava (where he linked up with Yegorov's detachment), on 24 January occupied Romodan and Kremenchug, and then Lubnyi and Grebenka station against weak resistance by the *gaidamaks*. Units, attacking from Gomel' to Bakhmach, captured Kruty station, after which the road to Kiev lay open.

In the rear of Berzin's army, in the Konotop area, which had been occupied on 28 January by the Roslavl' detachment and local workers, several detachments had concentrated, which formed Kudinskii's revolutionary army. (Part of the detachments was sent to the Don). This army was given the following assignment: while moving through Cherkassy, Bobrinskaya, Tsvetkov and Fastov, for the purpose of linking up with all of the revolutionary forces on the right bank of the Dnepr, to strike at Kiev from the west.<sup>20</sup>

The approach of the revolutionary forces to Kiev brought about an uprising on 28 January of the workers of the Kiev arsenal and some military units, but it was suppressed by the *Rada's* forces even before the arrival of Murav'yov's forces, who had encountered some resistance along the Trubezh River; here his troops

came into contact with troops from the Czechoslovak Corps, who had declared their neutrality.

The Ukrainian *Rada* disposed of no more than 1,200 reliable troops from the “free Cossacks” and other formations hostile to the Bolsheviks for the defense of Kiev. The remaining troops either remained neutral or operated against the *Rada*.

Following a bitter bombardment, Kiev was taken on 9 February, although the government and *Rada* had abandoned the city the previous evening and evacuated to Zhitomir.

Upon occupying Kiev, Murav’yov began to pursue the remnants of the *Rada*’s forces in the direction of Zhitomir, and it was only on 12 February that he managed to get into contact with the II Guards Corps.

The struggle of the Red forces against the other units of the old army, which had formed even before the October Revolution along national lines, had incomparably less importance. Here nationality, as we saw in the example of the Ukrainian formations, was only a cover for that counterrevolutionary essence which their organizers tried to attach to these units.<sup>21</sup>

The special selection of soldiers and the suffusing of the units with counterrevolutionary officers were, according to the opinion of their organizers, supposed to make these units a further reliable bulwark for the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the revolution. One of these units, which was the most organized and soundly put together, was General Dowbor-Musnicki’s<sup>22</sup> Polish I Corps. This corps was formed under the flag of the Polish National Democratic Party,<sup>23</sup> which fully defined its reactionary character. During the October Revolution the corps’ political leaders worked energetically. They sought, on the one hand, to increase the strength of their armed forces and, on the other, to get rid of the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution. As a result of this work, the Polish reactionary agents managed to plant the seeds of the Polish II Corps in Ukraine and the frontline zone.

The Polish I Corps was stationed in the Orsha—Smolensk—Zhlobin—Gomel’ area. With the beginning of the October Revolution, the corps command refused to carry out the democratization of the corps along the lines of the entire army. At the same time, the corps command began to interfere in the affairs of the local soviets and defended the interests of the landowners. The prolongation of the peace talks in Brest-Litovsk demanded the preservation of the World War front’s combat capability. The disintegration of the old army was taking place so rapidly that the idea arose of replacing the demoralized Russian units with troops from the Polish I Corps. Because of this, at the end of January the transfer of part of the units of the Polish I Corps to the Rogachyov—Bobruisk—Zhlobin area was begun.

However, at the beginning of the corps’ transfer, documents fell into the hands of the Soviet regime pointing to links between the corps command and the Don counterrevolution. At the same time, the political physiognomy of the entire corps had become so counterrevolutionary that the Soviet high command, in the person

of comrade Krylenko,<sup>24</sup> was forced to demand the disarmament of the corps. Dowbor-Musnicki refused to carry out this order, for which he was declared outside the law. At this time about two of the corps' divisions (there were three divisions in the corps) had been concentrated in the Rogachyov—Bobruisk—Zhlobin area, but the divisions' artillery had not yet caught up with them and was moving up in rear-area trains. This made the Soviet forces' subsequent fight against them easier. Dowbor-Musnicki was the first to open hostilities: he occupied the town of Rogachyov and moved an advance guard toward Mogilyov, where comrade Krylenko's headquarters was located. The Polish I Corps' 2nd Division surrounded the Zhlobin railroad junction station, threatening to cut the food supply of the armies of the World War's Western Front moving from Ukraine.

An attempt to combat these forces with the detachments immediately at hand ended in failure. The Polish 1st Division even began to advance on Mogilyov. Then more solid units were hurriedly transferred from the front (the Latvian 1st and 4th Regiments, the 19th Siberian Regiment, detachments of sailors and the Red Guard). On 13 February 1918 these units, under the command of I. I. Vatsetis, inflicted a defeat on the Polish 1st Division and occupied Rogachyov. Somewhat earlier, namely on 7 February 1918, the Polish 2nd Division was defeated around Zhlobin. The fighting here was decided by the presence of artillery on the Red side, while at the same time the Poles attempted to attack without artillery support. After this, both Polish divisions began to fall back on Bobruisk. Along the way, the Polish 3rd Division, which was moving from Roslavl', joined up with them. It slipped through the Soviet detachments operating in the areas of Zhlobin and Rogachyov. However, they were not able to eliminate the Polish I Corps' resistance in the Bobruisk area with Soviet forces. The Germans' offensive, which began soon after, interfered with this. The Polish I Corps was subsequently disarmed by the Germans as a force with a hostile orientation to them.

The movement of the victorious October Revolution from the country's center to the periphery also encountered major difficulties in the eastern borderlands, particularly in the Orenburg area and in Siberia.

The military-political situation in the Urals following the October Revolution was quite complex and varied. The appearance of the first food detachments,<sup>25</sup> which were dispatched in the spring of 1918 from the starving provinces of central Russia, caused a number of major riots among the peasantry of Ufa province. These riots were able to develop thanks to the weakness of the impoverished revolutionary element and the influence of the *kulak* element on the peasantry. The working masses of the South Ural factories during the period in question were distinguished by their political shakiness. The Bolsheviks' influence on them was weakened because the most politically conscious workers had been thrown into the fighting against Dutov<sup>26</sup> and the peasant uprisings, which the Socialist Revolutionaries took advantage of for their agitation. Besides this, the population was upset about hunger and was

dissatisfied with the work of the requisitioning detachments. These detachments' requisitions also touched upon the interests of the workers who had not lost their contact with the land and who were engaged in small peasant farming.

At first the Soviet regime disposed of only the workers' combat detachments.

There were also riots within the Orenburg Cossack troops. *Ataman* Dutov managed to raise the Cossacks of the southern sections<sup>27</sup> against the Soviet regime and to seize Orenburg at the beginning of December 1917. However, this first advance by Dutov was quickly eliminated by Soviet detachments. On 18 January 1918 Soviet power was restored in Orenburg and Dutov hid out with a small detachment in Verkhnyural'sk, from which, pursued by detachments of Ural workers, he was forced to escape to the Torgai Steppe (in May 1918). But the Red detachments halted their pursuit due to the flooded rivers. At the same time Soviet detachments were fighting Dutov, the local White Guard partisan detachments were continuing their work in their rear. One of them even managed temporarily to once again break into Orenburg.

There simultaneously developed a powerful White partisan movement in the Ural province, which initially was purely elemental. The Red Army fought these partisans, operating primarily along the railroads, while approaching the province's administrative and political center—the town of Ural'sk, which had been occupied by a counterrevolutionary Ural government.

Overall, the partisan character that the war took on in the Orenburg and Ural steppe in the spring of 1918 deprived it of independent significance, although it was unfavorable for the Soviet regime in that it created favorable prerequisites for the appearance of the Eastern Front.

Let us now turn to that situation that had come about in Siberia.

From the time of the October Revolution, the Soviet regime rapidly began to spread throughout the most important centers of Siberia.

The seizure of power took place everywhere without problem, with the exception of Irkutsk, where the local revolutionary forces had to withstand a stubborn fight with the forces of the Provisional Government. The conditions for the organization of Soviet power were unusually difficult in view of the large expanse of territory and its underdeveloped nature.

The population of Siberia was predominantly peasant, with a weak and very small proletarian strain in the towns and major industrial centers. However, the peasant mass was not economically homogeneous.

The old-time Siberian peasant who was firmly entrenched in his independent holding had never known the power of the landowner, so the sharpness of mutual relations with the latter on the basis of the struggle for land was unknown to him. As regards its social content, this layer of the Siberian peasantry resembled the *kulak* class of Ukraine and southern Russia. But besides this layer of the peasantry, there was a layer of numerous so-called "new settlers." These were peasant settlers from the



more heavily populated rural areas of Russia. Economically weaker, the new settlers had settled predominantly along both sides of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and along the course of the nearby rivers. By no means was all the land occupied by them good. Thus among them, even in Siberia, there could be observed the development of the process of pauperization. This layer of peasants was politically drawn not to the older peasant class, but toward the Siberian proletariat.

This is why the Soviet regime in Siberia took strongest root along the line of the railroad, the water routes and in the large inhabited locales. On 26 February 1918, at the Second Congress of Soviets, a Siberian Soviet of People's Commissars was elected, consisting of 11 Bolsheviks and four Left Socialist Revolutionaries,<sup>28</sup> and a Siberian Central Executive Committee ("Tsentrosibir").<sup>29</sup>

The food situation in Siberia was incomparably better than in central Russia and there were no food detachments in these areas before the summer of 1918. Support for the Soviet regime came in the form of local, small communist detachments, while at the same time the Red Army was being formed on a voluntary basis.

Soviets also arose in the Far East from the time of the October Revolution and power was in the hands of the Far Eastern Territorial Committee of Workers', Peasants' and Cossacks' Deputies, with full autonomy.

Following the establishment of Soviet power in Siberia and in the Far East, counterrevolutionary elements began their anti-Soviet work in organizing counter-revolutionary forces within the country and White Guard detachments on Chinese territory adjacent to the Far East. In the latter case, as has already been noted, they received assistance from Japan and some of the Entente powers. There arose a number of secret military organizations within the country and in the chief centers, which received support from cooperative organizations where Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik influence was strong. These organizations were preparing for an active uprising and linked it to the beginning of the Entente's intervention.

Of the White Guard detachments which arose outside the territory of Siberia, the strongest and most active was Semyonov's detachment, which had pulled back from the Trans-Baikal following the October coup and which had concentrated in the area of Manchuria station (along the border with the Trans-Baikal and China).

Simultaneous with the growth of counterrevolutionary forces in Siberia and the Far East, Vladivostok was threatened by the intervention of Czechoslovak units which were advancing from central Russia, and the Japanese.

Thus the gradually growing anti-Bolshevik movement and the work of Siberian and Far Eastern counterrevolutionary forces had created a serious threat to Soviet power in Siberia by the time of the Japanese intervention and the Czechoslovak mutiny.

The fall of the anti-Soviet political centers in Ukraine and along the Don, the strengthening of Soviet power in the Orenburg area and in the main centers of Siberia signified the overall favorable completion of the October period of the civil war. The German intervention and the uprising of the Czechoslovak Corps, which

was provoked by the Entente, put a limit to the consolidation of the first successes of the civil war.

In this work we do not halt on a number of other events (for example, the seizure of the old army's *Stavka*, the October coup in Finland, the events in the Trans-Baikal area, etc.) also having to do with the October period of the civil war. This would require a significant broadening of that space that we have the opportunity to devote to this period in this work. Therefore we will limit ourselves to the most colorful and, in the military sense, the most interesting events and episodes.

This entire period was characterized by the absence of continuous fronts. The territorial demarcation of the armed forces of the revolution and counterrevolution arose later; foreign intervention, as we will see further on, sped up the course of this process and shaped it.

The activities of both sides during this period are of significant military interest, as they relate to the unfolding of the civil war, somewhat reminiscent of what is called in military literature the period of border collisions. The forces of revolution and counterrevolution were still in the organizing stage and were not yet fully mobilized for a major civil war. The armed forces of the revolution during this period consisted of Red Guard detachments, comprised of workers and volunteers—soldiers from the old army and individual pro-Bolshevik units of the old army which had retained their combat capability against the background of the overall collapse of the World War's front. According to their military training, the Red Guard units were significantly inferior to the detachments arising from the depths of the old army, but the shortcomings of their training were somewhat compensated for by the high political consciousness of the proletarian Red Guard soldier.

The actions of this and that side during this period were limited to the dispatch of individual independently operating detachments and were distinguished by a high degree of maneuver and activity, recalling in this way the actions of forward detachments in a border war. The detachments operated predominantly along the railroads; horse transport and the units' wagons were replaced by the railroad car. The entire period of the revolution's "border collisions" with the counterrevolution entered the history of the civil war under the heading of the rail war, actually, more its beginning, because the rail war actually stretched out over a much greater time (the struggle against the German occupation and the initial period of fighting against the Czechoslovaks, etc.).



## The German Occupation and the Beginning of the Intervention

*The Struggle Against the Romanian Oligarchy. The Political, Economic and Strategic Reasons for the Austro-German Occupation. The Beginning of the Austro-German Occupation. The Struggle for the Donbas. The Influence of the German Occupation on the Strengthening of the Counterrevolutionary Forces' Situation. The Fighting in Finland. The Development of the Civil War in the North Caucasus. The Volunteer Army's "Ice March." The Situation in the Urals. The Situation in Siberia. The Czechoslovak Mutiny; its Reasons and Spread. The Beginning of the Formation of the Eastern Front. The Mutiny by the Right Socialist Revolutionaries along the Middle Volga and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow. The Influence of the Czechoslovak Mutiny on the Growth of the Uprisings in the Orenburg and Ural Steppes. The Czechoslovaks' Operation Against Yekaterinburg. Organizational Work on the Red Eastern Front. The Offensive Plan of the Red Eastern Front, Drawn up by Comrade Vatsetis at the end of July 1918, and its Realization. The Enemy's Seizure of the City of Kazan'. The Retaking of Kazan'. The Fall 1918 Campaign on the Eastern Front. Political Prerequisites for the Formation of the Northern Front. The Denouement of the Campaign There. The White Government in the Northern Region. The Winter Campaign of 1918–1919 on the Northern Front. The Spring and Summer Campaign on the Northern Front. The end of the Civil War on the Northern Front*

Peace negotiations, which had begun on the initiative of the Soviet regime, were interrupted before long by the resumption of military operations on the part of the Austro-German militarists. This resumption of military operations, known as the Austro-German occupation, comprises a new page in the history of our civil war. But before we set about to relate it, we will halt on those events which completed the just-described period of the civil war.

The process of the bolshevization of the Russian units on the World War's Romanian Front took place in extremely complex conditions. The Romanian forces, in the main, were not touched by the revolutionary process. This enabled the Romanian command to actively assist the Russian counterrevolutionary groups led by General

Shcherbachyov,<sup>1</sup> who was the actual commander-in-chief of the Russian armed forces in Romania. The pro-revolutionary forces of the old army either disarmed or sought to break through the ring of Romanian and White Guard-officers' detachments. The disintegration of the Russian armed forces easily yielded up Bessarabia to the Romanians, where in the beginning of January 1918 they staged the comedy of its supposedly voluntary joining Romania. The Romanian forces, while expanding their occupation zone in Bessarabia, were slowly approaching the Dnestr River. Their movement to the line of the Dnestr River coincided in time with the Soviet coup in Odessa on 18 January 1918. (See Map 2 of the plate section)

The young Soviet regime in Odessa was initially organized as the Odessa Soviet Republic. The latter had to actively set about organizing its own armed force, having in mind the threatening advance by Romanian forces toward the line of the Dnestr River. This advance forced them to fear for the fate of Odessa itself. The core of the Soviet armed forces undergoing formation were small units of the old army which had broken out of Romania and established themselves along the Dnestr in the Bendery—Tiraspol' area. In the middle of February 1918 they united into the "Special Army."<sup>2</sup> Along with this army, the Odessa Republic disposed of armed forces numbering no more than 5,000–6,000 men. At the beginning of February these forces delivered the first rebuff to the Romanians in their attempts to cross over the Dnestr. The rebuff was so unexpected for the Romanians that they willingly agreed to the armistice proposed to them on 8 February 1918 by the executive committee of the soldiers', sailors' and peasants' deputies of the Romanian Front, the Black Sea Fleet and Odessa province, located in Odessa. However, the negotiations were protracted. Meanwhile, the Soviet forces' successes in Ukraine enabled the Soviet governments of Russia and Ukraine to allot more attention and forces to the Romanian Front.

A plenipotentiary organ, the "Supreme Collegium for Struggle with the Romanian and Bessarabian Counterrevolution"<sup>3</sup> was organized in Odessa. The first step by this supreme organ was the termination of the negotiations with the Romanians and the issuance to them on 15 February 1918 of an ultimatum to immediately clear out of Bessarabia. The Romanians refused and on 16 February 1918 military activities resumed. The enemy had local success at sea, preventing the Soviet flotilla from entering the mouth of the Danube River near Vilково, but on land the Romanians' attempts to cross the Dnestr ended in failure. Help was already arriving for the Soviet forces. Murav'yov's army, having taken Kiev, was now moving to the Dnestr. To be sure, its forces were few: the demobilization of the long-service soldiers reduced its overall strength to 3,000–4,000 men. This army traveled in several trains from Kiev to Odessa, and on 19 February Murav'yov proclaimed himself commander of all revolutionary forces operating against Romania. Despite the small number of his forces, he drew up a plan for a broad invasion not only of Bessarabia, but of Romania as well, while intending to seize the town of Iasi, which was then the political center of the country.

It's difficult to say what would have come of all this. On 1 March 1918 Murav'yov managed to inflict a stinging attack on the Romanians near Rybnitsa on the Dnestr, where the Romanians lost about 20 guns. The affair at Rybnitsa revealed the insufficient combat capability of gentry Romania's army. The Romanians, under the influence of this failure, and with the assistance of the foreign diplomatic corps in Iasi, themselves requested an armistice. It was granted to them on 9 March 1918. The Supreme Collegium demanded the unconditional withdrawal from Bessarabia, in which Romania was temporarily authorized to maintain 10,000 men to safeguard its military depots. The Romanian military command was obliged to not interfere in Bessarabia's internal political life.

These guiding principles were part of the "Protocol to Eliminate the Russo-German Conflict," which was signed by the Soviet side on 8 March and by the Romanian side on 12 March 1918, after which Soviet forces were ordered to cease hostile actions against Romania. Final negotiations with the Romanians were going on at the same time that the Austro-German wave of occupation was already pouring into Ukraine and the western front-line area of the RSFSR. This wave separated for a long time both sides that had signed the treaty. The Romanian government, taking advantage of this circumstance, refused to carry out the obligations in regard to Bessarabia to which it had agreed on 12 March 1918.<sup>4</sup>

In signing a peace with the government of the Central *Rada* on 9 February 1918, the German imperialists were pursuing several goals. In recognizing Ukrainian independence, they were creating a pretext for themselves for invading it under the guise of defending it from the Bolsheviks. Subsequently, while holding it in their sphere of influence, they were thinking of limiting in this way the spread of the October Revolution and to render it less dangerous for the Austro-German bloc. At the same time, they would acquire for themselves a broad economic base. The Central *Rada*, in exchange for having itself recognized as the sole legal power in the country and for the Germans ceding it a piece of the Chelm area, was moving toward complete economic dependency on Germany. Finally, the occupation of Ukraine in the south and Finland in the north would create for Germany favorable strategic groupings along its flanks. This was important in the event of an attempt by the Entente powers to recreate a new eastern front for the World War. Finally, it was through Ukraine that the path to the Caucasus lay, which also attracted the Germans with its raw materials, chiefly oil.

All of these tasks, due to the size of the theater, required a significant number of troops.<sup>5</sup>

The Austro-German command assigned 29 infantry and three cavalry divisions for the occupation of Ukraine, which amounted to no less than 200,000–220,000 troops. Of course, if we were speaking here only of driving units of the Red Army from this territory, then they could have gotten along with incomparably fewer troops. Antonov-Ovseyenko could oppose to this mass of troops only 3,000 troops

in the Kiev area, about 3,000 soldiers scattered around various towns in Ukraine, and finally Murav'yov's "army," which overall numbered no more than 5,000 men and which had just finished fighting the Romanians and which was located along the lower course of the Dnestr. As an overall reserve for these forces, very far away, to be sure, one could count on Sivers's and Sablin's columns (4,000 men overall), which were operating against Kaledin. On the whole, Antonov-Ovseyenko could dispose of no more than 15,000 soldiers, spread along an enormous space. The formation of local Ukrainian units was still in its infancy and was moving ahead slowly.

The uncoordinated work of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and anarchists, who were forming their own units and pursuing their own plans and goals, without taking into account the interests of the main Soviet command, negatively influenced the successful and systematic course of forming units. The Soviet command's situation was made more difficult by the circumstance that Soviet power in Ukraine had not yet taken such stable forms as was the case within the confines of Russia.

Thus the Soviet command's situation in Ukraine was quite difficult. Given its unorganized rear, it had to withstand fighting a first-class enemy in conditions of extreme numerical and qualitative inequality. However, on its part it undertook all measures to delay the enemy.

The occupiers entered Ukraine along the axes of the through railroad lines that cut the country from west to east.

The German XLI Corps (3rd, 18th, 48th, and 35th *Landwehr*<sup>6</sup> Divisions) moved along the Brest-Litovsk—Gomel—Bryansk railroad, which was the link between the forces that had been sent to occupy Ukraine and the forces sent to occupy the western borderlands of the RSFSR. However, the corps encountered in its advance resistance from comrade Berzin's units, which interfered with the Germans' further movement on Bryansk. The German XXVII Corps (89th, 92nd, 93rd, 95th, 98th, and 2nd *Landwehr* Divisions) set out along the railroad running from Rovno to Kiev, and then to Kursk, while dispatching part of its forces along the northern and southern branches of this main line. With its headquarters in Kiev, the corps occupied the Ukrainian left bank and spread south as far as Kremenchug, and to the east as far as the line Sevsk—Sudzha—Poltava. The XXII Corps (20th and 22nd *Landwehr* Divisions), with its headquarters in Zhitomir, occupied the Ukrainian left bank. The German I Reserve Corps (16th, 45th, 91st, 215th, and 224th *Landwehr* Divisions and the Bavarian 2nd Cavalry Division) had the task of occupying eastern Ukraine and the Donets Basin. This corps, which was the most active of all the occupation corps, took upon itself the entire brunt of the fighting around Poltava and Khar'kov and in the northern Donbas. Upon occupying the Donbas, the corps halted its movement to the east of the Rostov—Voronezh railroad. The corps' headquarters was in Khar'kov.

The Germans operated together with the Austrians on the coasts of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov and in Podoliya,<sup>7</sup>: three Austrian corps—the XII, XVII and

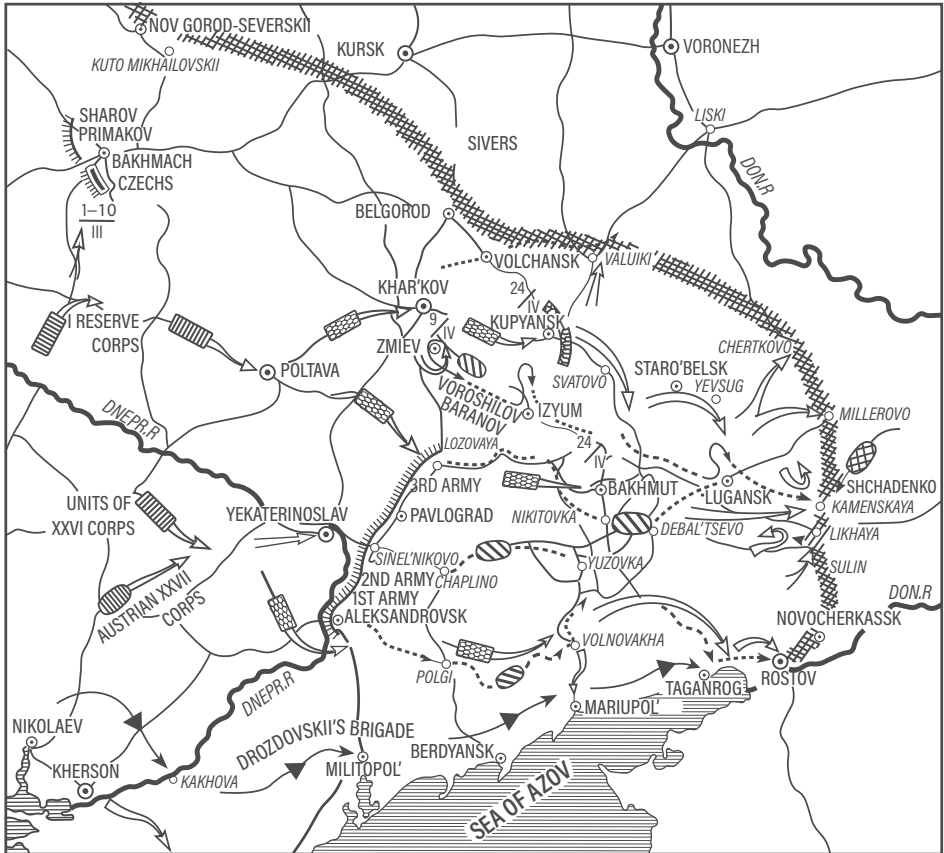
XXV, included 11½ divisions (15th, 59th, 34th, 11th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 54th, and 154th Infantry Divisions, the 2nd and 7th Cavalry Divisions and the 145th Infantry Brigade) moved to occupy Podoliya and the Odessa area (XXV Corps), the Kherson area (XII Corps) and the Yekaterinoslav area (XIII Corps). General Kosch's group, consisting of the 212th and 217th Infantry Divisions and the Bavarian Cavalry Division, was dispatched for occupying the Crimea.

The I Reserve Corps and the group of southern divisions—10th, 7th, 212th, and 214th, was moving in the occupation forces' first echelon. The remaining corps moved out as the territory was occupied. The Germans began their offensive on 18 February<sup>8</sup> and on 2 March German forces entered Kiev, and on 3 March they were in Zhmerinka.

On this day the Soviet government signed the peace treaty with the Central Powers. According to the conditions of this peace, it recognized the independence of Ukraine and Finland, renounced Batum, Kars and Ardagan, which were to be transferred to Turkey, and agreed to the determination of the subsequent fate of Poland, Lithuania and Courland<sup>9</sup> by the Central Powers alone. The Soviet government was obliged to demobilize all of its ground and naval forces and agreed to the occupation of Latvia and Estonia by German forces. The latter were to remain until the end of the World War along the line reached by them within the confines of the RSFSR, a line which ran through the cities of Narva, Pskov, Polotsk, Orsha, and Mogilyov.

The recognition of Ukrainian independence had immediate significance for the course of the civil war. It excluded the possibility of supporting the Soviet Ukrainian forces with reinforcements from the RSFSR. Thus they had to rely on their own forces in the subsequent fighting.

The occupation of the important railroad station of Zhmerinka created a threat to the rear of Murav'yov's army. On 18 March Austro-German units appeared in the Birzula station—Slobodka area along the Odessa axis. At the same time, they were advancing quickly along the Kursk axis. This hurried advance by the Germans along the Kursk axis may be explained by their desire to cut communications as quickly as possible between the RSFSR and Ukraine and to throw the Soviet forces falling back before them to the south. Then these forces would have come under attack from those Austro-German units which were advancing along the coast of the Black Sea. Actually, the most significant group of Soviet forces—Murav'yov's 3rd Army and several other detachments (in all, about 3,300 infantry and cavalry and 25 guns), which had been operating earlier along the lower Dnestr and had not fallen back to the left bank of the Dnepr, was not yet directly feeling strong pressure from the enemy. It was even engaged in an unsuccessful struggle against the enemy along the front Pavlograd—Sinel'nikovo—Aleksandrovsik. In order to secure the flank of these forces from the north, Antonov-Ovseyenko hurriedly transferred Sivers's and Sablin's columns from the Don region. But before their arrival, the Germans forced them to begin a withdrawal to Yuzovo by strong pressure against their left flank.



Map 1: The Fighting on the Ukrainian Left Bank and in the Donbas

Legend

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li> Germans</li> <li> Austrians</li> <li> Drozdovskii's dbe</li> <li> Reds</li> </ul>	} Movements to 6 March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li> Germans</li> <li> Reds</li> </ul>	} Movement in April	} Situation on 6 March
		Line of the Austro-German Front by 5 May		

Scale

60 30 0 60 120 180KM

At the same time, Antonov-Ovseyenko<sup>10</sup> was thinking of organizing a peasant's war against the Austro-Germans. He adopted measures for the combat organization of the peasantry in the Poltava and Khar'kov areas, in order to raise a people's war in the enemy rear. But the organization of a peasant's war required time, weapons and men; Antonov-Ovseyenko had neither the first, second, nor the third. However, the first volunteer partisan detachments were able to cope with their tasks to a certain degree and were able to sometimes inflict telling blows against the enemy's forward units that had gotten too far ahead.<sup>11</sup> While Sivers's column was concentrating from the Kursk area along the Kiev axis, during 7–10 March Sharov's and Primakov's<sup>12</sup> detachments were able to launch several attacks against the Germans around Bakhmach. At one point the rearguards of the Czechoslovak Corps, which had been driven by the Germans from their winter quarters and who were hurriedly falling back toward Russia, were fighting side by side with these detachments. But before long Sivers's column was powerfully attacked by the Germans and began to roll back on Volchansk and Valuiki. This made it easier for the Germans to take Khar'kov, which they entered on 9 April 1918. Following the occupation of Khar'kov, due to the clearly revealed withdrawal of Sivers's column to the borders of Russia, the path to Kupyansk remained completely open to the Germans, and from there to the Voronezh—Rostov-on-Don rail line. Upon arriving at the latter line, the enemy completed the encirclement of the Donbas. And the Germans hurried to push one infantry division along this axis. However, the Germans' approach to such a vital area for supporting the revolution as the Donbas now told on the character and stubbornness of the fighting. Detachments, which had been falling back before the Germans, were gathering on the Donbas from all directions. In the Donbas itself comrades Voroshilov<sup>13</sup> and Baranov<sup>14</sup> carried out energetic work to raise the local revolutionary forces and to prepare the Donbas for defense. The two already had about 2,000 organized troops. These forces got their baptism of fire around Zmiyev. Part of them under the command of comrade Voroshilov was surrounded by the Germans, but broke through the encirclement ring and even took two guns from the enemy. All of these forces were now grouped into the so-called Donets Army. The latter made several energetic attempts to develop a flanking attack against the German columns seeking to attack from Khar'kov to the east in order to cut the Donets Army's communications with the RSFSR.

The Donets Army's first attempt at an offensive was carried out along the Izyum axis; although it ended in failure, because the numerical correlation was by no means in favor of the Reds, it nevertheless won them time and forced the Germans to bring up significant forces to the Donbas. Thanks to this, on 24 April the Germans captured Bakhmut. Simultaneously, they occupied Kupyansk and began to advance toward Starobel'sk. The Red command here attempted once more to launch a flanking attack against them, operating this time from Lugansk, which led to stubborn fighting midway between Lugansk and Starobel'sk in the area of



Svatovo station and the village of Yevsug. In turn, Antonov-Ovseyenko's attempt to move Sivers's column, which was now called the 5th Army, on Kupyansk, did not yield results. The Germans, having delayed the pressure by the Reds, before long occupied Chertkovo station on the Voronezh—Rostov rail line, and thus completed the separation of the Red forces, which were selflessly fighting in the Donbas, from the RSFSR. There remained only the Likhaya—Tsaritsyn rail line for these forces to get out of the encirclement, of which they took advantage.

Comrade Voroshilov's army, together with the various detachments that had joined up with it through Likhaya station, while heading toward Tsaritsyn, was forced to pass through an area completely in the grip of a Cossack revolt. Voroshilov linked up with Shchadenko's<sup>15</sup> detachment in the area of *stanitsa* Kamenskaya. This detachment was supposed to have formed part of the Don Soviet Army, which was comprised of "outsider"<sup>16</sup> Don peasants and miners.

In the area of *stanitsa* Kamenskaya, comrade Voroshilov, whose forces had increased to 12,000–15,000 troops, once again, not without success, got into a fight with the Germans. But the latter began to threaten from the Sulin area Voroshilov's path of retreat to Tsaritsyn and forced him to continue to fall back. Voroshilov was delayed near Chirskaya station due to the blowing up of a railroad bridge and halted his withdrawal, while defending himself against attacks by Cossack insurgents until a new bridge was built, after which he continued his journey to Tsaritsyn. Here the forces he brought served as the foundation of the Red 10th Army.

While the revolution's armed forces, under the leadership of comrades Voroshilov and Baranov, were defending the Donets Basin, Soviet detachments along the Yekaterinoslav—Taganrog<sup>17</sup> axis were quickly falling back under German pressure.

On 20 April they were already in the Nikitovka—Debal'tsevo area, where the 3rd Army was subjected to serious demoralization. The 2nd Army abandoned Chaplino station and was surging east in rail cars. The 1st Army abandoned Pologi station and Volnovakha. Behind the German units attacking in Ukraine, a White Guard detachment was making its way along the southern operational axes from Romania, where it had been formed predominantly from officers in the charge of General Shcherbakhov, to the Don. This detachment was known as Drozdovskii's<sup>18</sup> brigade. Its strength reached up to 1,000 men. Upon crossing the Dnepr near Kakhovka, this brigade, while continuing its movement among the Austro-German columns, reached the city of Melitopol', occupied it and, together with German units reached the city of Rostov and took the city with the Germans. The Red forces, which were operating south of the Donets Basin, fell back through Rostov-on-Don to the North Caucasus. From here part of these forces headed for Tsaritsyn, where it joined those Red forces which had fallen back under the command of comrade Voroshilov.

On 4 May 1918 the last Soviet forces abandoned Ukrainian territory and the wave of the German occupation halted along the line Novozybkov—Novgorod-Severskii—Khutor Mikhailovskii—Belgorod—Valuiki—Millerovo.



In the political sense, for Ukraine the arrival of the Germans meant the revival of the suppressed reactionary forces and the temporary retreat of the revolutionary forces into the underground. For this reason, the civil war had to change its forms and draw into its orbit that powerful slice of the population that had not yet managed to actively manifest itself during the period just reviewed by us. The outward expression of the triumph of the reactionary forces was the coming to power, by means of a coup incited by the Germans at the end of April, of the government of *hetman*<sup>19</sup> Skoropadskii.

The government of the Central *Rada* was no longer needed by the Germans and was overthrown by them. While covering themselves through Skoropadskii's powerless government, the Germans shifted the entire burden of the military occupation on the peasantry, crushing it with heavy requisitions and contributions. On the other hand, the landowners began to return under the cover of the occupation detachments and also made claims on the peasantry. The civil war was not ended by the occupation, but only altered its forms and turned into a partisan war by the dissatisfied peasant masses. We will halt at greater length on these events in one of the later chapters. But on the other hand, the approach of the line of the German occupation to the areas vital to the counterrevolution, in the form of the Cossack regions, brought about a strengthening of the counterrevolution there. With its rear resting on the German occupation zone, the counterrevolution felt secure from this quarter, while receiving materiel and moral support from the Germans. Having thus tied down significant Soviet forces, the German occupation eased the situation of the Russian counterrevolution in the east and in the North Caucasus.

Having begun on 18 February 1918, supposedly at the invitation of the "Ukrainian people," its offensive in Ukraine, the German government had simultaneously, as already noted by us, begun to move its forces onto the territory of the RSFSR, having advanced by the beginning of March to the line Narva—Pskov—Gomel'—Mogilyov—Orsha—Polotsk. The concluding of the Brest-Litovsk peace (3 March) halted the further advance of the German forces against the territory of the RSFSR. Having cruelly dealt with the revolutionary movement in occupied Latvia and Estonia, the German government was at the same time assisting the counterrevolutionary movement in Finland, which was headed by the former czarist General Mannerheim.<sup>20</sup> Aware that Mannerheim would not be able to cope with the Red troops with the forces of the White Finns alone and that aid with weapons and money was insufficient, the German command decided to render support to the White Finns by dispatching armed forces.

In Danzig the so-called Baltic Division was created out of three Jaeger battalions, three rifle regiments and several batteries. On 3 April this division, which landed in Hanko, undertook along with General Mannerheim's units that were attacking from the north, an operation to eliminate the units of the Finnish Red Army in the Tammerfors (Tampere)—Tavastgus (Hameenlinna)—Lakhti (Lahti) area. Aside

from the Baltic Division, the German command was also forming a composite detachment under Colonel Brandenstein (about 3,000 infantry and 12 guns), which on 10 April landed in the Loviza (Loviisa) and Kotka area 50–60 kilometers east of Gel'singfors (Helsinki). On 13 April, supported by their fleet, the Germans and White Finns occupied Gel'singfors. In the latter part of April units of the Finnish Red Army were surrounded and destroyed in the Lakhti—Tavastgust area; on 29 April Vyborg was occupied and before long an armistice was concluded with the RSFSR. The German command and the White Finnish government continued, even after the conclusion of peace with the RSFSR, to hurriedly form a Finnish army, broadly employing German instructors and weapons for the purpose of preparing a new offensive against the RSFSR. "We now dispose in Narva and Vyborg of such positions that would offer us the possibility of beginning an offensive at any moment on Petrograd in order to overthrow the Bolshevik power..." which is how Ludendorff<sup>21</sup> evaluated the situation that had come about by 30 April.

One of the organizational conclusions that the Soviet regime made from its first collision with the armed forces of the foreign counterrevolution was the necessity of having well-organized, regular armed forces for resolving those great tasks which world history had placed before the Soviet regime. Following the German occupation, the Soviet regime embarked upon the path of broad organizational work in creating a regular Red Army by moving away from the detachment system and improvisation in the sphere of creating an armed force.<sup>22</sup>

The establishment of the German occupation line put a temporary limit to the spread of the October Revolution in the west and southwest of the Soviet Republic. Thus the eastern areas of Russia and the North Caucasus acquired greater significance in the revolution's struggle with the counterrevolution. We will now move on to an examination of events taking place here.

The invasion of Ukraine and the RSFSR by the German Army could not but divert the Soviet government's attention and strength away from the already visible centers of internal counterrevolution along the Don, the Kuban' and other outlying areas. In reply to the Germans' seizure of Pskov, the Petrograd proletariat voluntarily mobilized and armed for the direct defense of the heart of the revolution—Petrograd. At 1900 on 25 February the Germans seized Pskov and in the deep February night factory whistles sounded the alarm to gather to the Smol'nyi<sup>23</sup> and other places tens of thousands of Petrograd proletarians, ready to meet the approaching armies of German imperialism with their weapons. The attention of not only Petrograd, but of the entire country, was fixed on the baleful events in the west—around Narva, Pskov and Ukraine. In this situation the forces of the internal counterrevolution received a sort of second wind. The German invasion untied the hands of the generals' counterrevolution, which was moving with the slogans of struggling against the Bolsheviks and continuing the war with Germany to a victorious conclusion. Finally, the German invasion, as we have already noted, significantly sped up the

beginning of open intervention by the Entente and the uprising by its agent—the Czechoslovak Corps.

We will now turn to an examination of events along the Kuban’.

The political struggle between the local Cossacks and the outsider population in the Kuban’ area brought in its wake the organization of both sides’ armed forces. The Kuban’ government that had already arisen under Kerenskii set about forming a local volunteer army. The army’s formation was entrusted to General Staff Captain Pokrovskii, who had been promoted by the Kuban’ *Rada* to the rank of general. At the same time the seeds of the revolution’s armed forces were beginning to organize in the Kuban’a area, partially from the outsider population and partially from units of the old Caucasus Army, which was falling back from the Caucasus front, and from Black Sea Fleet sailors. These detachments disarmed the Cossacks hostile to the Soviet regime in their areas. The disarmament was sometimes accompanied by the use of armed force. A part of the Cossacks left for the mountains, forming White Guard partisan detachments.

It was in such a setting that the organization of Soviet forces took place in the North Caucasus and, particularly in the Kuban’ area, which from revolutionary detachments lacking any kind of organization, gradually took on the aspect of military units, led by a command element, which consisted for the most part of representatives of the region’s poorest inhabitants.

Finally, the third force in the Kuban’ was Kornilov’s Volunteer Army.<sup>24</sup> Following the occupation of the Don region by Soviet forces, the Volunteer Army decided to move on the Kuban’ area, in order to link up there with Kuban’ White Guard units and to establish its base in the Kuban’ for the subsequent struggle with the Soviet regime. As a result of this decision by the Volunteer Army command there followed its campaign, known by its participants as the “Ice March.” However, the beginning of this campaign on 12 March 1918 nearly coincided with the overthrow of the Kuban’ Cossack government (*Rada*). On 13 March 1918 the government, along with a small detachment of loyal troops loyal to it, was driven out of Yekaterinodar by local revolutionary forces and was forced to wander in the nearby mountains. This circumstance was not yet known to Kornilov.

The Volunteer Army’s forces upon leaving Rostov did not exceed 4,000 men, with eight field guns. In his movement, Kornilov had to reckon with the danger of encountering Soviet forces in the area in the area of the Rostov—Tikhoretskaya—Torgovaya railroad or to fear their possible pursuit. While skillfully avoiding contact with major Soviet forces that were quartered in rail cars along the rail lines and along major communications junctions, Kornilov entered the confines of the Kuban’ region, where he first learned of the fate of the Kuban’ Cossack government.

The hopes for support from the local Kuban’ Cossacks did not pan out; the Volunteer Army’s forces were met not only with indifference, but even with hostility, and many *stanitsas* had to be taken in fighting against local partisans. However, after

several maneuver operations, Kornilov managed on 30 March to link up with the forces of the Kuban' White Guard in Shenzhii *aul*,<sup>25</sup> which increased the Volunteer Army's strength by 3,000 men. Due to the preceding fighting, the Volunteer Army's strength had fallen to 2,700 men (including 700 wounded).

The Volunteer Army's linkup with the Kuban' Cossacks coincided with a turn in the Cossacks' (the wealthy and *kulak* population) attitude. It had been becoming more and more hostile to the Soviet regime's policy due to the struggle with the outsider peasantry over the division of the land and dissatisfaction with the requisitioning policy of the local Soviet regime, and the activity of some detachments of Black Sea Fleet sailors. On 30 March 1918 Kornilov entered into the command of all White Guard forces in the Kuban' area and, counting on the weakness of the Soviet garrison in Yekaterinodar, decided to capture it through a turning movement from the south.

At the time of the beginning of the operation against Yekaterinodar, the garrison of the latter had been reinforced with units of the old army's 39th Infantry Division, which had been transferred here from *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya. The forces of the Soviet forces were 18,000 troops, 2–3 armored cars and 10–14 guns.<sup>26</sup>

On 9 April 1918 Kornilov began a series of bloody and unsuccessful attacks on Yekaterinodar. He was killed during one of these attacks (13 April). The command of the remnants of his army was assumed by General Denikin, which hurried to begin a withdrawal back to the Don. The army carried out its retreat along the route Staro-Velichkovskaya, *stanitsa* Medvedovskaya, *stanitsa* Dyad'kovskaya, Uspenskaya, and Il'inskaya. On 13 May the Volunteer Army returned to the Don, having cleared Soviet detachments from part of the trans-Don steppe adjacent to the Don River. As a result, during the "Ice March," having covered 1,050 kilometers in 80 days (44 of them involving fighting), the Volunteer Army returned with a strength of 5,000 troops, because along the route of march it was reinforced with volunteers from the local Cossacks.

Upon arriving at the Don, General Drozdovskii's brigade, consisting of 1,000 men (including 667 officers and 370 soldiers), joined it. On the whole, Kornilov's raid on the Kuban' was of miniscule military value and it was only the shift in the attitudes of the Cossacks, the presence of the German occupation and the as-yet weak organization of Soviet forces in the North Caucasus that saved the Volunteer Army from a complete rout. It subsequently became the core for the formation of the counterrevolutionary forces of the North Caucasus and in the summer of 1918 blossomed into a real army.

We earlier followed the twisting path by which the Entente powers arrived at an open and hostile interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. The external force and backbone for the counterrevolutionary forces in the east was the Czechoslovak Corps, which was maintained through the funds of the French bourgeoisie. The majority of the Czechoslovak Corps consisted of former prisoners of war from the Austrian army, who had been taken prisoner during the World

War of 1914–1917. The heart of this corps was the small formations of Czechs and Slovaks, which had been founded by the czarist government as early as 1914. These formations had begun to hurriedly develop from the time of the February Revolution of 1917. During the October days the corps declared its neutrality and established itself in winter quarters in the area of Kiev and Poltava; only one of the corps' divisions was occupying a sector of the World War's combat front in Volhynia. The German offensive pushed it out of its established locale and the corps' rearguards took an insignificant part in the struggle against the Germans side by side with the Soviet Ukrainian forces in the area of Bakhmach station.

Upon entering the territory of Soviet Russia, the corps' representatives approached the Soviet government with a request to let the Czechoslovaks through to France.<sup>27</sup> At the end of March 1918 the Soviet government gave its permission for the Czechoslovak Corps' movement to Vladivostok, where it was to be loaded on ships for shipment to France. However, they were presented with the condition that the weapons taken from the former czarist arsenals must be returned to the Soviet regime. The start of the corps' movement coincided with the Japanese landing in Vladivostok (4 April 1918), and as a result of this a new and purely political and strategic situation was created in the Far East. This caused the Soviet regime to delay the trains until the state of affairs could be ascertained. It was contemplated shifting the Czechoslovaks through Archangel and Murmansk and then abroad. The governments of Britain and France did not reply to this, evidently because at that time the idea of employing the corps as the foundation of a future counterrevolutionary eastern front had already matured.<sup>28</sup> They managed to provoke the mass of the Czechoslovak Corps' soldiers with ill-intentioned agitation about the plan to turn them over to Germany and Austria-Hungary, as former prisoners of war. The Soviet government's proposals to voluntarily remain in Russia and choose a suitable occupation, not excluding service in the Red Army should their shipment abroad prove to be impossible, were completely unknown to the mass of Czechoslovaks.

But the corps' leaders, in the persons of Cecek,<sup>29</sup> Gajda<sup>30</sup> and Voitsekhovskii<sup>31</sup> were quite conscious of the game they were playing, while acting upon the instructions of the French mission, which they had telegraphed beforehand of their readiness to act. Having worked out a plan of operations and coordinated it in time, the Czechoslovaks actively rose up at the end of May 1918. On 25 May Gajda, with his trains, raised a revolt in Siberia, seizing Novonikolayevsk.<sup>32</sup> On 26 May Voitsekhovskii seized Chelyabinsk and, on 28 May, following a fight with the local Soviet garrisons, Cecek's trains occupied Penza and Syzran'.<sup>33</sup> The most dangerous were the Penza (8,000 soldiers) and Chelyabinsk (8,750 soldiers) groups of Czechs, due to their proximity to the revolution's vital centers. However, both of these groups initially indicated a desire to continue their movement to the east. On 7 June Voitsekhovskii's group, following a series of collisions with the Reds, occupied Omsk. On 10 June it linked up with Gajda's trains. The Penza group headed for Samara, which it captured

on 8 July, following an insignificant fight. By the beginning of June 1918 all of the Czechoslovaks' forces, including local White Guards, had concentrated in four groups:

The first group, under Cecek (the former Penza group), numbering 5,000 men, was in the Syzran'—Samara area.

The second group, under Voitsekhovskii's command, numbering 8,000 men, was in the Chelyabinsk area.

The third group, under Gajda's command, numbering 4,000 men, was in the Omsk—Novonikolayevsk area.

The fourth group, under General Diterikhs<sup>34</sup> (the Vladivostok group), numbering 14,000 men, was scattered in the area to the east of Lake Baikal and was heading for Vladivostok.

The corps' headquarters and the Czech National Council<sup>35</sup> were in the city of Omsk. Overall, the Czechoslovaks' forces numbered 30,000–40,000 men.

The Czechoslovak uprising and their activities along the enormous expanse from the Volga River to Vladivostok, along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, had the following consequences.

The 14,000-man eastern group of Czechoslovaks, under the command of General Diterikhs, at first conducted itself passively. All of its efforts were directed at successfully concentrating in the Vladivostok area, for which purpose it was engaged in negotiations with the local authorities and requesting assistance in advancing its trains. On 6 July it had concentrated in Vladivostok and had seized the city. On 7 July it occupied Nikol'sk-Ussuriiskii.

Immediately following the Czechoslovak uprising, in agreement with the Allied high council, the Japanese 12th Division landed in Vladivostok, followed by the Americans, British and French.<sup>36</sup> The Allies took upon themselves the guarding of the Vladivostok area and by their actions to the north, toward Harbin; they would secure the rear of the Czechoslovaks who had moved back to the west to link up with Gajda's Siberian group. Along the road to Manchuria, Diterikhs's group linked up with Khorvat's<sup>37</sup> and Kalmykov's<sup>38</sup> detachments, and in the Olovyanaya station area (The Trans-Baikal Railroad) it restored communications in August with Gajda's and Semyonov's detachment.

Part of the Red detachments in the Far East were taken prisoner, while part of them withdrew into the *taiga* and mountains, blowing up bridges along the rail lines and putting up all possible resistance to the enemy.

In Omsk, following its seizure by the Czechoslovaks, a provisional Siberian government was formed, to which the Czechoslovaks pledged their support. They facilitated the intensified formation of White Guards and Cossack detachments.

In Omsk, on 10 June, following the link-up of the Chelyabinsk and Siberian groups of Czechoslovaks, a meeting of the Czech command took place with the representatives of the newly created Siberian White government. The meeting decided to organize the struggle with Soviet forces according to the following plan. The overall



leadership of the Czechoslovak forces was to be entrusted to the corps commander, Shokorov,<sup>39</sup> while all the forces would be divided into three groups: the Western, under the command of Colonel Voitsekhovskii, was to attack across the Urals on Zlatoust, Ufa and Samara and link up with Cecek's Penza group, which remained in the Volga area. They were to then develop their operations against Yekaterinburg from the southwest; the second group of Czechoslovaks, under the command of Syrov,<sup>40</sup> was to attack along the Tyumen' railroad in the direction of Yekaterinburg, for the purpose of diverting to itself as many Soviet forces as possible and to ease the advance of the Western Group, which was to unite with Cecek's Penza Group, and then together with it, to occupy Yekaterinburg.

On 15 July 1918 a second meeting of the Czechoslovak command with the White Guard governments that had formed on territory occupied by the Czechoslovaks, took place in the city of Chelyabinsk. An agreement was reached at this meeting regarding joint military activities of these governments' forces with the Czechoslovaks.

Cecek's Penza Group, having occupied Samara, was attacking on Ufa with part of its forces throughout July, gathering White Guard forces to itself along the way and pushing back comrade Blokhin's detachment, which had been advanced from Ufa. On 5 July Cecek's detachments occupied Ufa, and on 3 July they linked up with the Czechoslovaks' Chelyabinsk units near Minyar station. Having carried out its initial task of seizing the Trans-Siberian Railroad, the Czechoslovaks continued operations to seize the entire Ural area, attacking Yekaterinburg with their main forces, while less significant forces moved south, in the direction of Troitsk and Orenburg. These actions meant the occupation of a jumping-off area for carrying out that plan for intervention of which we spoke earlier.

The uprising by the Czechoslovak Corps hit the Soviet Republic at the moment when the creation of its armed forces was beginning to develop. Its available forces were tied down along the Don front and along the demarcation line with the Austro-Germans. Thus the dispatch of new forces for fighting the Czechoslovaks was quite difficult.

Besides this, an entire series of conditions facilitated the rapid territorial spread of the Czechoslovak advance in the Urals. A social peculiarity of the Ural proletariat in comparison with the proletariat of the Leningrad and central industrial regions was, as we have noted, its strong tie to the land. Thus the peasantry's waverings found their reflection in the mood of the proletariat. The proletariat's advance guard, which was most developed in the class sense and which was under the ideological and organizational leadership of the Communist Party, had been weakened by the dispatch of significant cadres for the fighting on the various fronts. The influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries continued to tell, even in the major factory areas, and among the remaining worker population, which had been "watered down" by recent arrivals from the peasant masses and which had not yet had time to become infused with class self-consciousness of the age of the dictatorship of the proletariat.



The approach of the Czechoslovaks served as the pretext for a series of riots and uprisings, which had been prepared by the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries.

For example, on 13 June 1918 an uprising of workers of the Verkhne-Nev'yansk and Rudyansk factories broke out. An uprising took place in Tyumen'. During the Czechoslovaks' attack on Kyshtym, the workers of the Polevskoi and Severushka factories arrested their soviets. The uprisings took place as well in the Kusa, Votkinsk, Izhevsk, and other factories. As a result of the aforementioned circumstances in the Urals, and given the small number of its working class and natural conditions, which facilitated to an extreme degree both the organization of a regular defense, as well as of a partisan war, it could not, however, be a proletarian fortress capable of delaying the wave of the White Guard invasion. The internal condition of the Urals and the absence of the centralized organization of leadership were reflected in the military sphere.

The army consisted of the totality of detachments and "small detachments," sometimes 13 men and more, with several "armed groups" of no more than ten to twenty men. For example, on 1 June 1918 there were 13 such detachments in positions around Mias, the overall number of which did not exceed 1,105 infantry, 22 cavalry and nine machine guns. In spite of this, the cadres of many of these detachments consisted of quite conscientious and self-sacrificing workers, but who due to their complete lack of knowledge of military affairs, proved to be completely unprepared for battle with regular troops. The Red armed forces in Siberia were in approximately the same state. In his memoirs (*Stages in the Red Army's Construction*, published in 1920), comrade Berzin, the former commander of the Ural-Siberian Front, gave us the overall strength of these forces, the main group of which was located in the Yekaterinburg—Chelyabinsk area in June 1918 and consisted of approximately 2,500 men, 36 machine guns and three platoons of artillery. These are the kinds of difficult conditions in which the Soviet regime had to lay down the first planks of the future well-balanced organization of the Red Eastern Front.

The first step in this regard was the formation of the Northern Ural-Siberian Front on 13 June 1918 (comrade Berzin). This measure was adopted in a timely fashion: the enemy was already 35–40 kilometers from Yekaterinburg. The unity of command and its energetic organizational work in the front and rear yielded its results: we managed to delay the enemy around Yekaterinburg for an extra month and a half. At the same time, a broad political campaign was conducted among the local population. Numerous agitators were sent to the major industrial centers. The printing press was the command's powerful ally.<sup>41</sup> We managed to establish the beginnings of a correct military leadership and organization in the units of the Siberian formations that had fallen back from Omsk and Tyumen'.

However, the Northern Ural-Siberian Front existed for only a day. Its appearance, as the result of local initiative, coincided in time with orders from the central

authorities to organize the unified command of the Red Eastern Front, to which Murav'yov, who had commanded Soviet forces in Ukraine, was to be placed in command, with the rank of commander-in-chief. At the time of its transformation into the 3rd Army, the Northern Ural-Siberian Front was securing the following: the Yekaterinburg—Chelyabinsk axis with forces numbering 1,800 infantry, 11 machine guns, three guns, 30 cavalry, and three armored cars. Along the Shadrinsk axis, the front disposed of 1,382 infantry, 28 machine guns, ten cavalry, and one armored car. In the Tyumen' area (Omsk axis), there were 1,400 infantry, 21 machine guns and 107 cavalry. These forces had in reserve 2,000 unarmed workers in Tyumen'. The command's overall reserve did not exceed 380 infantry, 150 cavalry and two batteries.<sup>42</sup>

By this time the formation of four Red armies was noted; the 1st, along the Simbirsk, Syzran' and Samara axes (in the Simbirsk—Syzran'—Samara—Penza area), the 2nd along the Orenburg—Ufa front, the 3rd along the Chelyabinsk—Yekaterinburg axis (in the Perm'—Yekaterinburg—Chelyabinsk area), and the Special Army along the Saratov—Ural axis (in the Saratov—Urbakh area). Front headquarters was located in Kazan'.

The first period of the campaign along the eastern front was for the Reds an organizational period for gathering their forces. The uprising by the Czechoslovak Corps, in the interests of the Entente powers and the local counterrevolution, enabled the enemies of the Soviet regime to tear from Soviet Russia the enormous territory of the Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East; it facilitated the creation of White Guard armies on this territory and halted the delivery of food for the starving central provinces. The Czechoslovaks, having seized the initiative, put the Soviet government in a difficult situation. This situation became particularly difficult in connection with internal events in the form of the uprising of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow and the beginning of the intervention in the north of Russia.

The uprising by the Right Socialist Revolutionaries<sup>43</sup> in Yaroslavl' and other cities was organized by the representatives of the Entente and the leaders of the Russian counterrevolution. Aside from its political significance, about which we spoke earlier, the uprising had the goal of uniting the activities of the interventionists in the north and the Czechoslovaks in the east with the internal anti-Soviet front. The uprising was raised by Right Socialist Revolutionaries on the night of 2–3 July 1918, relying on secret officers' organization, which had been created by B. Savinkov,<sup>44</sup> and using money released by the French military mission. General Lavergne, the chief of this mission, insisted on hurrying up the start of the mutiny. Less important uprisings took place in Rybinsk and Murom, but were quickly suppressed by local Soviet forces. The elimination of the Yaroslavl' uprising, which was carried out in an extremely stubborn struggle, stretched out for two weeks and required the dispatch of reinforcements from Moscow.

The uprising by the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow had as its goal the thwarting of the Brest-Litovsk peace with Germany. Its start may be considered the murder on 5 July 1918 of the German ambassador, Count Mirbach,<sup>45</sup> after which there followed an armed rising by the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow, which was finally suppressed on 8 July. These uprisings, despite their short-lived character, were also reflected on the newly created Red Eastern Front.

Murav'yov, the commander-in-chief of the front and a Left Socialist Revolutionary, issued orders to his forces to move on Moscow to support the Left Socialist Revolutionaries.<sup>46</sup>

The Czechoslovak uprising was reflected in the situation in the Orenburg and Ural'sk steppes. The movement for an uprising, which had died down for the winter, once again began to develop among the Orenburg Cossacks. Dutov took advantage of this situation and with a detachment of 600 troops and five machine guns came out of the Torgai Steppe and moved on Orenburg, which he occupied on 3 July. Upon carrying out a reorganization of his forces, Dutov began to operate from Orenburg in the direction of Aktyubinsk, toward Verkhneural'sk and Orsk.

The Red detachments, which ended up in the thick of this movement, were forced to abandon the Orenburg region, while Blyukher's<sup>47</sup> and Kashirin's<sup>48</sup> detachments fell back on Verkhneural'sk, the Orsk detachments went to Orsk, and the Turkestan detachments returned to Turkestan through Aktyubinsk.

As a result of the strategic situation that had come about by the middle of June in the area of the Urals and the Volga and given the presence of the Czechoslovaks in the area of Penza, Chelyabinsk and Omsk, the city of Yekaterinburg had enormous importance. For the Czechs, it was important because it lay along their flank and threatened their communications in an offensive to the Volga; for Soviet Russia it had significance as a major industrial and workers' center, which was connected to Petrograd by the shortest rail line through Vyatka, Vologda and Perm'.

The northwestern group of Czechoslovaks was attacking along the Omsk—Tyumen'—Yekaterinburg railroad. Here comrade Eideman's so-called 1st Siberian Army, which was part of the 3rd Army, was successfully holding the Czechoslovak group. Eideman's army consisted of small detachments that had not yet been organized into regiments and which did not exceed 3,000–4,000 troops, but its main core consisted of workers from Perm', Tyumen' and Omsk.

This army was putting up stubborn resistance to the Czechs, while falling back from one line to another. It had a number of successful fights along the line of the Nishma River (east of the town of Tyumen').

This group of Reds juttred deeply into the Whites' overall front, while also occupying the Kamyshlov area and thus threatening the flank of the Czechs, who were simultaneously developing an offensive from Chelyabinsk on Yekaterinburg. The Czechoslovaks' Chelyabinsk group, upon linking up with the Penza group and the Russian White Guards, achieved a strength of up to 13,000 soldiers. Voitsekhovskii

commanded it. The latter's offensive developed more successfully. On 25 July 1918 the Czechoslovaks took Yekaterinburg from the direction of Chelyabinsk. Only then did Eideman's group, which had been renamed the 1st Siberian Division, fall back on Alapayevsk in connection with the Red 3rd Army's overall retreat.

Subsequently, until the end of the first half of October, fighting continued in the Urals in the Yekaterinburg area and the passes through the Middle Urals; the Reds sought to retake Yekaterinburg in order to divert the Czechoslovak forces from the Volga area, while the latter, just the opposite, were attempting to broaden the boundaries of area captured. These mutual goals drew significant forces from both sides to the Yekaterinburg area.

Against the background of these events on the eastern front, both sides continued to deploy their forces: the internal counterrevolutionaries and Czechoslovaks, by means of local mobilizations, and the Soviet command by means of local formations and bringing in significant reinforcements, including the Red Army's first regular formations from various parts of the country.

By the middle of July 1918 the overall strength of the Red Eastern Front had already reached 40,000–50,000 men, spread along a 2,000-kilometer front. These forces gradually moved from a casual organization to the beginnings of a proper troop organization, with the Red 1st Army, which was operating along the Simbirsk axis and under the command of M. N. Tukhachevskii, taking the lead in this matter. The Red 3rd Army, under the command of comrade Berzin along the Perm'—Yekaterinburg axis, was distinguished by the greatest combat capability. It consisted chiefly of workers from local factories—a highly conscientious element needing only military training.

As before, the offensive initiative remained in the hands of the enemy. By 25 July they had already completely occupied the Samara, Ufa and Yekaterinburg provinces, had captured the city of Simbirsk, and in some places were already approaching the Kama River.<sup>49</sup>

The new Eastern Front command, in the person of comrade Vatsetis, saw as its first task halting the enemy advance, which was achieved along some axes. Comrade Vatsetis had as his second task the regularizing of the troops' organization and, finally, he sought to create a strategic reserve. Besides this, being concerned for covering the important Kazan' axis, which was completely accessible to the enemy, the Eastern Front commander set about concentrating along this axis units from which the 5th Army was to be formed. It was planned to raise its strength to 3,500–4,000 infantry, 350–400 cavalry, 3–4 light and two heavy batteries. Latvian units were to be the core of this army.

On 28 July 1918 comrade Vatsetis drew up his plan for a meeting offensive, the essence of which came down to seizing the enemy's forces operating along the front Simbirsk—Syzran' in a pincers by means of a double attack along the left bank of the Volga River: from the north, from Chistopol' on Simbirsk, and from the south, from Urbakh on Samara. The realization of this task was to be entrusted to three

armies (1st, 5th and 4th), while the remaining two (2nd and 3rd) were supposed to launch supporting attacks on Ufa and Yekaterinburg.

Bold in its design, Vatsetis's plan demanded a high degree of maneuver from the forces subordinated to him, of which they were not yet capable; besides this, one of the armies (the 5th) designated for launching the main attack was only just beginning to concentrate. Nevertheless, the offensive was begun in the first days of August. But it was not developed to a sufficient degree because of the armies' lack of readiness for broad and coordinated maneuver operations and the small amount of forces that could be set aside for this operation. Only the 2nd and 3rd Armies began the offensive. The 2nd Army attempted to attack on Bugul'ma with a detachment of 1,000 infantry, but this offensive was eliminated by the enemy as early as 5 August. The 3rd Army operated more decisively and successfully; while launching an attack from the north from the Nizhnii Tagil' area, it nearly reached Yekaterinburg, but the unsteadiness of one of its divisions forced it to begin a withdrawal. In any event, the 3rd Army's offensive yielded certain strategic results. It forced the enemy to pull significant reserves to this axis.

The enemy, in his turn, organized an attack on Kazan' with a 2,000-man detachment, with four guns and six armed steamboats.

The enemy forces moved on Kazan' from Simbirsk, partly by land and partly along the Volga. In the course of five days (1–5 August) they fought along the approaches to Kazan', while only a few Latvian companies, commanded by Eastern Front commander Vatsetis, who remained in Kazan' until the last moment, put up energetic resistance to them. However, on 6 August 1918 the enemy broke into the city, where throughout the entire day there was a stubborn fight by several companies of the Latvian 5th Regiment, led by Eastern Front commander I. I. Vatsetis. The Serbian International Battalion, which was occupying the Kazan' fortress, went over to the enemy. Late in the evening comrade Vatsetis abandoned the city on foot with a handful of his riflemen.

The enemy's seizure of Kazan' had not so much strategic as economic consequences. The RSFSR's gold reserve, worth 651.5 million gold rubles was seized in Kazan', as well as 110 million rubles in banknotes. This reserve went to, in succession, the Ufa Directory,<sup>50</sup> the Kolchak government, and only as the civil war was winding down was part of it returned to the Soviet government.

Following the enemy's capture of Kazan', the following correlation of forces arose on the eastern front. The enemy's Volga Army, under the command of Colonel Cecek, numbering 14,000–16,000 infantry, 90–120 guns and 1–1½ cavalry regiments, was deployed along the Volga from Kazan' to Samara, inclusively. The army disposed of a flotilla of 16–20 armed steamboats. South of this army, in the Orenburg and Ural'sk provinces, the forces of the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks, which may be numbered at approximately 10,000–15,000 cavalry and 30–40 guns, were operating. North of the Volga Army, along the Yekaterinburg—Perm' axis, the enemy's Yekaterinburg

Army was deployed under the command of Colonel Voitsekhovskii; its forces had reached 22,000–26,500 infantry and cavalry, with 45–60 guns, including about 4,000 rebels from the Izhevsk—Votkinsk area. Thus the enemy on the eastern front disposed of 40,000–57,500 infantry and cavalry, with 165–220 guns.<sup>51</sup> The Eastern Front command could oppose these forces with the following armies:

The Red 4th Army (Khvesin),<sup>52</sup> numbering 22,632 infantry, four squadrons of cavalry, 58 field and six heavy guns along the Samara and Saratov axes. This army had the task of capturing Samara, while it had to deal with active groups of the enemy attacking from Vol'sk on Balashov, and from Ural'sk on Saratov.

The Red 1st Army (Tukhachevskii), which numbered 6,818 infantry, 682 cavalry and 50 guns, was along the Simbirsk axis. This army had the task of preventing the enemy from using the Volga River as a lateral communications artery, for which it was to quickly take Simbirsk.

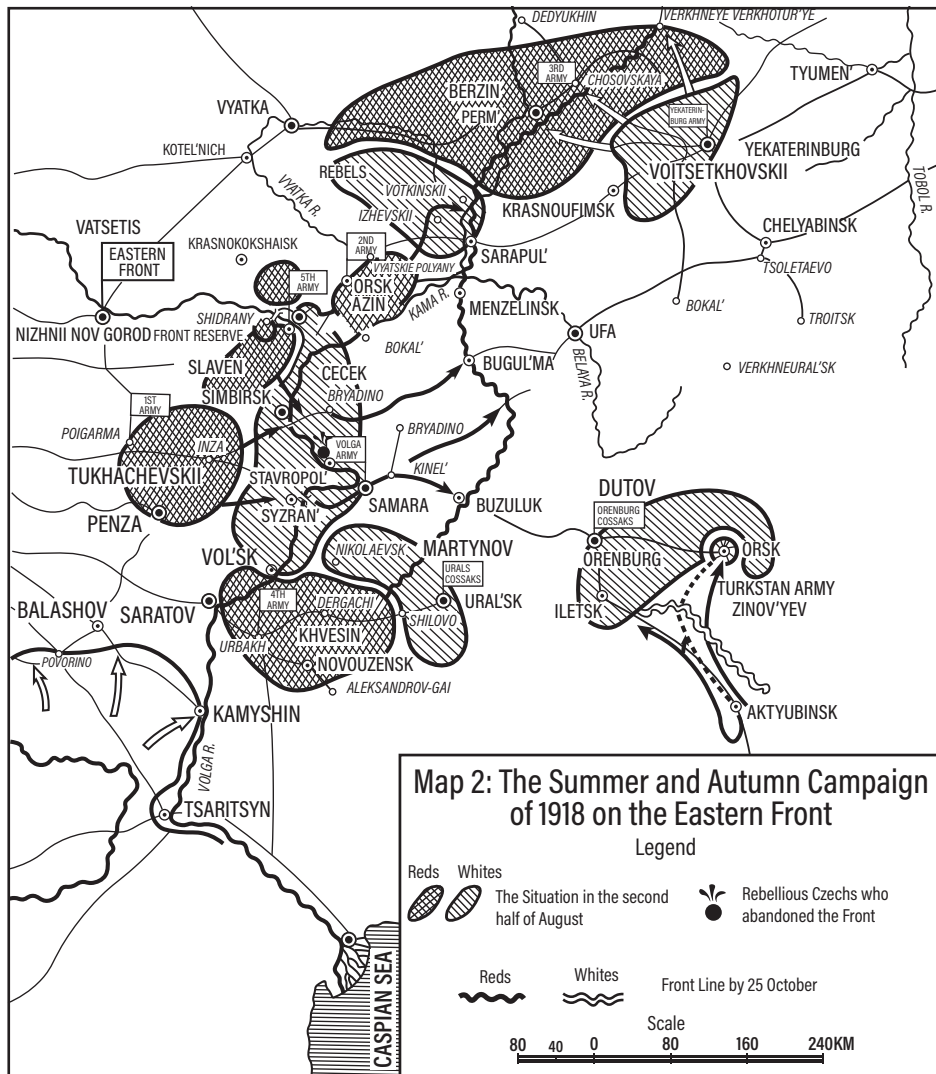
The 5th Army (Slaven),<sup>53</sup> was in the Kazan' area in two groups along the right and left banks of the Volga, with an overall strength of 8,425 infantry, 540 cavalry, 37 light, and six heavy guns, and the 2nd Army (Azin),<sup>54</sup> which had been brought up to Kazan' by Eastern Front commander comrade Vatsetis and which was operating from the Orsk area; its strength was 2,500 infantry, 600 cavalry, 12 light, and two heavy guns. The front reserve numbered 1,230 infantry, 100 cavalry and six guns and was concentrating at Shidransk station. The Red command's immediate task in the Kazan' area was the capture of the city of Kazan' by the 2nd Army's forces, the 5th Army's left-bank group and the small and weak Red Volga Military Flotilla.

The Red 3rd Army (Berzin), numbering 18,119 infantry, 1,416 cavalry and 43 guns, was operating along the Perm' axis. These forces were scattered along a 900-kilometer front, while Voitsekhovskii's numerically weaker army was deployed along a front four times shorter and was operating along internal operational lines, which explains its preceding successes.

Besides this, there was the Red Turkestan Army (Zinov'yev),<sup>55</sup> numbering 6,000–7,000 infantry and 1,000–1,500 cavalry, which was not in contact with the front's forces, but which was operating against the Whites from Tashkent on Orenburg and Orsk. At the end of September 1918 it was approaching the Orsk area.

The overall strength of the Red Eastern Front, not counting the Turkestan Army, was 58,486 infantry, 3,238 cavalry, 200 light and 14 heavy guns, and together with the Turkestan Army it reached 64,000–65,000 infantry and 4,000–5,000 cavalry. Thus our numerical superiority over the enemy was insignificant. Besides this, the absence of a correct organization in the front, which had only just begun, had a highly negative effect on its internal condition. For example, the 5th Army's infantry consisted of 47 units directly controlled by the army headquarters, in spite of the presence in the same army of up to 40 small headquarters. Collectivism, which had been taken to an extreme degree, dominated the methods of army control.







In order to carry out this or that regrouping, a military council would gather, which reached its decision through a majority of votes. It's understandable why military operations developed with extreme slowness, while at the same time the enemy in the Kazan' area was in a very difficult situation. Here his forces, which did not exceed 2,000–2,500 men, occupied a bulging front 100–120 kilometers in length and were flanked by the nearly five-fold superior forces of the 2nd and 5th Armies. Azin, the commander of the 2nd Army, repeatedly attempted to take Kazan' by storm, but his attempts were restrained by Slaven, the commander of the 5th Army, who controlled the operations of both armies, due to his army's lack of readiness and the low combat capability of the 5th Army's infantry, which placed all its hopes on artillery fire. Thus combat operations to retake Kazan' stretched out for a whole month.

During this time the Whites' Kazan' group unsuccessfully attempted to capture the rail bridge over the Volga at Sviyazhsk. Cecek attempted to support the Whites' Kazan' group, dispatching from Simbirsk Kappel's<sup>56</sup> detachment, consisting of 2,340 infantry and cavalry and 14 guns, by steamship. On 27 August 1918 this detachment attacked the 5th Army's right-bank group around Sviyazhsk, but was completely defeated by a counterattack by the Latvian riflemen,<sup>57</sup> and as early as 28 August the remnants of Kappel's detachment had fallen back to the south from Tetyushi, where they scattered. The rout of Kappel's detachment was the prerequisite for the retaking of Kazan', which fell on 9 September under the 2nd Army's attacks. Thus the sole, and besides, unfavorable result of Kappel's march for the enemy was the weakening of his Siberian group, which made it easier for the Red 1st Army to carry out its tasks; the army took Simbirsk in fighting on 12 September. The fall of Kazan' and Simbirsk was rich in strategic results. It signified the pushing back of the enemy from the line of the middle Volga. Actually, as early as 13 September the enemy abandoned Vol'sk. Subsequently, the Red 1st Army shifted the center of its efforts to the Samara axis.

Demoralization began to set in among the enemy's troops, especially the mobilized "People's" Army; its units quickly abandoned the front facing the Red 5th and 1st Armies. The enemy's Simbirsk group, which held out along the left bank of the Volga until 29 September, also began to fall back rapidly to the east. The Reds' successes around Kazan' and Simbirsk expanded to the scale of a strategic breakthrough of the enemy's front. On 4 October the Czechoslovaks who had risen up in the town of Stavropol' (Samara region) abandoned the town and headed for Ufa along the railroad. On 4 October units of the "people's" army left the city of Syzran', while the demoralization among them also spread to the officers' units.<sup>58</sup>

The difficult situation along the fronts, as well as the increasing activity of the counterrevolutionary forces, forced the party as early as the middle of the summer of 1918 to go over to a wartime footing. The first mobilizations of workers, born in 1896 and 1897, were carried out magnificently in Moscow and Petrograd. The Putilov

factory workers, more than 300 of which had been called up into the Red Army, gathered at their factory, lined up in formation, and singing the “Internationale”<sup>59</sup> and accompanied by 200,000 workers, departed to their assembly point.

Petrograd sent no less than 300 well-known communist workers to the Czechoslovak front through Moscow. The latest mobilization of the 1893, 1894 and 1895 age groups passed successfully not only in the capitals<sup>60</sup>: a joint session of the soviet and all the workers’ and Red Army organizations took place in Kostroma on 14 August. A resolution was adopted that spoke of the necessity of conducting a complete mobilization of the workers of Kostroma and the poor peasants in the countryside. In Tver’ the local communist organization sent one-fifth of its members to the front (communication of 16 August). In the Urals, some factories, for example, the Nadezhda Factory sent all their communists to the front.

At this time the trade unions were still just forming food detachments, which had a not unimportant military significance. In Petrograd on 20 August 1918 the Central Food Authority registered 3,300 people who had signed up for the food detachments: the metal workers’, stationery workers’ and wood workers’ unions acted with particular success.

The universal military training of the toilers was developing: 45,000 people were caught up in this movement in Moscow, and in Petrograd they were getting ready to bring the number of students to 90,000 at the end of August, which is how a reserve for future mobilizations was created. Besides this, the military training of communists was carried out with particular vigor.

This is how documents from that time reflected the influence of the party mobilizations at the front: a Red Army soldier from the Kazan’ front wrote that “with the arrival of large parties of communist organizers, we decided to take the initiative into our own hands and go from defense to offensive.” Comrade Lashevich<sup>61</sup> reported from the Ural front that much had been neglected there, but that “You won’t recognize the Urals now. The Petersburg workers have carried out a colossal amount of work...”

When the first reports of the major victory around Kazan’ arrived, the overall tone of the party and soviet newspapers was that “we must immediately create new cadres in place of those who have left for the front.” On 14 September comrade Yemel’yan Yaroslavskii<sup>62</sup> wrote: From practically everywhere we hear that in the resurrection of our Red Army an extremely important role was played by the Communist Party, which sent its best forces to the army at the front. They revived and made healthier the entire organism of the Red Army, showed immortal examples of steadfastness and revolutionary discipline.”

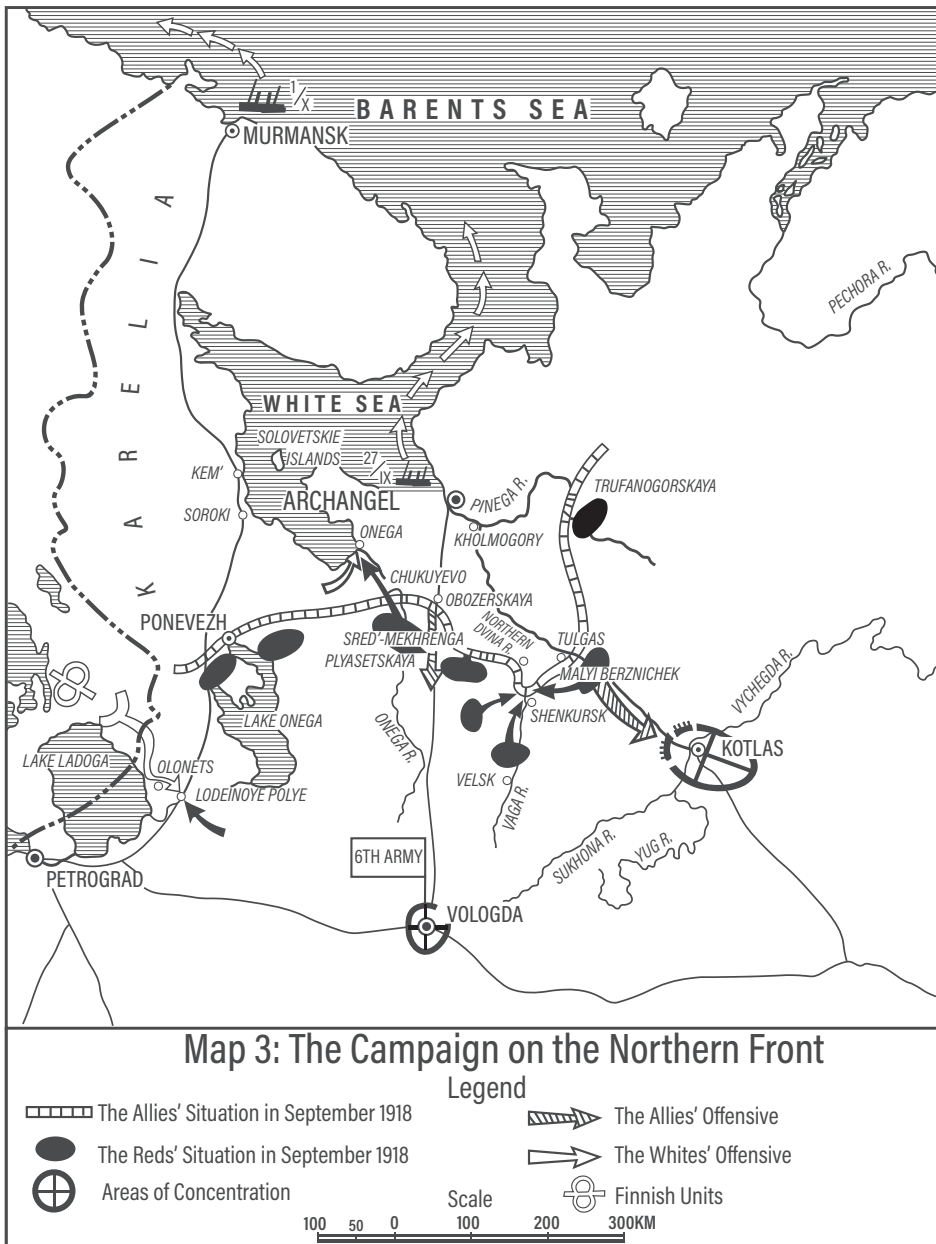
However, the successes of Red arms along the middle Volga, as a result of the large size of the theater, did not have much influence on the course of affairs in the basin of the upper Kama River. There, quite the opposite, the enemy, while relying on the Izhevsk—Votkinsk area, which was in the throes of a stubborn revolt and

numbering 5,500 armed soldiers and restricting the Red 2nd Army's freedom, continued to accumulate its forces along the Perm' axis, concentrating in the Verkhotur'ye—Sarapul'—Yekaterinburg triangle up to 31,510 infantry and cavalry and 68 guns. These forces were attempting to turn the left flank of the Red 3rd Army, which was operating along the Perm' axis, from the direction of Verkhotur'ye. However, the difficult local conditions of the theater, which were linked to the 3rd Army's active defense, conditioned the extremely slow development of the enemy's operations along this axis. The situation along this sector of the Red front became more secure when in the beginning of November the 2nd Army managed to crush the enemy's resistance in the Izhevsk—Votkinsk area and advance significantly. The significance of the 2nd Army's success was that it sliced off the most stubbornly held salient in the enemy's front.

Meanwhile, the Eastern Front's Red 1st and 4th Armies, while developing the success achieved, captured Samara on 7 October. Subsequently, upon shifting their operations to the left bank of the Volga, the Red 5th and 1st Armies developed their further offensive along a broad front, arriving by 25 October at the line Bugul'ma—Menzelinsk, and ended up somewhat in front of the 3rd Army. This offensive unfolded as the demoralization in the enemy ranks continued, while the collapse was particularly noticeable in his rear, where mobilizations were unsuccessfully being conducted and the majority of those mobilized ran away. The situation along the eastern front began to look quite favorable in the eyes of the then Soviet high command and it did not consider it yet necessary, taking into account the situation along the other fronts, to reinforce the eastern front.

The history of the origin of the civil war's northern front goes back to the so-called Murman agreement between the local Soviet regime and the Entente's military command.

Natsarenus,<sup>63</sup> the Soviet government's plenipotentiary commissar, arrived in Murmansk to eliminate mutual misunderstandings. He demanded the official recognition of the Soviet regime. The latter obliged the Red forces to secure the Murmansk railroad against White Finnish encroachments. This proposal seemed favorable to the Entente, because its forces along the Murman coast at this time consisted of a battalion of British sailors (400–500 men) and a small Serbian detachment. Negotiations for a subsequent landing of Allied forces were conducted between the local soviet and the Anglo-French command, but an agreement had not yet been signed. The Allied command's hopes for the arrival of the Czechoslovak Corps from the depths of Russia fell by the way, because this corps launched an armed uprising against the Soviet regime on 25–26 May. In this situation, the representatives of the Allied command, lacking direct communications with their embassies, which were in Vologda, took diplomatic functions upon themselves. They telegraphed their governments as to their unconditional desire for their immediate recognition of the Soviet regime. Such were the first results of the negotiations of



Natsarenus and the Murmansk soviet with the Allies, while the soviet at first did not refuse to carry out the instructions of the Moscow center.

However, the Allies were gradually increasing the number of their warships along the Murman coast and their forces in the Murmansk area. British General Poole,<sup>64</sup> who was in Murmansk from 25 May, was gradually preparing a base for a future invasion with the help of arriving reinforcements, while carrying out a reconnaissance of the Murman coastline and occupying the Solovetskie Islands. Given such a state of affairs, Natsarenus's mission could not be crowned with success and the Soviet government demanded the cessation of negotiations between the Murmansk soviet and the Allied command. Part of the soviet's members, led by its chairman, Yur'yev,<sup>65</sup> did not carry out this demand and cut off communications with Moscow without authorization, declaring the independence of the Murmansk area and concluding on 8 July 1918 a corresponding treaty with the Entente. But even then the question of opening the intervention was not raised. The Entente needed to win time so that their ambassadors could return safely from Vologda into the sphere of their military influence. The betrayal by a part of the Murmansk soviet freed General Poole's hands and he set about gradually occupying the Murman coast. Despite the Soviet government's protests, on 17 July the Allied finally reached an agreement with the Murmansk soviet, while the basis of the treaty was an agreement on joint actions against the powers of the German coalition while at the same time preserving the autonomy of the Russian military command and the sovereignty of the Murmansk soviet in the region's internal affairs. This agreement was protested by a conference of soviets of the northern area, but there was nothing that could actually be done, because during the period of time from 2 through 12 July General Poole was able to occupy the Murmansk area and the southernmost point of penetration by British detachments was Soroki station, where they were already coming into contact with Red Army detachments. By the end of July the overall strength of the forces under General Poole's command was already approaching 8,000 men.

The forces which the Soviet command in the north disposed of at this time did not exceed 4,000 men, scattered over an enormous territory; the most significant garrison in Archangel consisted of 600 men. The slowness of the enemy's actions enabled the Red command to take timely measures to remove valuable military stores along the Northern Dvina River to Kotlas.

On 2 August 1918 a British landing occupied Archangel, aided by a White Guard uprising. After this, the Entente landed 10,334 men in Murmansk and 13,182 men in Archangel in several stages, while there were barely enough Russian White Guard troops to form two small detachments.

A Socialist Revolutionary "Government of the Northern Region" was formed in Archangel, headed by Chaikovskii<sup>66</sup> (a former "People's Will"<sup>67</sup> member), which, despite its counterrevolutionary and compromising character, did not satisfy the

Allies, for whom it was nevertheless too left-wing. Despite their declarations of not wishing to interfere in the region's internal affairs, the Allies dispersed this government, replacing it with their obedient creature in the person of General Miller,<sup>68</sup> leaving Chaikovskii in power only as a fig leaf.

The British command disposed of two operational axes for the development of subsequent operations: the Vologda—Moscow axis, which coincided with the railroad line, and the Kotlas—Vyatka axis, which coincided with the Northern Dvina River (as far as Kotlas). The latter axis was quite difficult, due to local conditions. Nevertheless, from the time of the assumption of command by General Ironside,<sup>69</sup> who replaced Poole in the autumn of 1918, this axis attracted most of his attention, insofar as it would lead to a link-up with the White forces attacking from Siberia, which, as we now know, was part of the Entente's operational plan.

The enemy's actions along this axis developed slowly and with minimum efforts, and were, besides this, very cautious. As a result, by the autumn of 1918 the enemy had advanced in the Murmansk region only another 40 kilometers to the south of Soroki station, while attaching the main significance to the Archangel area, where the front ran along the line through Chekuyevovo along the Onega River—Obozerskaya station—Sred'-Mekhren'skaya—Malyi Bereznichok on the Vaga River—Tuglas on the Northern Dvina River, and then through Trufanovo on the Pinega River.

Following a prolonged period of quiet, in November 1918 the enemy attempted to advance along the Archangel railroad, seeking to capture the communications junction at Plesetskoye station, and also to advance from the town of Shenskursk along the Vaga River in the direction of the town of Vel'sk. The enemy sought through this maneuver to cut off the Red forces operating along the Archangel axis from their base, but unsuccessfully, because counterattacks by the Red troops helped them to hold their position here.

The slowness of the British command's initial actions enabled the Soviet command<sup>70</sup> to gather sufficient forces for defending our northern theater. These forces formed the Red 6th Army. The 6th Army's main cadre consisted of Petrograd workers. These detachments were distinguished by high political consciousness, which later secured the army's powerful cohesion. In November 1918 the 6th Army's forces in the Archangel area reached 5,477 infantry, 145 machine guns and 27 guns. The Archangel area's reserve consisted of 930 infantry and 18 machine guns. Units numbering 336 infantry and 25 machine guns were gathering in the Vologda area.

From the moment the enemy's offensive upstream along the Northern Dvina and the threat to Kotlas (from where the railroad to Vyatka began) was detected, the Red command took measures to organize the defense of the town of Kotlas, in which 4,336 infantry, 59 machine guns and 39 guns were concentrated, including those forces operating in the Pechora River area.

Until the end of 1918 fighting took place with intermittent success along the northern front, while at the end of December fraternization began between the Soviet

and Anglo-French forces. The 6th Army command latched on to this movement and took it under its control, which caused a partial demoralization among the enemy forces.

By late autumn the secondary significance of the northern front against the overall backdrop of the civil war had become clear and subsequent operations here took on an exclusively local significance. As a result, despite the seizure of the city of Archangel in the beginning of August 1918 and the nearly simultaneous fall of Kazan', the Anglo-French were nevertheless unable to carry out their plan for forming a unified northeastern front. This can be explained not only by their slow and indecisive actions, but chiefly by the successful active operations on the part of the central Soviet authorities, who managed to concentrate in time sufficient forces to repel the enemy along the northern and eastern fronts, and the successful actions of the Red forces.

The interventionists' initial successes were far from corresponding to the goals they had set for themselves. The relative insignificance of the results can be explained by the absence of coordination of actions in time and space inherent in any coalition. The operations of the British landing were too late by a month and developed extremely slowly. As a result of this, the uprising along the middle Volga (in Yaroslavl' and other cities) remained isolated and was easily suppressed. It also could not be supported by the eastern anti-Soviet front, because the Czechoslovaks, instead of quickly seizing the line of the Volga and Kama rivers, spent two months strengthening their position in the Urals.

A turning point in the attitudes of the Soviet Republic and army was the result of the intervention and the linked revival of the internal counterrevolution. For the first time, everyone understood that the country was facing a mortal danger. The mass movement to the front of the conscious proletarians—union and Communist Party members—made easier and almost painless the change from Red Guard detachments to an organized, centralized and centrally controlled Red Army.

The first events of the civil war revealed its international character. German imperialism, the Entente, the White Don, the Czechoslovaks, and the Kornilov movement—all of these were links of the one and the same fiery ring, which as early as the middle of 1918 closed around the Soviet Republic. On the other hand, these events also reveal the deeply international character of the October Revolution and its main driving forces. Detachments of former prisoners of war: Magyars, Czechs and Germans came to the defense of the Soviet regime. A German proletarian, who had landed in a revolutionary country as the old army's prisoner of war, bravely fought against German imperialism. The sympathy of the toiling masses for the Soviet Republic grew throughout the world. At the same time that the cannons of world imperialism roared along all the borders of the Soviet Republic, which had been pressed into a fiery ring, the incomparably more long-range slogans of the October Revolution began to shake the foundations of the old world and roar in the most nether reaches of the globe.





## CHAPTER 4

# The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Southern Front and in the North Caucasus

*The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Southern Front, in the North Caucasus and in the Terek Region*

The approaching wave of the German occupation fanned the dying embers of the White Cossack rebelliousness on the Don into a great fire. Powerful mutinous groups arose almost simultaneously in the towns of Aleksandrov-Grushevsk and Novocherkassk, and the trans-Don group of rebels, which was formed from those detachments which had split off from the Volunteer Army during its first Kuban' campaign in the winter of 1918, began to operate along the left bank of the Don against *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya.

With the German forces' approaching the borders of the Don region these groups became quite active; on 6 May 1918 rebellious Cossacks occupied Novocherkassk. On 8 May they entered Rostov together with the Germans, and on 11 May they captured Aleksandrov-Grushevsk, thus securing for themselves unhindered space for their formations and employing for this purpose their old territorial administration.

The Don Army began to rapidly grow in numbers. Its May 1918 strength of 17,000 organized troops and 21 guns had already grown to up to 40,000 men and 93 guns by mid-August of the same year. The strength of the Soviet forces of the southern screen, not counting the Tsaritsyn area, did not exceed 19,820 infantry and cavalry, with 38 guns. The Don forces were able to employ all the advantages of the resulting situation. Their left flank and rear rested on the friendly Germans and the Volunteer Army secured their right flank. All of this was creating a very favorable strategic situation. Their numerical superiority and great maneuverability (the predominance of cavalry in the army) gave them the opportunity to broadly develop offensive operations.

As a result, during the course of the summer 1918 campaign, the authority of General Krasnov,<sup>1</sup> German imperialism's protégé, spread along the entire territory of the Don region. The subsequent goals of the Don command, which had declared that it was not planning to organize a march on Moscow,<sup>2</sup> was at the same time

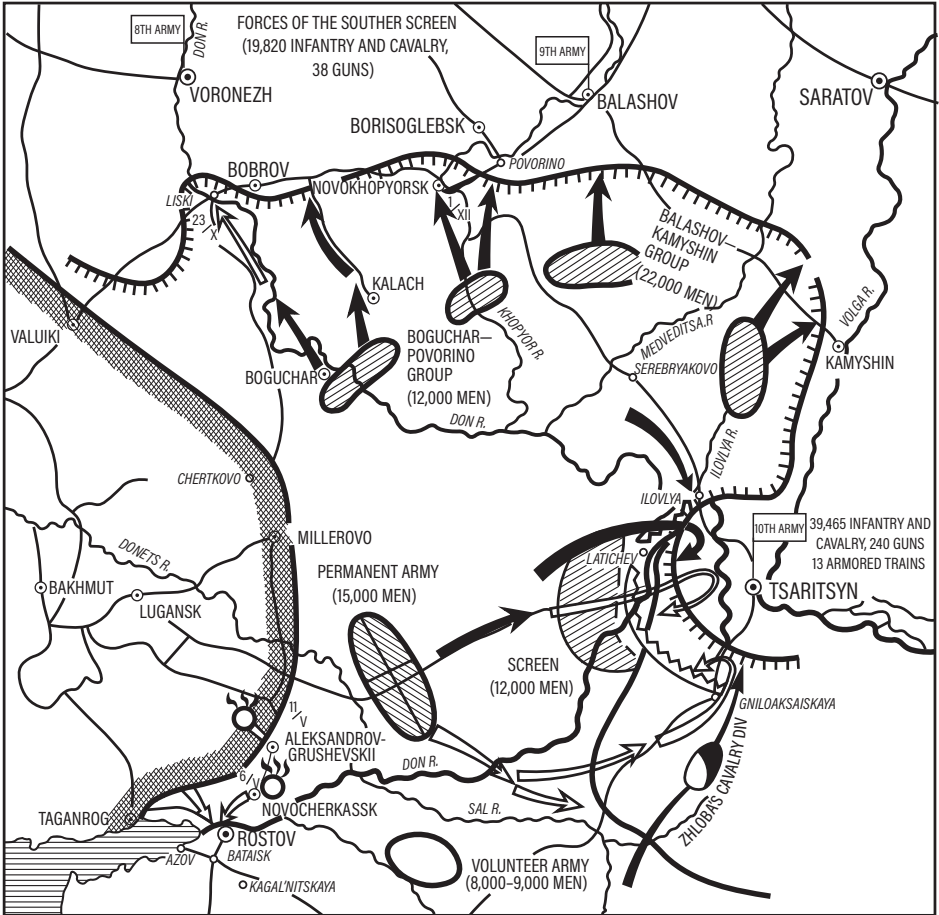
directing all its efforts to the formation of as large an army as possible, was to first of all achieve the strategic securing of its borders. The region's administrative boundaries lacked favorable boundaries, which is why the "Don Assembly"<sup>3</sup> on 1 September 1918 issued a "decree" for the Don Army to occupy the strategic road junctions near the border of the Don Host: Tsaritsyn, Kamyshin, Balashov, Povorino, Novokhop'yorsk, Kalach, and Boguchar.

The desire of the Don Army to carry out these tasks, in connection with the activity manifested by the Red 10th Army, which was occupying the Tsaritsyn area, made the autumn 1918 campaign on the southern front a lively one. The Red 10th Army had been formed from detachments which had fallen back to the Tsaritsyn area from Ukraine and the Donbas in the spring of 1918. By the time it began active operations its strength had reached 39,465 infantry and cavalry, with 240 guns and 13 armored trains, that is, it outnumbered by more than twice all the other forces of the southern screen. This powerful group, which was deployed along the approaches to Tsaritsyn, occupied a flanking position in relation to the entire Don front.









Throughout the summer of 1918, the headquarters of Tsaritsyn's defense, which was headed by comrade Voroshilov, was reformed in August 1918 into a military soviet and supplemented by comrade Stalin, newly arrived from Moscow, who carried out a great deal of organizational work.<sup>4</sup> The defense's headquarters gave a regular organization to those numerous detachments which had gathered in Tsaritsyn following their retreat from the Donbas. Particular attention was paid to the formation of the Red cavalry. The first major cavalry units arose here from detachments brought here by the southern partisans.

In and of itself, Tsaritsyn and the surrounding area was, thanks to the large worker population, one of the vital revolutionary centers of southeast Russia. However, this was not the end of its significance; it was important to both sides in the economic-military sense as an industrial center, and in the strategic sense as a junction of rail, road and water communications. Besides this, thanks to its flanking position, as subsequent events showed, all of the Cossacks' successes along the northern axes were insecure without the preliminary capture of Tsaritsyn and, while they held it, the Soviet forces maintained their dominance over the lower Volga and their communications with Astrakhan' and the North Caucasus theater.

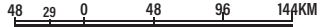
In view of the refusal of the Volunteer Army's command to take part in joint operations against Tsaritsyn, the Don Army command decided to secure itself against Tsaritsyn with a screen of 12,000 men; it was to launch its main attack with a group of 22,000 men along the Balashov—Kamyshin sector, leaving 12,000 men for supporting operations along the Boguchar—Kalach and Povorino sectors. However, the Red 10th Army upset the enemy's plans; on 22 August 1918 it went over to the offensive itself from the Tsaritsyn area, pushed aside the enemy screen and reached the line of the Sal and Don rivers.



**Map 4: The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Southern Front**

- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
|  | Line of German Occupation                          |  | Reserve Formations                                 |
|  | Powerful Groups of Rebellious Cossaks              |  | The Front Line of the Red 10th Army on 12 August   |
|  | The Don Army's Forces in August 1918               |  | The Front Line of the Red 10th Army on 17 October  |
|  | The Reds' Situation at the Start of the Occupation |  | The Whites' Situation at the Beginning of November |

Scale



Instead of an offensive to the north, the Don command had to think about restoring its situation along the Tsaritsyn axis. It managed to do this, by committing into the fighting its reserve formations in the form of the so-called “permanent” army,<sup>5</sup> numbering 15,000 infantry and cavalry and consisting of young Cossacks. Under the influence of this army’s offensive, the Red 10th Army was forced to partially withdraw along the Tsaritsyn axis by the middle of September 1918, after which the Don forces achieved operational freedom along the northern axes.

From October 1918 the Don Army began to operate along diverging operational axes: against Voronezh and Tsaritsyn. Along the latter axis, by 17 October the Don Army had almost reached Tsaritsyn itself. However, upon being heavily attacked along the right flank from the Don steppes by Zhloba’s<sup>6</sup> cavalry division, which had become separated from the Red North Caucasus front, as well as another such attack against their left flank by the Reds from the area of Serebryakov station, the Don Army’s Tsaritsyn group once again fell back to the front Gniloaksaiskaya—Litichev—the Don River as far as the mouth of the Ilovlya River and a temporary quiet descended on this sector. At the same time, along the Voronezh axis a stubborn struggle continued by both sides to capture the Balashov—Povorino—Novokhopyorsk—Bobrov—Liski lateral railroad. The fighting was prolonged, but finally concluded in a partial success for the Cossacks: on 23 November 1918 they managed to capture Liski station and on 1 December establish themselves in Novokhopyorsk.

Meanwhile, while developing a supporting attacking along the Kamyshin axis, in the gap between the Red 9th and 10th Armies, the Don cavalry units almost managed to break through to the city of Kamyshin, which forced our command to bring in some forces from the Eastern Front in order to secure this axis and point out to the Southern Front command the importance of retaking the Borisoglebsk—Tsaritsyn railroad. Thus at the cost of great losses and efforts did the Don Army achieve part of its assigned tasks. The undermining of its physical strength was reflected in the state of its morale: the idea of the uselessness of further struggle began to grow ever stronger in the army, which soon led to its complete demoralization, which coincided with the growth and strengthening of the Red Southern Front’s forces, both along its Don and Ukrainian sectors.

This growth and strengthening of forces proceeded along two lines. On the one hand, it was the result of the organizational work within the front itself; and on the other, it was brought about by the arrival of organized reinforcements by the center. The wave of the Austro-German occupation which was approaching the southern provinces of the RSFSR was bringing in its wake the landowner and the restoration of the old regime, of which Ukraine served as an example. This circumstance powerfully animated the work of forming local detachments throughout the entire occupied zone along the border (particularly in the so-called neutral zone), established by the Brest-Litovsk peace between the RSFSR and the regions occupied by the Germans.

The peasantry willingly joined the detachments being formed by the local military authorities and formed its own detachments. The latter had a purely partisan makeup. They elected their own chiefs and were distinguished by a quality inherent to all local partisans: the predominance of local interests in them over the general interest. In this lay the main difficulty in whipping these units into proper regular formations. However, the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee<sup>7</sup> (headed by Bubnov and Pyatakov<sup>8</sup>), who took this task upon themselves, managed to create quite quickly two more or less organized divisions from the uncoordinated partisan detachments. The first of these was located in the northern districts of the former Chernigov province, and the second in the northern districts of Kursk province and already had a smoothly functioning supply apparatus and medical unit, etc.

The consolidation of the Red forces along the southern front was also made easier to a significant degree by the first regular formations from the center in the front's immediate rear, the core of which were the remaining bolshevized cadres from the old army (the Voronezh Division, which included the remnants of the 3rd Guards Division). The final coming together of the front came about as the result of the transfer of recently formed regular units from the Moscow area with a strong worker's stratum. The regularization of the southern "screen," which was renamed a front in the autumn of 1918, did not take place without a struggle, which in places took the form of open armed insurrections. The systematic character and consistency of the struggle with partisan ways of warfare, in connection with the creation of a strong framework of the future front out of regular units, enabled us to take this struggle to its successful conclusion.

The extended and indecisive, as to its results, character of the latter operation by the Don Army was due to the insufficient appraisal of the Tsaritsyn axis and its significance for the fate of the entire Don Army. Taking into account the correlation of forces, this axis should have been the only one for the Don Army's initial operations, after which it could have set about resolving subsequent tasks.

Given the limited number of men and materiel which the Soviet command disposed of during this period of the campaign, it could not set itself broad goals and all of its efforts should have gone into retaining its present position. The Red 10th Army's activity helped a good deal in this matter.

While all of these events were taking place on the southern front, combat actions in the North Caucasus had grown to a significant operational scale. A significant clot of Soviet forces had formed in the North Caucasus. This happened both due to the extremely sharp character which the class struggle took there, as well as that circumstance that the numerous pro-Bolshevik remnants of the old army's collapsed Caucasus front, while lacking the opportunity to freely pass through the White German Don to Russia, settled in the North Caucasus. However, they were not united by a unified military command due to the lack of same in the administrative-political sense, because three republics existed in the North Caucasus at this time: Kuban',

Black Sea and Stavropol'—each with their own central executive committees. Some of the Soviet commanders, for example, Sorokin,<sup>9</sup> were not only hostile to each other, but to their own central executive committees. At the same time, the situation was difficult enough without this, because the Cossack mass was moving away from the revolution because of the land question. The first sign of this was the invitation for help by the Cossacks of the Taman' peninsula to the Germans, who were occupying the Crimea. The Germans sent them an infantry regiment to help and from this time the struggle on the Taman' peninsula swallowed up significant Soviet forces. The other Soviet forces, mostly under Sorokin's command, were located in the Azov—Bataisk—Tikhoretskaya triangle, with powerful garrisons in *stanitsa* Velikoknyazheskaya and Yekaterinodar. Their overall strength, together with all the garrisons, reached 80,000–100,000 soldiers, although they were poorly organized, armed and supplied.

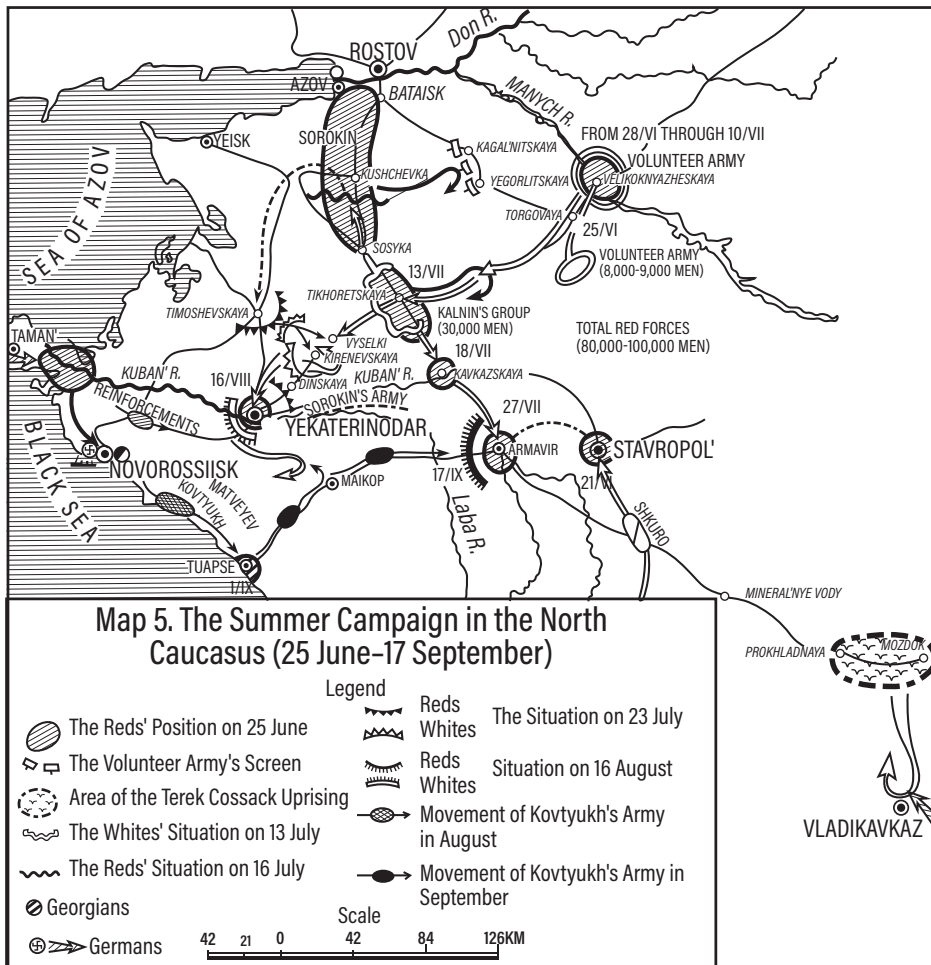
Such was the situation in the North Caucasus, when the Volunteer Army command, in the person of General Denikin, having rejected the Don command's proposal for joint operations against Tsaritsyn and taking into account the internal situation in the North Caucasus, set itself a local mission—the liberation of the trans-Don and Kuban' from Soviet forces. The realization of this task would yield the Volunteer Army a secure and rich base, free from German influence, for subsequent operations to the north. At this time the Volunteer Army's numbered 8,000–9,000 soldiers in its ranks.

The operational plan called for the preliminary seizure of *stanitsa* Torgovaya, in order to cut the North Caucasus's railroad communications with central Russia, followed by an attack on *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya. Upon capturing the latter, Denikin planned to secure the operation from the north and south by capturing *stanitsas* Kushchevka and Kavkazskaya, after which they were to move on Yekaterinodar as the political and military center of the entire North Caucasus. A weak screen was supposed to secure this operation against Sorokin's army.

The Volunteer Army's offensive unfolded in the following manner. On 25 June 1918 the army captured *stanitsa* Torgovaya and moved on Velikoknyazheskaya for the purpose of assisting the Don Army to capture the Sal'sk area, which was supposed to secure it against Tsaritsyn. On 28 June the army captured Velikoknyazheskaya and, following a two-week halt in this area, on 10 July turned sharply to the south—on Tikhoretskaya. Sorokin's attempts to dislodge the army's screen along the front Kagal'nitskaya—Yegorlykskaya and Kalnin's<sup>10</sup> group to go over to a meeting offensive from Tikhoretskaya were not crowned with success. While broadly employing the local inhabitants' carts in its maneuvering, the Volunteer Army at first defeated individual detachments from Kalnin's group, and then fell upon his main forces in the Tikhoretskaya area and on 13 July inflicted a heavy defeat on him.

The capture of Tikhoretskaya had important strategic results: the initial weak combat capability of Kalnin's 30,000-man group was completely undermined;





an important railroad junction fell into the Volunteer Army's hands, giving it the opportunity to develop its subsequent operations along three axes; the Volunteer Army's communications with its rear were strengthened; individual groups of Soviet forces were completely separated, with Sorokin's army getting into a particularly difficult situation.

The strategic situation of the Red forces in the North Caucasus was also becoming worse due to the uprising of the Terek Cossacks, which broke out at the end of June and which quickly embraced the Mozdok—Prokhladnaya area. At the beginning of August the rebels managed to temporarily seize even the city of Vladikavkaz, which was soon, however, regained by the Soviet forces, which were broadly supported in this struggle by the local Ingush<sup>11</sup> population. Mozdok became the center of the uprising, while civil authority was concentrated in the hands of the Terek region's executive committee, which was elected by the "Cossack-Peasant Congress," in which the decisive role belonged to the Socialist-Revolutionaries.<sup>12</sup>

The Volunteer Army's forces grew with its successes and it was reinforced by means of mobilizing the Kuban' Cossacks; their strength was already approaching 20,000 infantry and cavalry. Upon occupying Tikhoretskaya, Denikin set himself the immediate task of defeating Sorokin's army, for which he dispatched a detachment of 8,000–10,000 men to *stanitsa* Kushchevka. While securing himself against Stavropol', he moved a detachment of 3,000–4,000 men on *stanitsa* Kavkazskaya, with Drozdovskii operating as an active screen along the Yekaterinodar axis. Sorokin, in his turn, was concentrating his forces around Kushchevka and was bringing up reinforcements from the Taman' peninsula for defending Yekaterinodar to the "Extraordinary Commissariat of the Kuban' Region," which had been formed in Yekaterinodar.

The Volunteer Army's offensive began on 16 July along all three axes. But Sorokin stubbornly defended around Kushchevka until 23 July, after which he fell back to *stanitsa* Timashevskaya, thus giving the Volunteer Army access to the Sea of Azov. Denikin, having entrusted the pursuit of Sorokin's army to his cavalry, began to concentrate his forces along the Yekaterinodar axis, where at this time Drozdovskii's detachment had been delayed by reinforcements from the Taman' peninsula near *stanitsa* Dinskaya. The Volunteer Army's Armavir group (General Borovskii)<sup>13</sup> captured *stanitsa* Kavkazskaya as early as 18 July, thus dividing Yekaterinodar, Armavir and Stavropol'. the White partisan Shkuro,<sup>14</sup> taking advantage of the latter circumstance, captured Stavropol' on 21 July. A week later, that is, 27 July, Armavir fell, and on that day the regrouping of Denikin's forces along the Yekaterinodar axis was completed. Denikin, while screening himself against Sorokin with cavalry, launched an offensive on Yekaterinodar. But he had underestimated his opponent. Sorokin's army itself went over to the offensive against the rear of the Volunteer Army, moving from Timashevskaya to the area of *stanitsa* Korenevskaya and Vyselki.

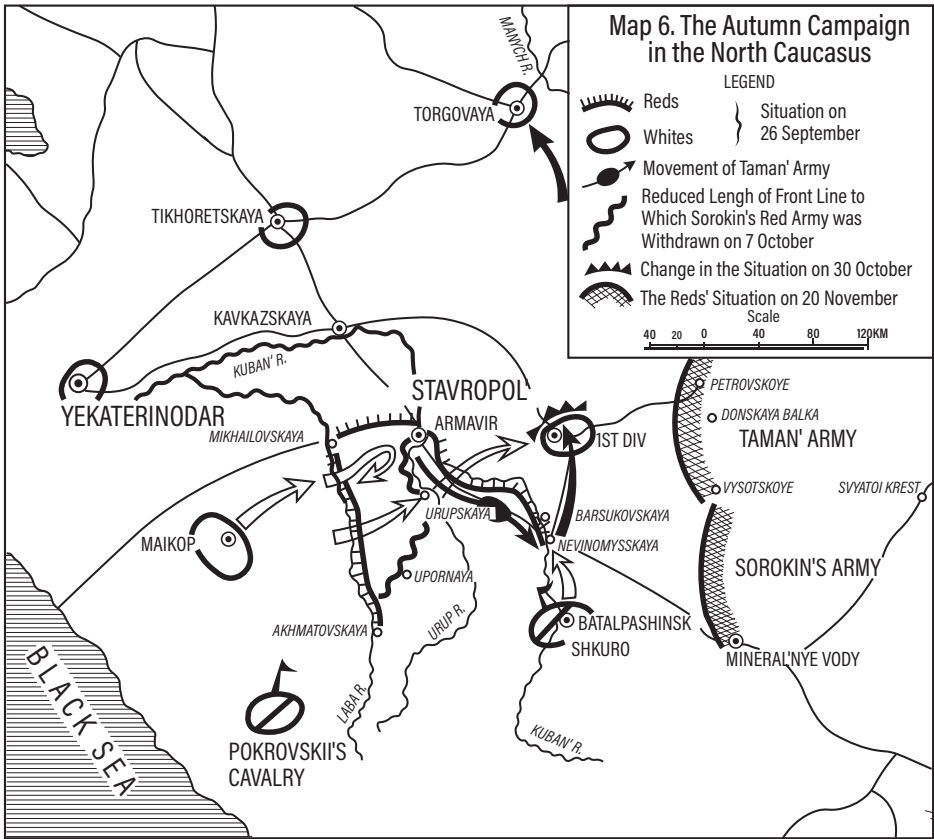
This bold maneuver created a threatening situation for the Volunteer Army, because nearly all of Sorokin's army had ended up in the rear of its main forces. Instead of continuing the offensive against Yekaterinodar, it had to concentrate all of its efforts against Sorokin's army. On 6 August it managed to get out of a dangerous situation with great difficulty. Sorokin's army, which had split up into two groups, fell back with one group on Timashevskaya, and the other on Yekaterinodar. Upon renewing his offensive against Yekaterinodar, Denikin captured it on 16 August, while Sorokin's army fell back behind the Kuban' and Laba rivers, thus losing contact with the Red Taman' Army, which was operating along this peninsula of the same name. At the same time, the Red forces of the Stavropol' area recaptured Armavir.

Cut off from Sorokin's army, the Red Taman' Army, under the leadership of comrades Kovtyukh<sup>15</sup> and Matveyev,<sup>16</sup> and numbering 25,000 men, moved on Novorossiisk, which had been abandoned by a German-Turkish landing force upon its approach.<sup>17</sup> From there it set out along the Black Sea shore to Tuapse, where it arrived on 1 September. The Taman' Army, upon driving out a Georgian detachment from Tuapse, set out along the railroad to Armavir. On 17 September, the Taman' Army, following stubborn fighting with Kuban' cavalry, linked up with Sorokin's army around Armavir.

The latter was engaged in stubborn fighting with the Kuban' Volunteer Army, the strength of which at this time had reached 35,000–40,000 men and 86 guns. Denikin was seeking to squeeze Sorokin's army with these forces between the foothills of the Caucasus and the Kuban' River, by outflanking from the north from Barsukovskaya, and from the south from Maikop, while at the same time attacking Armavir. The arrival of the Taman' Army improved the strategic situation of Sorokin's army. On 26 September the Taman' Army's forces once again retook Armavir from the Whites and threw back the White cavalry, which had nearly managed to cross the Laba River, along the Maikop axis. At that same time, detachments from the Reds' Stavropol' group, numbering up to 22,000–25,000 men, were successfully pressing on *stanitsa* Torgovaya, all the while threatening the Volunteer Army's rear communications. The latter had to pull back significant forces to this area, leaving one division for securing Stavropol'.

The overall strength of the Taman' Army and Sorokin's army was at this time approaching 150,000 infantry and cavalry and 200 guns. Both armies had been subdivided into five columns, a Stavropol' group and a cavalry corps. Their situation resembled an extended wedge, with its head near *stanitsa* Mikhailovskaya, with one side running through Armavir as far as *stanitsa* Nevinnomysskaya, and the other running along the Laba River as far as *stanitsa* Akhmatovskaya. It was in this situation that both armies prepared to go over to the offensive.

Matveyev, the commander of the Taman' Army, proposed launching the main attack on *stanitsa* Kavkazskaya, so as to subsequently operate against Yekaterinodar, or try to link up with the Red 10th Army in the Tsaritsyn area. Commander-in-chief



Sorokin, who was joined in his opinion by the North Caucasus' military-revolutionary council, considered it necessary to capture Stavropol' and the adjoining area and then to consolidate in the eastern part of the North Caucasus, while maintaining communications with the center through Svyatoi Krest and Astrakhan'. Sorokin's opinion won out and Matveyev was shot for not wishing to subordinate himself to the revolutionary military council's order.

On 7 October the regrouping of the Soviet North Caucasus armies began, the essence of which was that the Taman' Army, which had been reinforced by one of the columns from Sorokin's army, was to be shifted by rail to *stanitsa* Nevinnomysskaya, from where it was to march and attack Stavropol', while at the same time the front would contract by the withdrawal of troops to the line Armavir—Uryupinskaya—Upornaya—Akhmatovskaya. The position of these forces, numbering 2,000 men, and which secured the operation along the Stavropol' axis, resembled a sharp angle, with its apex in Armavir and with its sides between the Kuban' and Uryup rivers. The southern face of this angle was threatened by Pokrovskii's<sup>18</sup> cavalry, while the White partisan Shkuro continued to operate in the rear from the Batalpashinskaya area.

On 23 October the Taman' Army had concentrated in the Nevinnomysskaya area, from which it moved on Stavropol', and on the night of 29–30 October it captured the town. The operation was not further developed, because it remained without operational leadership over the course of three weeks. This happened because at this time commander-in-chief Sorokin rose up against the North Caucasus military revolutionary council, having perfidiously shot several of its members, after which, having been declared outside the law, he ran away, was arrested in Stavropol' and shot before his trial by one of the Taman' Army's regimental commanders.

Sorokin's mutiny was a peculiar reaction by the partisan impulse against the organizing influence of the revolution. According to the testimony of several historians of the civil war, the pretext for Sorokin's open rebellion was precisely the order received by his army's revolutionary military council for carrying out a regular organization adopted by the center. This threatened the partisan leader with the loss of his exclusive position and impelled him toward an anarchistic uprising.

We will see, subsequently, how the great distance of the revolution's armed forces in the North Caucasus from the organizing influence of the center forced them to live with the holdovers of the partisan mentality, which explains their subsequent failures to a significant degree.

Taking advantage of the distraction of the main mass of Soviet forces to the Stavropol' axis, the Kuban' Volunteer Army once again went over to the offensive against the Reds' screen along the Armavir axis and on 31 October it managed to push aside this screen, after which it began an operation on 4 November to retake Stavropol'. The White's headlong attacks against Stavropol' were unsuccessful, but on 14 November the Taman' Army itself had to begin a retreat, because the continuation of the withdrawal by its Armavir screen was creating a threat to its

left flank and rear. By 20 November 1918 the Taman' Army had reached the front *stanitsa* Petrovskaya—*stanitsa* Donskaya Balka—Vysotskoye, where it consolidated; to the south, units of Sorokin's former army closed up, extending their left flank as far as Mineral'nye Vody station.

Thus as a result of the autumn campaign of 1918, the Soviet forces of the North Caucasus had their rear tightly pressed against the sandy and waterless steppe, which stretched almost to Astrakhan'. The approaching bad autumn facilitated the powerful spread among them of epidemics, which significantly reduced their numerical strength.

A local success by Soviet forces, headed by comrades Ordzhonikidze<sup>19</sup> and Levandovskii,<sup>20</sup> was the suppression of the counterrevolutionary uprising by the Cossacks of the Terek region. Soviet forces occupied Prokhladnaya and Mozdok on 10 November. Not long after this the siege of Kizlyar was lifted and Grozny occupied, in the area of which the Grozny proletariat had not ceased its valiant struggle.

# The German Occupation and Revolution. The Internal Condition of the Sides and the Development of their Armed Forces

*Events in Ukraine and the Remaining Occupied Regions by the Beginning of the German Revolution. The German Revolution and its Political and Strategic Significance. The Evolution of the Various White Governments and Their Description, Their Foreign and Domestic Policy; Methods of Carrying it out. The Condition of the White Rear and the Work of the RKP(b) in the Latter. The Political Situation by the Start of 1919. The RSFRS's Internal Situation. War Communism. The Condition of the Red Rear. The Condition of the Red Armies and Fleet by the Start of 1919; Armaments and Supply, Organizational Measures. The State of the Counterrevolution's Armed Forces*

The occupation of Ukraine by Austro-German forces, which was completed in the beginning of May 1918, exacerbated the revolutionary class struggle even further. In the beginning of April, in the city of Kiev, on the initiative and with the permission of the German command, and despite the protests of the government of the “Central Rada,” a “peasants” (large landowners and *kulaks*) congress was convened. From the first day this congress took a hostile position toward the petite-bourgeois government of the “Central Rada,” and then, while relying on the instructions and assistance of the German command, proclaimed Ukraine a monarchy under German protection, with a *hetman* as chief. General Skoropadskii<sup>1</sup> was elected *hetman*, whom the German, and then the Austrian, governments recognized; the ruling representatives of the Central Rada—Petlyura, Vinichenko,<sup>2</sup> professor Grushetskii<sup>3</sup> and others were arrested. May and June 1918 in Ukraine were distinguished by the powerful growth of reaction and by the simultaneous seizure by the German command of the country's economic resources and the forced shipment to Germany of livestock, raw materials and food.

So called “elders”—almost exclusively colonels and generals drawn from former Ukrainian landowners—were appointed to head the provinces and counties. The “elders” enjoyed almost unlimited administrative and judicial rights; the “elders” work was observed, controlled and regulated by representatives of the German command—the commanders of German units stationed as garrisons in all the administrative (provincial and county) centers of Ukraine. So-called “commissions



for the elimination of Bolshevism,” which had been created throughout the entire territory of Ukraine, took upon themselves the restoration of the landowners’ agricultural property, the determination of material losses suffered by them due to the revolution, and the compensation for these losses by monetary and in kind reparations imposed upon the villages and entire districts. The punitive detachments, made up of officers and former policemen, who carried out this “gathering” of reparations, shot people without trial and investigation for the slightest suspicion of belonging to and sympathizing with the Communist Party. By the end of May the number of those imprisoned exceeded the prisons’ capacity by tens of times. A special concentration camp was created for excess arrestees in Brest-Litovsk and guarded by German and Austrian field gendarmes.

The agrarian and economic policy of Skoropadskii’s government strengthened the process of revolutionizing the peasantry and the end of May 1918 was noted for the development on Ukrainian territory of a powerful partisan-uprising movement.

Even the appeasement-oriented unions, which had been created immediately upon the abandonment of Ukrainian territory by Soviet forces, were routed. The railroad strike, proclaimed at the end of June, was cruelly suppressed. Urban self-governing bodies, which had been created by broadly drawing in “society,” including social-appeasers (Socialist Revolutionaries and Social Democrats),<sup>4</sup> and which were deprived of any kinds of rights, passed decrees and decisions according to the instructions of the “elders” and their advisors—German officers. While outwardly adhering to a policy of complete non-interference in the affairs of the RSFSR, Skoropadskii and his government at the same time lent their all-out support to the growth of Volunteer Army formations on the Don and Kuban’. In June an official Volunteer Army representation, headed by General Count Keller,<sup>5</sup> was created at Skoropadskii’s “court.” In early June recruiting bureaus were created in all of Ukraine’s administrative centers, which, while operating under the slogan of a “unified and indivisible Russia,” were enrolling officers who had settled on Ukrainian territory, and bourgeois youth, into the Volunteer Army. In the beginning of August they began to form the headquarters of the VI Volunteer Corps and its subunits in the city of Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk).

The policy of Skoropadskii’s landowner-bourgeois government, as well as German economic pressure and lawlessness could not satisfy the needs of the Ukrainian industrial bourgeoisie and the chauvinistically inclined urban and rural intelligentsia. A conspiratorial congress of liberal-political and national-chauvinistic bourgeois and appeasement organizations that took place in the second half of July in the town of Belaya Tserkov’ marked the beginning of the so-called “Ukrainian National Union,”<sup>6</sup> the task of which was to unite around itself all of the elements dissatisfied with the regime and the German occupation and to take advantage of the growth of revolutionary-class attitudes among the peasantry and proletariat. Later on, this “union” detailed from its ranks an administrative-executive organ, the “Directory,”

which included representatives of various political groups, including the previously mentioned Petlyura and Vinichenko.

July and August 1918 in Ukraine were distinguished by a massive growth in peasant uprisings, an increase in the revolutionary struggle in the cities and the growth of underground organizations. At the same time, it is necessary to add that if on right-bank Ukraine (the Kiev, Volhynia and the northern part of Kherson provinces) the peasant movement was used by the “Ukrainian National Union,” then on the left bank the Bolsheviks and, to some extent, Left Socialist Revolutionary groups (Left Socialist Revolutionaries and *Borotbists*<sup>7</sup>) enjoyed the greatest influence. By the beginning of September the German-*hetman* regime actually only controlled those administrative centers and cities in which martial law had been established, because the murder in Kiev of the German commander-in-chief Eichhorn<sup>8</sup> and the attacks on German headquarters in other cities forced the German command and the *hetman* government to fear possible revolutionary uprisings. The peasantry was undergoing an exacerbated period of class differentiation—a bitter struggle of the middle and poor peasants against the *kulak*, who continued to adhere to the *hetman* orientation.

The German government (mainly the military command), which had created from Ukraine its raw materials and food base, sought to pin down and crush the revolutionary movement not only in Ukraine, but throughout the RSFSR, employing for this goal Krasnov’s government along the Don, and attempted to come to terms with the Volunteer Army command in the person of Denikin, and with the counterrevolutionary groups on the territory of the RSFSR. This is how Ludendorff, who at that time was the German high command’s chief of staff, evaluated the political-military situation that had come about due to the occupation of Ukraine: “In the political-military sense, the occupation of Ukraine by us significantly weakened the power of the Soviet government. We also established communications with any Great Russian popular movements and with the Don Cossacks, which we could have employed for overthrowing Bolshevism.”<sup>9</sup>

“In February the supreme command, with the agreement of the government, occupied Ukraine, having in mind not only the Bolshevik danger, but also proceeding from the deep conviction that Ukraine was necessary to us in order to subdue the Allies. With Ukrainian assistance, Austria-Hungary was still able to flounder for the summer... We received livestock, horses and many raw materials from there... Germany and the other Central Powers were able to get the necessary extra food from Ukraine; without its help, a difficult crisis would have hit us in the beginning of the summer of 1919.”<sup>10</sup> “The army received a large number of horses, without which any further conduct of the war would have been impossible.”<sup>11</sup>

However, the calculations by the German government and command as to the political and economic advantages which they could extract from the occupation of Ukraine, the Baltic States and part of the RSFSR, and Finland, proved to be cruelly

mistaken. Under the influence of the unfolding revolutionary-class struggle on the occupied territory of Ukraine and the RSFSR, the class consciousness of the German and Austrian soldier began to awaken. The Austro-German divisions, which were being transferred in August 1918 from the east to the western front, Italy and the Balkans proved to be incapable of combat. “The divisions just transferred to the west from the east fought poorly in the conditions of the western front. I heard very unfavorable reports about them. Despite the shortage of men, reinforcements from the eastern front were accepted quite reluctantly. Their spirit was lousy and they had a bad effect on their comrades. In General Hoffman’s<sup>12</sup> opinion, the troops had been corrupted by the temptations to which they had been exposed in the form of bribes and Bolshevik propaganda.”<sup>13</sup> This is how Ludendorff describes his occupation troops after their brief stay in territory that had been seized by the revolutionary-class struggle.

In November 1918 first Austria, then Germany (9 November) entered upon the revolutionary path. Germany, which had been exhausted in the World War, was forced to accept the victorious Entente’s draconian conditions.

The first result of the German revolution and the Versailles peace was that the militant imperialism of the Entente came to the fore in the RSFSR’s foreign policy considerations.

All the state formations that had arisen with the assistance of Germany quickly changed their orientation in their struggle against the RSFSR and began to base themselves on assistance from the Entente countries. Pilsudski’s Polish government, which had arisen with German assistance, included in its political program the restoration of the Polish borders of 1772 and the creation of a bloc of small states, hostile to the Soviet Union, “from Gel’singfors to Tiflis,” and headed by Poland. Such foreign policy goals of the Polish government inevitably placed it first of all in hostile relations with the Soviet government, and then with those counterrevolutionary formations in the North Caucasus which were engaged in gathering counterrevolutionary forces under the slogan of restoring a “unified and indivisible Russia.” The bourgeois governments of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, which had arisen under German protection, having changed their orientation and having established communications with the Entente governments, pursued more modest goals in their foreign policy *vis a vis* the RSFSR.

Following the November revolution in Germany, the process of the revolutionary struggle’s unfolding in Ukraine went into high gear.

The noisy petite-bourgeois “Directory” sought to employ the revolutionary uprisings to strengthen its power. It proclaimed an irreconcilable struggle against the *hetman’s* rule, declared Ukraine a “people’s republic” and proclaimed the immediate convocation of a labor congress (a constituent assembly without the participation of non-Ukrainian political organizations—Volunteer Army officer organizations oriented toward Denikin, which were quite widespread in all the provincial centers

of Ukraine). In the beginning of December 1918, taking advantage of the treason of Skoropadskii's Ukrainian rifle formations,<sup>14</sup> the Directory seized Kiev and proclaimed itself an all-Ukrainian government. A coup took place in the cities of Khar'kov, Yekaterinoslav and Poltava (it's typical that in the first instance the movement was led by the former *hetman* Colonel Balbochan<sup>15</sup> and in Yekaterinoslav by Captain Gorobets). With the collapse of *hetman* rule, the *hetman's* officers, the *kulak* population and urban bourgeoisie streamed into the pro-revolutionary peasants' army.

The Directory government, under the influence of the pro-revolutionary peasantry and proletariat, was forced before the start of the uprising to include in its combat program slogans to satisfy, to a certain degree, the needs of the revolutionary masses, and immediately upon seizing the administrative centers it began to sweep aside the "Bolshevik strata" of its program, while coming to the defense of the interests of the *kulak* and the petite and middle urban bourgeoisie.

The fact that the majority of Ukraine's regions had been seized by an uprising movement, led by the Bolsheviks or by groups adhering to a Soviet platform, facilitated the rapid collapse of the Directory's army as well as of the Directory itself. Beginning as early as the first days of November, the uprisings in areas to the northeast of Khar'kov, in the Poltava and Chernigov areas, and the northern part of Kherson and Odessa provinces, as well as the eastern and southeastern part of Yekaterinoslav province, were led by underground Bolshevik and Bolshevik-Left Socialist Revolutionary regional revolutionary committees; the rebels' armed struggle was directed both against the Directory regime and the German-Volunteer-*hetman* troop units, as well as French and Greek landing parties, which had landed along the Black Sea coast in the beginning of January 1919 (the Allies' fleet appeared in the waters of the Black Sea in December 1918, after the opening of the Straits).<sup>16</sup>

The strength of the rebels' forces grew extremely rapidly. The areas embraced by the uprising expanded along radial axes. The Directory regime fell in the middle of December in Khar'kov under the blows of the rebels and by the end of December the Red rebels had captured Poltava and Yekaterinoslav<sup>17</sup> (the latter was occupied following a bitter four-day battle in which the Directory's forces were supported by two German regiments, units of the Whites' VI Volunteer Corps, and Right-Socialist Revolutionary, Menshevik and even Bund<sup>18</sup> armed bands). By the end of December the Directory regime which, by the way, had managed to align itself with the Entente, existed only in the city of Kiev and the northwestern part of right-bank Ukraine. The Red Army's offensive developed very rapidly. Kiev was taken almost without a fight on 5 February. At the end of April and the first days of May, the Red Army advanced into the areas of Odessa, Nikolayev and Kherson, which by this time had been cleared by the rebels of the occupying Franco-Greek detachments, Volunteer and national-Ukrainian units. By the middle of April Red Army units occupied Sevastopol'. Having been ejected from Kiev, the Directory ran away to Galicia,<sup>19</sup>

where it degenerated into a small adventurist group led by Petlyura and completely under Polish influence and was used by the latter in the interests of the struggle against Soviet Ukraine. The Red Army's fight against the Directory is elaborated by us in more detail in the next chapter.

Events in the counterrevolutionary centers outside German-occupied territory developed somewhat differently. The events which were taking place on the Don and the Kuban' rivers were particularly characteristic.

As soon as the Don counterrevolution, with the indirect support of the German occupation, managed to once again consolidate along part of its territory, it put into power the Don government of *ataman* Krasnov. In the situation that had arisen in the spring of 1918, Krasnov, as we have already noted, took a pro-German course, viewing the restoration of a "unified and indivisible Russia" as quite a distant goal. For the time being, Krasnov viewed the area of the Don Host as a completely independent government, in the name of which he sought to establish diplomatic relations with Kiev, Yekaterinodar and Berlin. The Germans readily supported Krasnov as a force which, by its weight, was not capable of being dangerous to them, while on the other hand it could subsequently be employed for fighting the Soviet government and, in the last extremity, against the Volunteer Army, which stubbornly continued to support the Entente. This orientation was one of the reasons for shifting the center of the efforts of the Volunteer Army, which at this time was already led by General Denikin, to the Kuban', in order to avoid contact with the Germans, despite General Alekseyev's opinion as to the necessity of developing the army's attacks upstream along the Volga and a number of similar proposals from *ataman* Krasnov.

The German revolution and the opening of the Black Sea for the Entente's squadrons, in connection with the expected broad intervention in southern Russia, facilitated the rapid shift of Krasnov's pro-German orientation to that of the Allies. However, this did not spare him from being swallowed up by a new political organization in the person of the Volunteer Army command. Under pressure from the Allies, who were threatening to deprive Krasnov of any sources of supply, in the beginning of 1919 Krasnov had to subordinate himself to this new regime, both militarily and politically, while retaining for himself only a few autonomous rights in ruling the Don region. In the field of internal administration, *ataman* Krasnov's rule was distinguished by the conduct of a reactionary policy, which did not create any kind of support for him among the Cossack masses.

The internal political situation on the Kuban' was more complex. The Kuban' legislative *Rada*, which was in charge of ongoing legislative affairs and control over the government, was distinguished by its implacable attitude toward the ruling circles of the Volunteer Army and its policy; at the same time, another current of a more conciliatory tone was evident and which dominant at that time, when the Kuban' government, deprived of its territory, was forced to wander with the Volunteer

Army. But as soon as became possible for the Kuban' government to rely on its own territory, it immediately resumed the struggle for its independence.

The Cossack government saw the realization of the idea of creating a southeastern union as a way of getting rid of the Volunteer Army's tutelage. On 10 August 1918 the Kuban' Cossacks put forth once again a scheme for a sovereign union of the Don, Kuban' and Terek, also including in it the mountain people of the North Caucasus. This idea served as yet another pretext for collisions with the Volunteer Army command, because the latter insisted on the temporary character of this union and including in it representation from the Volunteer Army. The question of forming this union dragged on throughout all of 1918, due to resistance by the Volunteer Army command, and in 1919 the Volunteer Army, taking advantage of its efforts and support from the Entente, suppressed all independent endeavors of the Kuban' government and *Rada*. These half-formed intentions were fated to once again be reborn at the very end of 1919, when the outline of the Volunteer Army's defeat at the front made it possible for the Cossack opposition to once again rear its head. On 5 January 1920 a session of the "Supreme Cossack Assembly," which was seeking to elaborate a constitution for the unified Cossack state, opened in Yekaterinodar, but this project was not fated to be realized in view of the approaching rout of the entire southern counterrevolution. As far as the governments of the Astrakhan' and Terek Cossack troops are concerned, lacking any real power and opposed to separatist designs, they lacked any kind of independent political physiognomy and were the most dutiful to the Volunteer Army.

The strivings for independence by the conservative-bourgeois government of the Don and the more democratic Kuban' government was the reason for the internal weakness of that complex military-political organism which in the beginning of 1919 formed in southern Russia under the name of the "Armed Forces of South Russia."

The government of South Russia arose from the caste-professional Volunteer Army, which in and of itself was a complete military-political organism. This circumstance determined the character of this government, which was essentially a military dictatorship in pure form. All power belonged to the commander of the Volunteer Army, who later took upon himself the title of commander of the "Armed Forces of South Russia." He was assisted by an advisory organ under the name of the "Special Council,"<sup>20</sup> which elaborated various legislation acts and which was responsible for the administration of the occupied territories, foreign relations and contacts with social groups.

The foreign policy line of the government of South Russia, or, to be more precise, of General Denikin, insofar as the latter, while relying on the bayonets of the Volunteer Army, was the main decision maker in matters of external and internal policy, was defined by the slogan of a "unified and indivisible Russia." This slogan completely defined its attitude toward all the newly formed entities on the territory of the former Russian Empire and the mutual hostility of the latter.



The other pro-Volunteer White armies, such as the “Northwestern” and “Northern,”<sup>21</sup> adhered to this slogan.

General Denikin’s military-political dictatorship sought to carry out a hard and irreconcilable policy *vis a vis* the Cossack governments, which created the conditions for conflict between it and the peculiar parliamentary regime of the Kuban’. The “Special Council” got its ideas and executors from the midst of that counterrevolutionary circle which formed around it. Of this circle the most influential group was the “National Center,”<sup>22</sup> which covered the spectrum from the Kadets<sup>23</sup> to the right. Even further to the right was the “Council of Government Unity,”<sup>24</sup> while to the left were the social-compromise groups that gathered around the “Union of Rebirth.”<sup>25</sup>

The chief task of the government of South Russia was the unification of military power and international representation, which it managed to achieve. But it was not able to achieve the restoration of normal relations with the “borderland formations,” by which was meant the Cossacks, until its very fall.

Denikin’s government revealed its true face regarding agricultural and worker questions with its declaration of 24 March 1919, and its appearance was influenced by representatives of the Entente, who were frightened by the too reactionary political course of Denikin’s headquarters. The declaration promised in very vague phrases the convocation of a popular assembly, provincial autonomy, civil liberties and reforms in the agricultural field and the workers’ question. But, according to the definition of one of the leading politicians in Denikin’s headquarters—professor Sokolov<sup>26</sup>—all of these promises came down to no more than endless agrarian conversations. Moreover, before long the right-reactionary wing in Denikin’s headquarters grew stronger, that determined the further shift in its internal policy to the right. This led to a situation in which, according to the same Sokolov, “The Special Council floundered in airless space, not relying on anyone and nowhere meeting with support.”

Least of all could General Denikin’s internal policy satisfy the working class, which adopted a hostile position to this policy. Nor was the peasantry satisfied with Denikin’s agrarian project, which came down to the fact that the proprietors (read, the landowners) would retain their allotment of land, while the excess would go to those who those who didn’t have enough land, but only for payment. The realization of this policy at the local level irritated the peasantry even more, in light of Denikin’s order to transfer the harvest from the landowners’ land, which had been sown by the peasants, to their owner, that is, the landowners. Besides this, the overall demoralization of the local regime’s agents completely pushed the local population away from it. According to Sokolov’s testimony, “The unimpeded and systematic robbing of the local inhabitants” created the prerequisite for the mass peasant disturbances, which during the second half of 1919, the time of the greatest military success of Denikin, who had seized Ukraine and was advancing along the Kursk—Oryol—Moscow axis, began to more and more powerfully shake the rear of the “Armed Forces of South Russia.” These disturbances spread particularly



broadly within the confines of Ukraine: for example, almost the entire territory of Yekaterinoslav province and the northern part of Kherson province had been seized by Makhno's<sup>27</sup> detachments, which numbered up to 12,000 cavalry and infantry (according to some sources, Makhno's forces numbered up to 50,000 men in the autumn of 1919 and were organized into four corps), while the territory of Poltava province, with the exception of the administrative centers, was in the hands of comrade Matyas,<sup>28</sup> whose detachments had an overall strength of up to 20,000 troops; the entire northern and eastern part of Khar'kov province had been seized by comrade Kotov's rebel detachments, which had an overall strength of 1,000–1,200 infantry and cavalry.

All of these rebel detachments distracted a large amount of the Volunteer Army's forces from the anti-Soviet front. These detachments played an enormous role in the fate of the entire Volunteer Army during its retreat in December 1919, preventing the latter from consolidating along even one line, beginning from Kursk and ending with the Crimean isthmus and the Don.

Failures at the front and the complete isolation of Denikin's government, which relied only on the bayonets of the Volunteer Army, which was already beginning to fall apart, forced it to once again search for ways to reconcile with the Cossacks. But it was already too late, because there soon followed the general catastrophe on the front.

General Denikin's government was the most typical of the counterrevolutionary governments standing on the platform of a "unified and indivisible Russia." All of their negative aspects came especially to the fore in it, because having arisen from the depths of armed force it immediately took upon the aspect of a military dictatorship and kept it as long as the power that brought it about, that is, the Volunteer Army, existed. In relying on this power, it was able to temporarily spread its regime across a quite broad swath of territory, but, as one might expect, it could not hold it, while retaining for any lengthy period of time only the territory of the Crimea.

Now we must examine the history of the no less significant White government of Siberia, which had pretensions to pan-Russian power and was recognized as such by the Entente and which also arrived at a military dictatorship, but by a more complex path.

We have already mentioned that our Far Eastern border area—more exactly, Chinese territory, had become from the end of 1917 the motherland of small and arbitrary White governments, created by Japan and the Entente as a screen for their imperialist lusts. These governments played no kind of role in the history of the civil war, and as soon as the need for them had passed, were eliminated by that same Entente. A more notable role and more prolonged existence were the lot of those which arose as a result of the formation of a counterrevolutionary eastern front. The initial centers of these newly formed governments were Samara and Omsk. Upon the Czechoslovaks' capture of Samara on 8 June 1918, they put into power the

“Committee of the Constituent Assembly”<sup>29</sup> (*Komuch*). The *Komuch*, relying on the support of the Czechoslovaks, set about forming its own “Army of the Constituent Assembly” and existed for five months, until its elimination by the Siberian dictator Kolchak, who came to power with the help of the Entente’s bayonets and military conspirators. The committee had a pronounced Right Socialist Revolutionary coloration. It sought to convene the Constituent Assembly and to restore the anti-German front, which completely determined its pro-Entente orientation. While formally recognizing the nationalization of the land, the committee actually did not take this recognition to the end, leaving the non-nationalized estates in the hands of their owners. Finally, the committee manifested a great deal of concern about the interests of the bourgeoisie in its social and financial policy, which was expressed in full payment in prices favorable to the owners for produce necessary for the army and in limiting the activities of the unions, etc.

Such guiding lines of its foreign and domestic policy guaranteed the negative attitude of the majority of workers and peasants to the Samara government. An index of this attitude was the unsuccessful mobilizations for the Constituent Assembly’s army and then the rapid collapse of the army itself. Nor did the “Committee’s” domestic policy satisfy the bourgeoisie, which as early as the end of June 1918 was raising the matter of a military dictatorship. Thus the single social base for the committee was the urban and rural intelligentsia and small groups of Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. The committee was unable to maintain its influence in the army, where reactionary and Black Hundreds elements gained the upper hand; these elements subsequently facilitated the committee’s fall. Local governments of a compromise or bourgeois type that appeared with their expansion of territory, such as the “Ural Regional Government,”<sup>30</sup> as well as such national governments as the “Government of the Bashkir<sup>31</sup> State,” the Kirgiz<sup>32</sup> “Alash-Ordy,”<sup>33</sup> and the “National Administration of the Turko-Tatar Race,”<sup>34</sup> which arose in Kazan’ as early as the summer of 1917, vied for sharing power with the committee.

But the “Committee’s” main rival was the “Siberian Regional Government,”<sup>35</sup> which arose in Omsk in the same manner as the “Committee” in Samara. This government, which relied on the Siberian Cossacks and counterrevolutionary officers’ organizations, was openly counterrevolutionary in nature and from the very outset became involved in a struggle with the Siberian regional Duma,<sup>36</sup> which had gathered in Tomsk and which supported a platform of bourgeois democracy. All of these governmental formations, under powerful pressure from the Czechoslovaks, finally unified in October 1918 into a single “Ufa Directory,”<sup>37</sup> which consisted of five members. However, the coalition Directory, with its Socialist Revolutionary coloration, did not inspire much trust with the Entente, and the latter, chiefly in the form of Great Britain, put forward Admiral Kolchak, the Directory’s minister of war, as a candidate for dictator. As soon as the Directory, under the influence of failures at the front, removed to Omsk, there on the night of 17–18 November

1918 there took place a military coup, which put Admiral Kolchak in power. The Directory's members were exiled abroad. The Czechoslovaks limited themselves to a formal protest, but the Socialist Revolutionary Party went underground, from where it began its struggle against the new dictator's regime.

The very accession of Admiral Kolchak to power determined the subsequent reactionary essence of his government, despite his declarations that he did not want "to go either along the path of reaction, or of the fatal path of party-mindedness." However, from the very first days of his accession to power, Kolchak manifested a complete lack of toleration for the workers' movement and bloodily suppressed all protests by the workers. He introduced extraordinary laws, the death penalty and martial law for all territories in the rear. The arbitrary rule of the military authorities pushed away from Kolchak even the quite moderate democracy which initially supported him. The peasantry felt the yoke of Kolchak's regime on itself most of all.

According to the testimony of one of the former ministers of the Kolchak government, the appearance of White forces meant for the peasantry the onset of an age of unlimited requisitions, all kinds of obligations and the completely arbitrary behavior of the military authorities. The same witness stated that "They beat and robbed the peasants, insulted their civil dignity and impoverished them." The peasantry, in its turn, waged a struggle with the regime by means of unceasing uprisings; this brought about a number of Kolchak's bloody punitive expeditions, which not only did not halt the uprisings, but broadened the areas seized by the revolutionary struggle even more.

At the same time, in eastern Siberia local counterrevolutionary forces, led by *atamans* Semyonov and Kalmykov, were in opposition to Kolchak and nearly openly operated against him.

Kolchak, in his declarations, adhered to the same tactics as Denikin. He made approximately the same kind of general promises as the latter, which is why we will not repeat them here. The methods of carrying out this pacification only added more oil to the fire.

As soon as prolonged failures at the front began, the disintegration of the regime in Kolchak's government began. Kolchak's Council of Ministers, which had become separated from its chief and which had moved to Irkutsk in December 1919, attempted to manifest some kind of activity, reorganizing itself on a more democratic basis, while at the same time Kolchak was seeking to retain his personal military dictatorship. The uprising movement came to embrace nearly all of Siberia.

In Irkutsk there was formed the so-called "Political Center,"<sup>38</sup> which united the central committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the committee of the bureau of *zemstvos*,<sup>39</sup> unions, and the Mensheviks. The Entente's representatives began to toy with the center, thinking to find support within it for the further struggle with the Bolsheviks. On 24 December 1919 the "Political Center," relying on part of the troops that had gone over to it, carried out a coup in Irkutsk. Janin,<sup>40</sup>

the French general who commanded all of the Allied forces in Siberia, supported this uprising and was anxious about the free passage of the Czechoslovak trains on the way to Vladivostok. The Allies, having finally decided to place their bets on the Socialist Revolutionaries, in whom they saw “governmental figures having nothing to do with the Bolsheviks,” put pressure on the remnants of the Siberian government to end its further resistance and to turn Kolchak himself over to the “Political Center.”

The “Political Center,” which had been created by intermediate-appeasement parties, was the transition stage to the true power of the toiling masses, which was formed in Irkutsk on 21 January 1920 in the form of the local soviet of workers’ and peasants’ deputies.

The isolation of the Siberian government in space from the other White Guard governments rendered it all-Russian in name only. While officially recognizing its sovereignty, all of the White governments were not much guided by its instructions in terms of their domestic and sometime foreign policy. Denikin, who enjoyed a broad degree of autonomy in the realm of foreign relations, but who also demanded complete independence in questions of agrarian and financial policy, held himself particularly independently.

We now have to say a few words about those secondary White Guard governments that arose exclusively as the result of the Entente’s intervention. One such was the initially social-appeasement government of the northern region along the White Sea coast, formed in August 1918, which was then reorganized into something resembling a military dictatorship, and then, upon establishing official connections with Kolchak, was transformed by him into a military general governorship, while its former ministers formed a special council within it.

The government of North Russia was formed in Archangel in August 1918, immediately following the landing there by the Allies. It was a coalition of socialist compromisers and figures from the bourgeois parties. It was headed by the former “People’s Will” member Chaikovskii. However, a month later, that is, in September 1918, even such an appeasement-oriented government did not satisfy the Entente military command. A military coup was incited and the socialist ministers, with Chaikovskii at their head, were sent off to the Solovetskii Islands. Chaikovskii was released before long and placed at the head of a new, fictitious government of a purely bourgeois coloration with a miniscule mix of “popular socialists.” Miller, the military governor general, was appointed Chaikovskii’s deputy. At the beginning of 1919, the Allies found it possible, under a convenient pretext, to rid themselves of Chaikovskii as well by sending him off to Paris to an Allied conference in the capacity of the representative of the Russian White Guard governments. His deputy, General Miller, was the actual head of the government. In this manner the Kolchak government only formulated the order of things that had actually been established in the northern region.

Lianozov's<sup>41</sup> northwestern government, which had been created by the British on 10 August 1919 in Revel,<sup>42</sup> was afraid to even make an appearance on the scrap of its own territory.

Both of these governments were no more than a fiction and completely dependent upon the Entente powers. The northwestern government's army was a haven for adventurists and soldiers of fortune and it was joined by Bulak-Balachowicz,<sup>43</sup> who later became famous in the history of banditry.

The same sort of government was that of the trans-Caspian region, which was formed by the Socialist Revolutionaries on 12 July 1918 and which immediately appealed for aid from British troops in Persia; later on, this government transferred its powers to the government of South Russia.

In the summer of 1918 with the support of British bayonets, a national-chauvinist Azerbaijani<sup>44</sup> government of bourgeois coloration on the platform of Azerbaijani independence and hostility to the Volunteer Army arose in Baku.

From the time of the October Revolution the Fergana regional government, which was based on the local *kulak* population of both locals and settlers, existed apart in Turkestan. This government waged a struggle against the Soviet regime in Tashkent and finally fell apart, to be replaced by a bandit movement which later became known by the name of *Basmachestvo*.<sup>45</sup>

All of these governments, with the exception of the Azerbaijani one, had a lot in common, both as regards their birth, as well as in their political physiognomy and the methods of carrying out their internal policy. Their main unifying quality was the overall goal of "reestablishing a unified and indivisible Russia."

We see, in the example of the evolution of the White Guards governments of the appeasement type, the bankruptcy of narrow-minded petite-bourgeois democracy in the face of world revolution. The petite bourgeoisie proved powerless to carry out its own policy under conditions of a decisive collision of two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and the petite-bourgeois government, hiding behind leftist slogans and phrases, either inevitably fell back into the camp of open counterrevolution or it prepared the path for the latter.

Following the experience of the Ufa and Ukrainian directories, the most active and revolutionary elements of the petite-bourgeois democracy had no other alternative but to adhere to the formula of the political dominance of the proletariat.

As we have repeatedly stated, in the rear of the White front were constant uprisings by the proletariat and peasantry, which sometimes took on elemental forms, while the uprising movement usually grew by the addition of *déclassé* elements close to the peasantry and workers. Disorders in the Whites' rear had the character of a truly revolutionary movement and the curve of its growth moved ceaselessly upward. The growth of the uprising movement was particularly strong in Ukraine at the end of 1918 and in Siberia before the fall of the Kolchak regime at the end of 1919. The latter was essentially swept off the historical stage by the wave of the Siberian

Red partisan movement. The partisan wave undermined all of the vital threads of Kolchak's armies. Almost all of the population capable of fighting withdrew to the forests and, organizing there large detachments, sometimes with their own homemade artillery, carried out extremely bold raids against individual garrisons, depots and communications lines. The flow of reinforcements to the White armies was cut off and their strength fell with amazing rapidity, because the mobilized peasantry went over *en masse* to join the partisan detachments.

The uprising movement developed quite powerfully in Ukraine following Denikin's order to turn over the harvest from the landowners' holdings to the landowners. The uprising movement also developed broadly along the Black Sea coast, the Caucasus coast and in the Crimea, and the peasantry, while avoiding Denikin's forced mobilizations, readily joined the "Green"<sup>46</sup> Army. The actions of these armies later made it very difficult for the remnants of the Volunteer Army to fall back on Novorossiisk.

On the whole, the uprising movement in the rear of the White fronts played its revolutionary role in the cause of destroying them and should be valued as one of the active forces of the revolution. The Communist Party cells, which remained behind the line of the White front and, having gone underground, did not cease their organizational and active work, both among the enemy's forces and amongst the population. Their role in the destruction of the White rear was quite significant. In Siberia the Socialist Revolutionaries' anti-Kolchak work embraced only the tip of the urban intelligentsia and the *kulak* elements in the countryside, while major peasant uprisings and, in general, the entire mass peasant movement was carried out under the slogans of the RKP<sup>47</sup> and under its organized control. In southern Ukraine, during the period of the Franco-Greek occupation of Odessa and several other Black Sea ports in the winter of 1918–1919, the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine (KP(b)U) carried out successful work for the internal demoralization of the Entente troops and in leading the workers' movement in the area of the Entente occupation. One of the results of the Bolsheviks' underground work was the political uprising of the command aboard the French military vessel *Mirabeau* in the beginning of February 1919.

Underground Bolshevik organizations carried out the same kind of work on a greater or lesser scale and with greater or lesser results in other areas occupied by the counterrevolution.

This work, in conditions of the extremely harsh White terror, required from its executors a great deal of self sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the party.

Having viewed the events that were developing along the borderlands of the RSFSR by the start of the revolution in Germany and Austria, and having traced the evolution of the counterrevolutionary formations, we will further analyze the situation that was obtaining in the RSFSR itself by the beginning of 1919 and its development through the course of this year.

The collapse of the German occupation placed before the RSFSR the task of liberating the occupied regions and organizing a Soviet regime there.

The achievement of this goal placed Soviet strategy before the necessity of directing its activity toward the Baltic States, Lithuania, Belorussia, and Ukraine. The entire question was therefore precisely which forces would manage to firmly establish themselves in all of these areas, that is, the forces of the revolution or of Entente imperialism and the internal counterrevolution.

Alongside these immediate tasks, which had arisen before Soviet policy and strategy immediately following the German revolution, there arose other, more complex and broad ones. The treasonous policy of the social-appeasement parties during the World War had repulsed the proletarian masses from them. The complete economic collapse and the related extreme exacerbation of class contradictions, which as a result of the World War had hit the victor nations and the vanquished countries to an equal degree, had created throughout all of Europe an extremely acute revolutionary situation. The most powerful outbreaks of revolutionary activity manifested themselves in Germany and Hungary. The revolutionary situation throughout all of Western Europe placed yet another new task before Soviet policy and strategy. This task consisted of uniting the efforts of the revolutionary front in Eastern and Western Europe.

A direct military struggle against the intervention was thinkable only in alliance with the revolutionary forces of the West. Actually, a blow against the Baltic States would sever that buffer chain through which Clemenceau (see chapter 1) was preparing to separate Soviet Russia from the West. An offensive through Ukraine and Bessarabia into Bukovina<sup>48</sup> would extend the hand of assistance to the fraternal Hungarian Soviet Republic.<sup>49</sup>

These were the tasks placed before Soviet strategy by history, while demanding the utmost exertion of its strength.

This was how V. I. Lenin, in a speech at that time, appraised that quantitative exertion which the Soviet Republic would have to undergo for this: "We," he said, "decided to have a million-man army by spring and now we need an army of three million men. We can have it. And we will have it."<sup>50</sup>

The country's difficult economic situation, which was due to the development of the civil war, brought about a powerful increase in epidemics. The overcrowding of the population, the absence of sufficient fuel and food, and the low level of civilization, etc., eased the unbelievably rapid spread of epidemic diseases. An epidemic of typhus developed in a particularly severe manner. According to very incomplete calculations, in October 1917 there were 20,370 cases of typhus in the country, while in January 1918 their number had increased to 55,831 cases.

Thus the country's internal condition was truly a condition of "desperate ruin," which is how V. I. Lenin described it in one of his speeches. At the same time, the political situation demanded the continuation of the civil war by a full exertion of all



forces. The Soviet regime was faced on the economic front by the tasks of preserving and maintaining the army's combat capability, feeding the country's population and preserving the remnants of industry.

The first of these tasks was the main one.

Directly linked to this was another task no less "important," not only in the political, but in the military sense as well: keeping the proletariat's strength from dissipating under the influence of the food crisis. The dissipation of the proletariat would weaken not only the political base of the Soviet regime, but threatened to weak the Red Army's organizational backbone as well. The following figures actually illustrate that these fears were well founded. For example, at the Kolomna factory at the end of 1918, instead of the 18,000 workers there at the end of the preceding year, there remained only 7,203 people.<sup>51</sup> There were 11 strikes in Tver' province throughout the year due to the food crisis.<sup>52</sup> Aside from this reason, the closing of factories due to the shortage of raw materials also facilitated the dissipation of the proletariat. For example, in October 1918 *Tsentrotekstil'*<sup>53</sup> was forced to close 161 factories.<sup>54</sup> The exertion of Soviet strategy's forces was closely dependent on the overall internal condition of the RSFSR throughout 1919.

The possibilities of Soviet strategy, both in the organizational and operational spheres, were determined by the country's economy; thus we will begin our review with questions of an economic nature.

By the close of 1918 the RSFSR, due to the economic blockade and military encirclement, was left to rely exclusively on its own economic resources. Actually, if the normal cost of imports into Russia in 1913 was 936.6 million *puds*<sup>55</sup> and exports to the tune of 1,472,000 millions *puds*, then in 1918 the figure for imports had fallen to 11.5 million *puds* and that of exports to 1.8 million *puds*. One of the immediate results of such a situation was the disappearance of imported materials which were necessary for maintaining transport at the appropriate level, which, of course, powerfully reflected on the interests of strategy and on the condition of industry and agriculture.

As a result of the spread of the civil war along the extremely broad territory of the RSFSR, the results of the exploitation of raw-materials bases told fully by the close of 1918. A number of areas were still in the hands of the occupiers, interventionists and the forces of the internal counterrevolution. The Soviet regime disposed of the economically dependent and also the most thickly populated territories. The practical consequences of this circumstance are clear from the fact that Soviet Russia now had a grain surplus of only 87 million *puds*, instead of the 775 million *puds* before the war. Just how insufficient this surplus was may be judged by the fact that 220 million *puds* of grain had to be gathered from 1 August 1918 through 1 August 1919 in order to feed the army and country. The same situation existed in regard to all other types of supplies. For example, the RSFSR could count on a yearly yield of coal only in the amount of 24 million

*puds*, when Petrograd alone normally consumed 168 *puds* of coal per year. The production curve of the most important branches of the national economy fell sharply. For example, in 1918 the production of cast iron comprised only 12.3% and flaxen yarn 75% of prewar yield.<sup>56</sup>

Such a state of affairs determined the inevitability of a number of crises in supplying various branches of the national economy, while the most important of these in the military sense were the grain and transport crises. The latter depended upon an entire series of other crises, such as the fuel crisis, the equipment crisis, etc. and on that destruction that railroad transport experienced during the civil war. V. I. Lenin concentrated the country's and party's chief attention precisely on the struggle with these two crises. Truly, the very ability to continue the civil war depended upon food and transportation.

As regards transport, the Soviet regime received a disrupted inheritance from the time of the World War. Throughout the course of the entire civil war, our transportation system continued to fall apart, chiefly as a result of the wear and tear on the rolling stock, which exceeded our ability to restore it. These figures illustrate just how rapidly this wear and tear proceeded. In 1916 our railroads disposed of 20,290 steam engines, of which 3,404 were damaged, while at the end of 1918 the number of steam engines had fallen to 8,910, of which 4,231 were damaged, that is, about 50%. At the end of 1916 the overall number of rail cars was 563,000, of which 20,000 were damaged, while at the end of 1918 there were only 258,000 rail cars; of these, 43,000 were damaged. The following data speak to the scope of the fuel crisis on the railroads. The Petrograd railroad junction's overall consumption of fuel from 1 March 1918 through 1 May 1919 was 1,124,000 cubic *sazhens*<sup>57</sup> of firewood. Of this amount, only about 10% had been procured from 1 May 1918 through 4 November. The other rail lines were in approximately the same situation.

At the same time, enormous demands were being placed on the railroads due to the war situation. Thus throughout the civil war the Soviet regime had to pay a great deal of attention to the railroads' problems, particularly regarding questions of fuel. Only 24.1% of the country's overall requirements in fuel had been prepared before January 1919, and 10.3% shipped out. 75.9% of procurement was done in the following six months, with 89.7% shipped out.

The maintenance of rail movement demanded at certain times the adoption of energetic measures, such as requisitions for the railroads of 50% of the firewood located on the railways at that moment, regardless of who they belonged to. The difficult transportation situation forced us to employ shock methods to all movement on the railroads. In case of necessity, in order to push through food shipments quickly along some lines, passenger service was temporarily halted, with the exception of operational shipments, and the entire free rail car park would be shifted to transport these cargoes.

In the developing situation, the peasantry was the supplier of the most important food products on the basis of V. I. Lenin's following formula: "The peasant has received all of the land and defense against the landowner and *kulak* from the workers' state; the workers received food and loans from the peasantry until the restoration of large-scale industry." The dictatorship of the People's Commissariat for Food on the most important food products in the area of the state monopoly, and the introduction of food requisitioning by a decree of 13 January 1919, enabled the country to more or less satisfactorily cope with the solution of the most difficult food problem. The following figures speak to this: from 1 August 1918 through 1 August 1919 110 million *puds* of grain were gathered and 220 million *puds* in the following year, with more than 285 millions *puds* the next year.

The population's sacrifices for the sake of the civil war were not limited to just food obligations. The war demanded from the broad masses of the population personal labor for the sake of the state. This participation was expressed in the labor mobilization of the population for carrying out works of general state significance.

The military character of the national economy during the civil war conditioned the typical peculiarities of the system of economic organs, which were built on the principle of strict centralization, while they were all controlled by the Supreme Council of the National Economy (VSNKh).<sup>58</sup> The closer this or that of the VSNKh's organs was connected to the army's work, the greater the shade of militarization of that organ; militarization told even more strongly on the organs of the People's Commissariat of Transportation. Centralization guaranteed the shock character of work of the country's economic organs, while shock work was brought about by the necessity of maintaining the existence and development of the army's combat power. This shock method ran throughout the entire supply policy throughout the entire course of the civil war. Depending upon the significance of this or that front, it could become a shock front; the attention of the party, the country and its economic organs would be concentrated on it and reinforcements and supplies of all sorts would begin to flow to it like a broad river at the expense of a temporary weakening of the other fronts.

V. I. Lenin himself followed the work of the railroads in making food shipments during the most critical periods. "I have issued an order," he telegraphed to Zinov'yev<sup>59</sup> in Petrograd at the beginning of 1919, "to push forward the rail cars to Piter<sup>60</sup> from Moscow and Nizhnii Novgorod with passenger cars. Follow up on this. If you missed the halt a month ago and did not appeal against it in time, then you should also blame yourself, just the same as following our telephone conversation on Friday you did not take measures to check the speed of movement of the dispatched rail cars." V. I. Lenin scrupulously controlled the work of the railroads in transferring individual units being dispatched to the decisive sectors of the front during those days. The transfer of the Bashkir Brigade to Petrograd in the autumn of 1919, the transfer of the 21st Division in August of that same

year against Mamontov,<sup>61</sup> the transfer of the Latvian Division in the autumn of 1919 from the Western Front to the Southern Front, etc., were carried out under Lenin's personal observation.

Difficulties of an economic order powerfully placed goals before Soviet strategy. One of the main slogans in the struggle against Denikin and Kolchak was the struggle for grain. As early as the beginning of 1919 the country began to experience a severe shortage of oil. On 24 April Lenin telegraphed military workers in Astrakhan' the following:

"It's extremely odd that you send only boastful telegrams about future victories. Discuss immediately:

"First of all, can't the seizure of Petrovsk be sped up for shipping oil from Groznyi?

"Second of all, can't the mouth of the Ural River and Gur'yev be captured in order to take oil from there, as the need for oil is desperate. Direct all your efforts to getting oil as quickly as possible..."

By the close of 1918 the growth of the party and the restructuring of its work under the slogan of "Everything for Victory," made themselves clearly felt. Comrade Mekhonoshin,<sup>62</sup> a member of the Central Military Commission, in speaking of that significance that party mobilizations and their related increase at the front had, added: "The organization of the countryside is going on simultaneously with the struggle at the front. One may openly say that nowhere are the peasants so well organized as in the front-area zone. A great deal of organizational work is proceeding in the enemy's rear. Workers' detachments are being organized there to assist us and Soviet bases are even being created."

One may judge just how great were the party mobilizations by the fact that in October 1918 communist cells had been organized in more than two-thirds of the Red Army units along the Volga-Ural front. The work of communists dispatched from the Red centers completely transformed the front-area zones. Committees of the poor were organized everywhere and articles of the time noted that here, that is, in the Volga area and in the Urals, "the local toiling population had only now, one must say, awoken for the revolution and has begun to live a revolutionary life."

Moscow and Petrograd yielded a particularly large amount to the front, but on 1 November 1918, comrade Zinov'yev, who had returned from a trip to the Eastern Front (3rd Army), reported to the Petrograd Soviet that "this is insignificant in comparison to what is going on at the front." At the Lys'va factories, only 3,000 workers remained out of 15,000. The remainder was at the front. "When," the speaker stated, "after this you listen to the compliments paid to Petrograd, then you realized with a pain in your heart that they are not deserved by us. We did not turn over the same percentage as Lys'va... We should do ten times more."

Soviet Russia put forth the slogan of creating a three-million man army, to which the communist city should offer up 300,000–500,000 proletarian soldiers.

Party mobilizations continued inexorably and when a new Western Front was created, as a result of the German revolution, then Petrograd carried out the mobilization of “one thousand” communists. The mobilization of national sections began. In accordance with the slogan of “Everything for the Army,” in Moscow, Petrograd and a number of other cities such measures were undertaken as the examination of barracks, for which three-man teams were created, and all kinds of help for the Red Army, and the organization of sending New Year’s gifts to the Red Army, etc.

Political and educational work in the ranks of the Red Army was deepened, both at the front and in the rear, while at the same time the strong connection between front and rear was maintained without change. At the end of December 1918 Red Army soldiers sent fraternal greetings and a warm thank you from the front to the workers for the presents sent to them. They also added to this: “These presents are dearer to us than anything else. We believe in the victory of socialism. We believe in the united family of labor. It’s hard right now, and it may become even harder, but we know that behind us beats the sensitive heart of the proletariat.”

There could not be such unity and cohesion of class and party, of the army and the entire toiling country in the camp of the counterrevolution. Quite the opposite, the appeasing parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries entered the second year of the civil war under the sign of the ongoing split in their ranks and the decline of any kind of authority among the masses. The following data speak eloquently to this. In January 1918 the Mensheviks disposed of 16% of the overall number of delegates at the first congress of unions. In January 1919 their degree of participation at the second congress was only 6%.

The schism hit the Socialist Revolutionaries particularly hard. Officially, the Socialist Revolutionary Party held to a policy of irreconcilability, both as regards the Soviet regime and as regards the counterrevolutionary governments, and the party’s ninth congress recommended to its members to abstain from open uprisings against the Soviet regime, while allowing for such uprisings in the counterrevolutionaries’ camp. Actually, the party’s right wing, led by Avksent’ev<sup>63</sup> and Zenzinov,<sup>64</sup> adhered to the platform of cooperation with the interventionists and supporting the counterrevolutionary governments. One might encounter many members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party among the most active participants in bourgeois plots in the rear of the Red front. The left wing of the Socialist Revolutionaries continued to manifest its irreconcilable hostility to the Communist Party, while attempting to wound it with “pin pricks” at times of the most intense situation along the fronts. The bourgeois counterrevolutionary parties, from the Kadets and further right, while retaining as before, their miniscule significance, chiefly manifested themselves in organizing various plots. While not counting at all, based on the experience of 1918, on the success of their own uprisings, they then timed their preparations to the time the front

approached and undertook intensive espionage in many of the Red Army's units and establishments, employing for this purpose the command element's class heterogeneity. However, all of these plots failed to achieve their goal and were uncovered in a timely manner by the organs of the proletarian dictatorship—the VChK OGPU,<sup>65</sup> and were quickly eliminated.

Throughout its entire course the civil war was accompanied by periodic wavering among the main peasant mass, or of its individual strata, which sometimes manifested themselves in disorders and open insurrections against the Soviet regime. The reasons and essence of these wavering movements among the peasantry were described by us in the first chapter of this work. This wavering depended primarily upon the attitudes of the middle peasantry and on that influence which, especially in the borderlands even long after October, the economically powerful *kulak* continued to enjoy in the countryside. The *kulak* leadership in the countryside, while hysterically revolutionary in the struggle with the landowners, did not want to make peace with the Soviet regime, which was trying to free the toiling masses in the countryside not only from the landowner, but from the *kulak* as well. The shifting of the front lines in the civil war almost always coincided with wavering among the peasant masses. It was necessary for the peasant masses of the Volga area, Siberia, the Don, Kuban', and Ukraine to experience for themselves the power of the White dictatorship and the landowner blinded by hatred for the revolution, in order to in the end wind up as an ally of the proletariat in the struggle of the Red and White sides.

The party took into account in a timely manner the necessity of consolidating this shift of the middle peasant in favor of the Soviet regime and its alliance with the poorest peasantry and proletariat. The VI Congress of Soviets, which took place in November 1918, made the decision to disband the committees of the poor and to go over to normal forms of Soviet construction in the countryside. Lenin's famous speech "On the Attitude to the Middle Peasantry," made at the VIII Party Congress in March 1919 laid out a completely clear and definite line, aimed at an alliance with the middle peasant. Subsequent peasant disorders, which took place episodically, were not directed against the Soviet regime as a political system, but arose predominantly on the basis of dissatisfaction with the burdens that had fallen to the lot of the population due to the prolonged civil war.

To a great degree, the methods of the Soviet regime's punitive policy facilitated the rapid decline in the curve of peasant disorders in the rear of the Red fronts. It never came down with the full weight of repressions on the mass participants of the disorders, but only punished the counterrevolutionary or bandit-*kulak* leadership of the movement.

The turn of the multi-million mass of the peasantry told on the fall of the curve of desertion from the ranks of the Red Army. Typically, the "deserters' week to return" on the southern front yielded the greatest percentage of returnees precisely at that moment when the situation was the most serious along this front.

The armed forces of the revolution grew as the scale of the civil war grew in space. At the beginning of 1919 there already numbered 125 rifle and nine cavalry brigades along the various fronts and in the country's internal districts.<sup>66</sup> These forces were dispersed among the fronts in the following manner: the Western Army—81,500 men; the Kursk axis group (the future cell of the Ukrainian Front)—10,000 men; the Caspian-Caucasus Front—84,000 men (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Armies); the Southern Front—17,000 men (8th, 9th and 10th Armies), and on the northern front—20,000 men (7th Army); in all, 312,500 men and 1,697 guns.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, there were 60,000 infantry and cavalry in the troop units of the internal districts, with 314 guns. It's necessary to note that not only combat troops were included among the troops of the internal districts, but that this number also included special designation troops, railroad and water transport security forces, sugar industry security forces, and finally, food detachments, comprising Zusmanovich's<sup>68</sup> so-called "food army," which was before long employed to strengthen the southern front. All of these forces were insufficient for resolving the tasks of the 1919 campaign along the various fronts; but the country's economy put a definite limit to the growth in formations in time.

The overall number of forces was the result of an organizational program that was unfulfilled by 35%, due to economic difficulties. However, the high command was counting on raising the republic's armed forces to 700,000–800,000 infantry and cavalry by mid-May, plus 2,500 guns. Of this overall amount, 100,000–120,000 infantry and cavalry were slated for the internal districts. The insufficient number of the armed forces compared to the breadth of the tasks falling to them brought in its wake the extreme exhaustion of the troops operating along the fronts throughout the year without any relief. This exhaustion increased even more due to the length of the fronts along which individual units were compelled to operate. For example, the sectors of some divisions along the front reached 200 kilometers. All of these reasons were reflected in the establishment of a single type of organization which was not yet completed in the armies. As a result of these reasons, the combat discipline of certain units was not at a very high level: there were individual cases of failure to carry out combat orders and abandoning the front. While experiencing a shortage of forces, the high command was unable to organize the systematic withdrawal of units for rest and to knock them together, because by the start of 1919 its strategic reserve had been almost completely swallowed up by the fronts. Of 11 divisions, the formation of which begun in the summer of 1918 in the internal districts for the strategic reserve, by February 1919 the high command disposed of only three divisions that were completing their formation.

The unsatisfactory condition of military industry was reflected in the state of our armaments. The Red Army was short of authorized strength by 65% in machine guns and 60% in artillery. As before, we experienced a shortage of ammunition, particularly of rifle rounds, clothing and equipment.

As regards equipping and the subsequent deployment of the republic's armed forces, the high command planned the following measures for 1919. First of all,



in order to reinforce the troops at the front, it was decided to dispatch not entire troop units from the internal districts, but individual reinforcement companies from the internal divisions. Secondly, a certain flexibility in the matter of forming units was introduced by allowing the fronts themselves to carry out the necessary formation of units in recently occupied territories, for which a special "formation directorate" (*upraform*) was established in the headquarters of each front. A system of reinforcing the Red Army by means of mobilizations carried out through local military-administrative organs, in the form of various types of military commissariats, was firmly established in the internal districts; the pre-draft training of the population was carried out through these organs; in this manner, universal military training completed at the local level. 1919, aside from mobilizations, was distinguished by a number of party and professional mobilizations. As opposed to such mobilizations in 1918, these mobilizations did not yield individual improvised formations, but dispatched fresh reserves of the proletariat to strengthen the cadres of already existing units. Thanks to its militarization, the orderly work of our transportation system ensured the planned and shock quality of carrying out mobilization transfers.

For completely understandable reasons, we are unable to offer the same picture of the growth and development of the republic's naval forces in 1919. Here our work primarily came down to the preservation and possible employment of the fleet's old equipment and to the creation of river and lake flotillas, which played a significant role in the spring and summer campaigns of 1919.

The other side's armed forces were made up of the armed forces of those foreign states which took an active part in our civil war, and of the armed forces of the internal counterrevolution. The latter, in their turn, consisted of forces not attached to a particular territory as a source of recruitment, and from forces territorially linked with their recruitment base. The forces of the internal counterrevolution went through the same stages of development as the Red Army, that is, from the voluntary principle they tried to go over to the principle of universal military service, which, however, they were unable to do due to reasons of a political character. The strength of the counterrevolution's armed forces in both categories was uneven at various periods during the civil war. As opposed to the revolution's armed forces, the growth curve of which always pointed upward, the growth curve of the counterrevolution's armed forces reached its apex only by the summer of 1919, after which it began to fall disastrously, which can be explained, on the one hand, by the beginning of the withdrawal from the struggle of the foreign forces that were taking part in the civil war and, on the other, by the beginning of the disintegration in the enemy's armies and in his rear.

The foreign powers' forces achieved their greatest strength in our civil war's theaters throughout the spring and summer of 1919. Their nationality, strength and area of operations are shown in the following table, referring to February 1919.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Size of Armed Forces</i>	<i>Area of Activity</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1. The Entente Powers (France, Britain, Italy, and others)	50,000	Northern Theater	Also, small British detachments in the Trans-Caucasus and Trans-Caspian
2. France and Greece	20,000	Southern Theater (the area of Odessa, Kherson and Nikolayev)	
3. Japan	3 infantry divisions	Far East	
4. USA	7,000	Far East	
5. Finland	42,000	Serdobol'sk and Vyborg axes	
6. Estonia	25,750	The Estonian sector of the Western Theater	
7. Latvia	10,600	The Latvian sector of the Western Theater	
8. Von der Goltz's German Volunteers	30,950	" "	
9. Lithuania	8,200	Western Theater (Lithuanian- Belorussian sector)	
10. Poland	63,840	Western Theater (Lithuanian- Belorussian sector and Ukraine)	
11. The Czecho-slovak Corps as part of the Entente forces)	40,000	Siberia	
Approximate Total	300,000, plus three Japanese divisions		

Besides these ground forces, the Anglo-French fleet, which blockaded the republic's shores, also took part in the struggle against the RSFSR. The British fleet played a definite strategic role on the Black Sea, facilitating General Denikin's operations for retaking the Crimea and the Black Sea ports.

The overall strength of the internal counterrevolutionary armies can be viewed in the following table:

<i>Army</i>	<i>Infantry and Cavalry</i>	<i>Date of Strength</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1. Don	53,000–76,500*	February 1919	Included here are small volunteer formations
2. Kuban'	80,000–82,000	“ ”	Minus the Volunteer Army
3. Kolchak's Siberian Army	143,300	“ ”	It was planned to increase its strength to 150,000 by the summer of 1919
4. Northern	30,620	“ ”	
5. Volunteer	17,000	“ ”	
6. Ukrainian Directory Army	40,000	“ ”	Table compiled on the basis of data from the report by the commander-in-chief of the Red Army, no. 849 (Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 34805, 220, listy 289–293, delo 65, listy 3–4) and literary sources
Total	283,920–307,420		

\* The last figure is cited by Krasnov

The internal condition of each of the counterrevolutionary armies quite accurately reflected within itself the attitudes and political physiognomy of those layers of the population from which it was formed.

The Don Army was characterized by an average combat capability, which was conditioned not so much by the political strength (anti-Soviet attitudes even existed among its young cohorts), as by the fact that consisting primarily of cavalry, it enjoyed a number of tactical advantages over the Red Army, which was poorly supplied with cavalry in the first period of the war. The Kuban'-Volunteer Army was distinguished by its good combat capability, training and equipment, a very powerful command element and high degree of counterrevolutionary feeling. However, this army also had major shortcomings peculiar to caste armies: it was very sensitive to failures and poorly withstood deprivations. The attitudes of the Siberian armies reflected the attitudes of the population amidst which the mobilizations enjoyed no success and their combat capability, with the exception of individual units, was lower than average. For example, during the period of the Siberian Army's autumn retreat in 1918, entire units either went over to the Soviet forces' side or ran away to their homes. In this sense, things stood even worse among the troops of the Ukrainian Directory, which displayed the lowest combat capability for reasons laid out in the beginning of this chapter.

A firm footing for supplying the counterrevolutionary armies was established by the beginning of the Entente powers' active interference in our civil war: earlier they had to employ occasional sources of this kind. The counterrevolutionary armies of South Russia ended up in the best situation following the opening of the Dardanelles, when the port of Novorossiisk became their main base.

Throughout the summer and through the autumn of 1919 the counterrevolutionary governments, while taking advantage of Anglo-French monetary support and favorable conditions of credit in America, carried out large purchases of military materiel, clothing and weapons. The food supply of the counterrevolutionary armies was chiefly based on the uninhibited and disorderly exploitation of local resources, which infuriated the local population. The Volunteer Army went further than all of them in this regard, leaving its units to fend for themselves—by robbery and speculation.

The counterrevolutionary armies' training and tactics did not in any way differ from those in the old Russian army.

In comparing both sides' forces, we should note that a typical positive feature of the Red Army lay in its internal strength, which was the consequence of that idea of revolutionary, class struggle which was embedded in the army's ideology. The guardians and carriers of this idea in the army's ranks were those conscientious working masses which joined it and around which layers of the poorest peasantry gathered. The Red Army, particularly as regards its strength and human resources, outnumbered the armies of the internal counterrevolution, because it could freely employ the population's reserves in the form of the masses of the poorest and middle peasantry and workers, the mobilization of which the enemy could not risk because of political considerations. The last circumstance determined the superiority of the development of military forces on the side of Soviet strategy.

## The Strategic Plans of the Sides' Command for 1919. The Campaign on the Southern and North Caucasus Fronts at the End of 1918. The Beginning of the Struggle on the Ukrainian Front

*The Whites' Operational Plans and Their Changes in Each of the Theaters for 1919, Depending on the Political and Strategic Conditions. Their Evaluation. Commander-in-Chief Vatsetis' War Plan of 7 October 1918 and its Immediate Tasks Along Each of the Fronts. The Rout of the Don Army on the Southern Front at the End of 1918. The Red Command's Plan for Subsequent Activities. The Beginning of the Struggle in the Donbas and its Significance. The Forces of Both Sides. The Struggle in the North Caucasus in the Beginning of 1919 and its Results. The Formation of the Ukrainian Front and the Intervention in the South. The First Successes of the Red Forces in Ukraine. Events in the Area of Odessa and Other Black Sea Ports. The Role and Actions of Both Sides' Fleets on the Caspian and Black Seas. (See Map 3 of the plate section)*

The beginning of the second year of the civil war is notable for the condition of an unstable balance for both sides along all the fronts. This, however, was one of Soviet strategy's positive achievements, because the first year of the civil war was spent organizing and gathering forces, which was one of the chief difficulties of its situation. Soviet strategy managed to get out of a difficult situation, having achieved even some noteworthy successes on several fronts, but was unable to immediately accomplish all the tasks placed before it by politics. The completion of these tasks was thus shifted to the second year of the civil war. The enemy, in his turn, sought to achieve those political goals which world imperialism and the internal counterrevolution placed before him. Thus it is natural that the high command's plans for 1919 on both sides had to be of an offensive character and the campaign itself should be conducted under the banner of a stubborn struggle for the initiative.

As we have already pointed out, from the beginning of 1919 a unified command of all the armed forces of the counterrevolution was only formally achieved by Admiral

Kolchak, while actually both of the most powerful White groups of forces—Kolchak's Siberian armies and the Armed Forces of South Russia—each carried out its own plan of action and the question of unifying these actions never went further than conversations. This imposes upon us the duty of examining the plans of action of both of these groups of forces, each in isolation.

The failures along the Samara—Ufa axis, which followed after the retaking of Kazan' by the Reds, and the collapse of the People's Army,<sup>1</sup> as well as the Czechoslovaks' abandonment of the front did not influence the "Siberian government" from forswearing the launching of offensive operations. Its plan consisted of launching the main attack along the Perm'—Vyatka axis (in hopes of linking up with the Entente's northern front) and of active operations along the Krasnoufimsk—Sarapul'—Kazan'—Arzamas—Murom—Moscow and Zlatoust—Ufa—middle Volga—Penza—Moscow axes. Even the occupation of Moscow, which was planned for July 1919, was based on the calculation that the offensive would start in the first days of March.

The events of the autumn campaign of 1918 in the Volga region should have shown Admiral Kolchak that this plan had neither a political nor a materiel foundation. The collapse of the "People's Army" should have convinced him of the true attitude of the broad masses of the population toward his armies and their goals. The Czechoslovaks' departure from the front deprived him of his strongest units. Finally, the concentration of significant forces along the Perm'—Vyatka axis, once the secondary importance of the northern front and its passive character had become clear to both sides, was not justified by the conditions of the strategic situation. In such a situation, the only thing that the Siberian White command could count on was a temporary success along one of the chosen operational axes, which would be purchased at the expense of complete strategic exhaustion, because in order to carry out his plan Kolchak would have to commit into the fighting his last strategic reserves, which had not yet completed their organization. Subsequent events fully revealed all of these shortcomings of the Siberian White command's plan of campaign.

General Denikin, having assumed on 10 January 1919 command of all the "Armed Forces of South Russia," built the plan of his 1919 campaign on the exaggerated significance of the Allies' intervention in South Russia, proceeding from a calculation of those forces which were initially designated for it (more than 12 infantry divisions). Thus the idea of his plan was more active than that of Kolchak's and he also set as his final goal the capture of Moscow, with a simultaneous attack on Petrograd and along the right bank of the Volga.

General Denikin's immediate tasks were as follows: 1) to prevent the enemy from seizing Ukraine and the western provinces, and 2) to finally clear the North Caucasus of Bolsheviks.<sup>2</sup>

The realization of this plan should have brought about the scattering of the White forces of South Russia along an enormous space, from the Volga to the Dnestr rivers,

where they would inevitably dissolve in this space. This is actually what happened. The forces of the intervention in no way helped Denikin, due to their small size and that internal demoralization that had seized them. Similar to Kolchak's plan, this plan was also completely unsecured politically. With each step in the depths of Soviet territory, moving further from the Cossack regions, the "Armed Forces of South Russia" became more and more unacceptable for the broad masses of the country's population, which is why they could not count on increasing their size from the local population.

On 7 October 1918 the Red command, in the person of comrade Vatsetis, was working on his plan of operations along all the fronts for 1919. In this plan the command proceeded from the following prerequisites. The most significant and serious threats were the armed forces of the Siberian counterrevolution and South Russia. These forces in the east could cut the Soviet country off from its sources of food, and in the south off from its sources of food, solid fuel, fuel oil, and raw materials for industry. Taking into consideration the economic conditions, the foreign policy situation and the enemy's forces, the main significance in the forthcoming campaign should have been assigned to the Southern Front. The political situation determined the Southern Front's tasks by the necessity of infiltrating between the retreating German militarism and the looming Anglo-French imperialism and to gain a foothold inside the Soviet state, in which it was planned to include the Don and Caucasus and Ukraine. Proceeding from these general prerequisites, the Soviet command placed before itself the following tasks along the civil war's various theaters.

1. A stubborn defense along the northern front.
2. To become firmly established on the eastern front along the line of the middle Volga and the elimination of the Izhevsk—Votkinsk uprising, as well as the establishment of communications with the Turkestan Army. An advance into Siberia would follow.
3. Along the southern front, which would be reinforced as much as possible by all available armed forces, the decisive elimination of the Don Army was planned, in order to consolidate a Soviet Cossack regime in the Don region, after which it was planned to shift the freed-up forces either to the North Caucasus or to the eastern front to complete the defeat of the White armies there.
4. Passive tasks were initially foreseen for the future Western Front. A defensive-withdrawal campaign was not excluded for the purpose of winning time, although the foreign policy situation, at least as regards the first half of 1919, did not offer any prerequisites for this.
5. Finally, in the event of necessity and possibility, the occupation of left-bank Ukraine following the Germans' withdrawal, the formation of a "reserve army" of three divisions in the Kaluga—Smolensk—Bryansk area was planned.



Thus Soviet strategy had to be active both in the east and in the south, which determined the employment of its forces along diverging operational axes. The secondary importance of the northern front was evaluated quite correctly, but the role and significance of the western and Ukrainian fronts were underrated, which became clear within a month. The activation of these fronts under the influence of the demands of the political situation resulted in the unforeseen expenditure of forces for this, which proved to be burdensome for our capabilities of that time and determined the prolonged and stubborn character of the struggle along all the fronts during the 1919 campaign.

V. I. Lenin attached enormous significance to the quickest and most decisive possible elimination of Krasnov (Don front). As early as 3 January 1919 he telegraphed Trotskii<sup>3</sup>: “I’m very concerned that you have become too carried away with Ukraine to the detriment of the overall strategic task, upon which Vatsetis insists and, which consists of a rapid, decisive and general offensive against Krasnov, and I am extremely fearful that we are late with this...” Lenin proposed to push “speeding up and pushing to its conclusion a general offensive against Krasnov.” However, as we will see later, the offensive against Krasnov dragged out; the actions of our forces along this front were characterized by a lack of coordination and dispersal of efforts. Lenin more than once (for example, in April) directed the high command’s attention to this factual underestimation of the significance of the timely and rapid elimination of Krasnov. Lenin’s perspicacious strategic genius, as nothing else, realized the full significance of the Don front and foresaw those difficulties which must face the Red Army and Soviet strategy, and which actually did arise (Denikin) in the event of Krasnov’s untimely elimination.

We broke off the examination of the events along the southern front at the moment of both sides’ intensive struggle for the line of the Povorino—Novokhopyorsk—Bobrov—Liski lateral railroad, which ran to the north of the region’s administrative boundaries, while the Liski—Novokhopyorsk sector of the railroad ended up in the hands of the Don Army. The Don Army also managed to achieve local successes along the Yelan’—Saratov axis and to tie down the Red 10th Army’s forces in the Tsaritsyn area. These successes, which were achieved by means of an extreme exertion of force, were disputed from the Don Army by the Soviet Southern Front’s armies, which, while committing arriving reserves into the fighting in detail, achieved local successes at times; however, they were unable to develop them due to a shortage of available forces.

The increase in the Don Army’s successes should have ceased not so much due to the arrival of new Soviet reserves as to reasons of an external and internal order, which arose at this time in the theater of military operations itself within the ranks of the Don Army. The external reason, which was worsening the Don Army’s overall strategic situation, was the withdrawal of the Germans from Ukrainian territory, which uncovered the left flank of the entire Don front. This phenomenon was

not noticed at first, but as early as the second half of November 1918 units of the right-flank Red 8th Army began to infiltrate into liberated territory, gradually turning the left flank of the Don Army's Voronezh group. As early as 29 November, upon reaching the front Ostrogozhsk—Korotoyak, they captured Liski station, from which they were later thrown out by reserves from the enemy's Voronezh group. However, by 3 December they had spread as far as the town of Valuiki. At the same time, the 10th Army began to advance along its right flank to Ilovlya station. The enemy, in his turn, not having yet appraised the significance of the barring of its left flank and, having weakened his forces along the Voronezh axis, concentrated a force along the Tsaritsyn axis against the 10th Army's center, pushing it back toward Tsaritsyn.

Thanks to these enemy actions, two groups had formed along his front: the weakest was the Voronezh group and the strongest the Tsaritsyn group, which had their rear areas turned toward each other; the strength of the first was determined at 18,000 to 22,000 soldiers and 16 guns, while that of the second was as much as 50,000 and 63 guns. Both groups were connected to each other by a thin cavalry screen.

The Red Army's high command decided to complete the success by launching a decisive attack against the Don Army. It assigned the Southern Front command the immediate main goal of defeating the enemy's Voronezh group, as soon as all of the reserves being sent there were concentrated, including Kozhevnikov's<sup>4</sup> group (20,000 soldiers and 20 guns) from the Eastern Front; the latter was that shock fist which, upon deploying along the front Valuiki—Kupyansk, was supposed to get into the rear of the enemy's Voronezh group and reach the front Millerovo—Boguchar. The 8th and 9th Armies were supposed to attack the enemy's Voronezh group from the front, which meant that up to 50,000 troops were to take part in operations against it, that is, about half of all of the forces of the Soviet Southern Front, the strength of which by the end of December had already been raised to 124,500 infantry and cavalry, with 2,230 machine guns and 485 guns. The North Caucasus front was supposed to assist the Southern Front with an offensive by its 11th Army along the front Novocherkassk—Rostov-on-Don.

The high command subsequently planned to defeat Krasnov's remaining forces along the right bank of the Don River, and those forces of General Denikin which might be there.

For the purpose of coordinating the front units with the revolution's reserves behind the enemy front line, the high command planned to dispatch party members to the Donbas for preparing a workers' uprising there, and for forming partisan detachments and using them for operations against the enemy's railroad communications between Likhaya station and Rostov-on-Don. Thus the essence of Vatsetis' plan came down to turning the Southern Front's entire right flank in the general direction of Tsaritsyn, along with the incidental destruction of the enemy's very weak Voronezh group. This would involve the concentration of the main mass of the Southern Front's forces in

the Tsaritsyn area, with its poorly developed lateral railroads, which were also in a poor state of repair, which would make subsequent regroupings extremely difficult and would leave the Donets Basin, which was extremely important for the Soviet regime, both politically and economically, without support.

These fears were evidently not foreign to commander-in-chief Vatsetis. He at least pointed out in a special instruction that the main operational axis must be the Millerovo one, which, in his opinion, must draw in the main Red forces toward the Donets Basin. The commander-in-chief's thoughts on the Southern Front's subsequent operations must have influenced the necessity for this. This front's initial successes evidently enabled commander-in-chief Vatsetis to significantly broaden his intentions regarding the subsequent operations of this front's armies, compared to his plan of operations of 7 October 1918. In his "Thoughts on the Forthcoming Operation Against the Don," of 20 December 1918, commander-in-chief Vatsetis's intentions regarding the Southern Front's armies had already come down to the fact that upon the elimination of the forces of the southern counterrevolution, the Southern Front's armies would regroup their front to the west and began an offensive to the middle Dnepr.<sup>5</sup>

Thus in carrying out the assignments of the political center, commander-in-chief Vatsetis was thinking of first dealing with the forces of domestic counterrevolution, and only then coming to grips with Anglo-French imperialism. But actually, as we shall see, the Southern Front command did not deploy its forces in the spirit of the commander-in-chief's instructions, which left the Donets Basin without reliable support and demanded the correction of the deployment of the Southern Front's forces, which required a great expenditure of time.

A positive side of Vatsetis's plan was the securing of an initial success through the concentration of overwhelming forces against the enemy's Voronezh group, but the double change of front would make the realization of the plan complex and was prolonged, which was confirmed by the subsequent course of events.

The conditions of the situation, that is, the hurried abandonment of Ukraine and the Donets Basin by the Germans, along with a kindred population that was close to the Red armies in the sense of class and political ideology, enabled us to adopt a plan of action that was simpler to carry out and decisive in its results, by directing the main attack directly through the Donets Basin. Then the latter would have been securely tied to the remaining Soviet territory, the flanking movement would have been deeper, and the enemy would not have had the opportunity to slip out from under the attack being launched against him and time would have been saved. The latter circumstance was very important, not only regarding the possible appearance of the Volunteer Army and the Entente's forces in the southern theater, but in regard to climatic conditions as well. We had to expect the melting of the rivers and the muddy season in the beginning of March, which would have made head-on operations against Rostov and Novochoerkassk very difficult.

In any event, we had to hurry with the start of the operation, because as early as the end of December the Volunteer Army command was preparing to transfer one infantry division to the Donets Basin (by request of *ataman* Krasnov, who was completely lacking in forces for forming a new 600-kilometer front along the boundaries of the Don region, which had been uncovered by the German withdrawal), while the demoralization of the Don Army was already assuming very perceptible forms. Entire Don units began to abandon the front at the end of December, while some *stanitsas* (Vyoshenskaya, Kazanskaya) had established a Soviet regime and, finally, the Don units of the Khopyor district had fallen back without offering any kind of resistance.

The subsequent deepening of this process meant the Cossack counterrevolution's loss of any kind of social roots in the masses and its complete demoralization, the clear manifestation of which was the demoralization of the troops, which had already begun.

The Southern Front command carried out these instructions by assigning the following tasks to its units on 4 and 8 January: Kozhevnikov's group was to reach the front Kantemirovka—Mitrofanovka by the close of day on 12 January; the 8th Army was to wage an offensive along both banks of the Don; the 9th Army was to move to the sector of the Khopyor River between Novokhopyorsk and Uryupinskaya, while putting up a screen against the enemy's Tsaritsyn group near Budarino; the 10th Army, while defending the Tsaritsyn area, was at the same time to develop an offensive in the direction of Kamyshin, in order to free up the 9th Army's left flank.

In the offensive just begun the greatest territorial successes at first fell to the lot of Kozhevnikov's group; its movement was carried out without almost any kind of resistance on the part of the enemy; a small fight took place only near the town of Starobel'sk, which it captured on 10 January. The group pulled in its wake the right flank of the 8th Army, which was at the Chernaya Kalitva River as early as 8 January. But then the enemy launched a brief attack against the 8th and 9th Armies at the same time along the Voronezh axis, throwing their internal flanks back from Abramovka station and Povorino. However, the 9th Army managed to restore the situation, occupying Novokhopyorsk on 15 January and *stanitsa* Uryupinskaya on 21 January, which created an immediate threat to the rear of those Cossack units that had broken through. It was only then that the enemy's Voronezh group, threatened with a turning movement from three sides, began to fall back to the south. The Don group pushed back the 10th Army along the Tsaritsyn axis almost to the very outskirts of Tsaritsyn, having cut it off from the Kamyshin group.

Thus the White command at that moment had not yet realized the entire danger of the situation along the Voronezh axis and missed the time to radically regroup its forces along the front.

The Southern Front command sought to develop the success of Kozhevnikov's group from the front Valuiki—Kupyansk by assigning it a deeper outflanking movement against the enemy's Voronezh group, for which Kozhevnikov's group was to concentrate with its main forces in the Kantemirovka area, detaching one division to Lugansk (21 January) and to then attack toward Millerovo. The 9th Army was to reorient its front to the southeast and move along the Povorino—Tsaritsyn railroad; a large part of the 8th Army's forces was also supposed to operate along the left bank of the Don.

These orders of 17 and 21 January clearly defined the concentration of the Southern Front's main forces in the Tsaritsyn area. This concentration coincided with that time when the collapse of the Don Army had already been firmly established, which was expressed in the number of prisoners and equipment which fell into the hands of the Soviet forces, and in the mass surrender or the unauthorized return of entire Cossack regiments to their homes. On 8 February, seven Don regiments, along with their artillery, surrendered at Archeda station; on 11 February, another five regiments either surrendered or scattered at Kotluban' station.

Thus the Southern Front command was essentially left with the task of pursuing the remnants of the Don Army, and on 1 February it issued a corresponding directive, dispatching the central armies (8th and 9th) directly south; Kozhevnikov's group was to move from the Kantemirovka area to the Kamenskaya—Millerovo area, while the 10th Army was to move along the railroad to Kalach, at right angles to the axis of the 9th Army's movement.

On 8 and 9 February units of the 9th and 10th Armies came into contact with each other in the area of Archeda station, which essentially ended the operation to defeat the Don front, but the center of gravity then shifted to the Donets Basin, where a fresh division from the Volunteer Army had arrived and restricted the operational freedom of Kozhevnikov's group.

Upon landing in Mariupol' on 25 January, as early as 27–28 January this division undertook an offensive on Lugansk, which was beaten back, but on the other hand, delayed the advance of Kozhevnikov's units along the Nikitovka—Debal'tsevo sector. On 5 February it cut communications between Lugansk and Bakhmut, seizing Popasnaya station, and on the following day, with an attack along the rail line in the direction of Millerovo, it forced back the left flank of Kozhevnikov's group, which under the influence of this threat from the Volunteer Army from the south was forced to realign its front directly facing south and was unable to achieve its intended area—*stanitsa* Kamenskaya, as the final goal of its movement.

This is how the fighting began for the Donets Basin, the struggle for which is the chief component of the next period of the campaign on the southern front. The intensity of this struggle was conditioned by the liberation of a significant portion of the enemy's forces from the North Caucasus theater, as a result of their having achieved a decisive success here. Thus it seems proper to halt here on those events which defined such a favorable change in the situation in favor of the southern counterrevolution.<sup>6</sup>

Following the second capture of Stavropol', the forces of both armies (the Taman' Army and Sorokin's former army), which were merged into a single 11th Army, were stationed along the front Zavetnoye—Petrovskoye—Remontnoye—Priyutnoye—Sukhaya Buivola—Dubovyi—Kursavka—Vorovskoleskaya—Kislovodsk—Nal'chik. This front formed a half-salient and its rear bordered on the waterless and sandy Caspian Desert, through which along a distance of 400 kilometers there were no fixed communications and no depots with supplies had been established.

The front from Groznyi through Kizlyar as far as Terechnoye station on the Caspian Sea was occupied by the weak 12th Army, the operational axis of which was Petrovsk, that is, nearly 180 degrees opposite the 11th Army's operational axis on Tikhoretskaya. On 8 December 1918 both of these armies became part of the separate Caspian-Caucasus Front.

The front's command determined its forces to consist of 150,000 troops, of which there were 60,000 at the front, up to 30,000 in the rear services and rear-area garrisons and military roads, up to 40,000 sick and wounded, and up to 20,000 deserters.

The most powerful in strength was the 11th Army, against which the main mass of the Kuban'-Volunteer Army's forces, with up to 25,000 men and 75 guns, were arrayed, grouped in the area excluding Priyutnoye—excluding Kursavka—Stavropol'—Armavir.

A small number of enemy forces, which was not part of the above-mentioned army, namely 4,000–5,000 soldiers in the first line and about 6,000 local formations and British occupation forces in the rear, were concentrated against the 12th Army. These forces occupied the front Petrovsk—Temir-Khan-Shura and consisting chiefly of the Azerbaijani government's troops and the mountain people of Dagestan, either completely failed to recognize or partially recognized the sovereignty of the Volunteer Army.

The difficulty of the Red armed forces' situation in the North Caucasus was increased by that circumstance that the front's main mass of forces, that is, the 11th Army, was separated by the desert from its main base—Astrakhan', being linked to it by a military highway 400 kilometers in length and running at first parallel to the army's front through Georgiyevsk, Svyatoi Krest and Yashkul' and then to Astrakhan'. They were unable to establish the correct movement of transport along this road. The 12th Army, as regards its rear communications, was in better shape, insofar as these communications ran along the shore of the Caspian Sea (Kizlyar, Chyornyi Rynok, Alabuzhskaya, Astrakhan'), but through a heavier populated region with some kinds of means, while a smaller number of forces relied on them. However, this road was not outfitted properly.

The absence of reliable communications for both armies with their main base brought the front's next combat failure to the level of a catastrophe. The enemy was

in a completely opposite state as regards the conditions of his rear areas, relying on the very rich areas of the North Caucasus and possessing a sufficiently developed network of short railroads and dirt roads.

The front command, while numerically superior to the enemy, planned to remove its armies from this dangerous situation by attacking with the 11th Army on Tikhoretskaya and the 12th Army on Petrovsk.

These plans coincided with the high command's intentions, about which we have already spoken. On 19 December 1918 the high command assigned the front the following task: to develop an offensive along the Tikhoretskaya and Vladikavkaz axes and to finally consolidate the Kizlyar area, after which, relying on the support of the fleet, to develop an offensive on Petrovsk, Temir-Khan-Shura and Derbent, upon reaching an agreement with the mountain tribes. Besides this, it was necessary to develop operations from Astrakhan' on Gur'yev in order to reestablish Soviet power in the south of the Ural region.

The front's forces, chiefly their disposition, enabled them to concentrate their entire attention only on the realization of the first of these operations (the Tikhoretskaya and Vladikavkaz axes), which a real attempt was made to carry out, while no particular activity was manifested along the other axes.

Preparations for the operation continued throughout the entire second half of December, while at the same time the 11th Army's troop units were grouped into divisions having more or less a uniform type of organization<sup>7</sup> and deployed along the front of the villages of Divnoye—Predtecha—Kalinovskoye—Krukhta—Sultanskoye—Kursavka—Vorovskoleskaya—Kislovodsk—Nal'chik. The overall length of the front, which was most densely occupied by the 11th Army's units, was equal to 250 kilometers, with the army's overall strength at 88,000 troops.

The 11th Army command planned to launch the main attack to turn the enemy's right flank in the general direction of Batalpashinskaya and Nevinnosmyskaya, in order to cut off the enemy's main forces from the Armavir—Stavropol' area. However, this idea was not underpinned by a corresponding group of forces. A large part of them (the 3rd and 4th Divisions) received orders of a passive character, which boiled down to tying down the enemy along his front; another division was preparing to go into the reserve, so thus only one division (one-quarter of all the army's forces) was designated for launching the main attack.

The army could not quietly prepare for the offensive, because throughout all of December the enemy carried out a number of attacks from the Stavropol' area against the army's right flank, while it managed to somewhat push it back in the Manych area.

The offensive by the army's left flank, which began on 2 January 1919, at first enjoyed only local success in the form of the taking of Batalpashinskaya, but it was quickly halted, both due to a shortage of munitions as well as under the influence of enemy counterattacks. The 11th Army once again fell back to its jumping-off



positions and on 14 January was seeking to consolidate along a completely accidental line: Svyatoi Krest—Mineral'nye Vody—Kislovodsk. At this time the right-flank (4th) division, having been heavily attacked by the enemy in the area of Blagodarnoye station, became separated from the main forces and part of it headed for the area of Elista and part to Yashkul'. Its units heading to Elista linked up there with the steppe sector's forces.

The offensive's lack of success made the internal condition of the 11th Army's troops worse, as well as their overall strategic situation. The disruption of command was revealed not only at the division level (the neighboring 4th Division to the south also fell back on its own, along diverging axes, to Blagodarnoye and Sablinskoye, thus opening the axis to Svyatoi Krest, which offered the enemy the opportunity of developing the initial success of his counterattack toward the overall defeat of the 11th Army.

On the Svyatoi Krest—Georgiyevsk front the enemy launched his main attack with General Vrangel's group, consisting of 13,000 infantry and cavalry, with 41 guns, while seeking to cut the 11th Army in two by throwing part of it into the sands and then defeating its divided wings. His main attacks along this front were to be launched from Blagodarnoye toward Svyatoi Krest and through Georgiyevsk on Gosudarstvennaya and Kurskaya.

As a result of these attacks, the remnants of the 3rd Division were thrown back into the desert, after which the enemy turned against the army's left flank (2nd and 1st Divisions), which was falling back along the North Caucasus railroad on Prokhladnaya and Mozdok and encircled it twice.

Although these divisions managed to break out of the encirclement, only their remnants, numbering no more than 13,000 infantry and cavalry, arrived at the Yandykovskaya area. The 11th Army's defeat caused the 12th Army to fall back on Astrakhan', because the enemy had begun to threaten its communications from the Mozdok area. The Caucasus-Caspian Front was disbanded in March and the 12th and 11th Armies were grouped into a single 11th Army.

The result of the 1918 winter campaign in the North Caucasus was unfavorable for Soviet strategy. Major forces of the North Caucasus front ceased to exist as an organized whole for a long time. This circumstance, which freed up the powerful Kuban'-Volunteer Army, was subsequently reflected in a negative way on the course of the campaign in the southern theater.

Besides military and geographical reasons, the social nature of these armies was not without influence on the scale of the catastrophe. They had been deprived of that strong organizational and political backbone, which the strong workers' and party cadres provided on the eastern and southern fronts.

Thus the local success of the Soviet armies in the southern theater was completely swallowed up by their defeat in the North Caucasus theater. But the significance of this failure became clear later.

Operations, which had to be conducted in the Ukrainian theater, were directly related to the course of events in the southern theater.

Soviet strategy's tasks in the Ukrainian theater were determined by those goals which Soviet policy was pursuing there. These goals flowed from the very essence of the October Revolution and consisted of the necessity of overthrowing the local bourgeoisie, which was weak and had not been able to organize. These goals thus required offensive operations, all the more so because beginning as early as December the movement of the popular masses in Ukraine was developing according to Soviet slogans. Thus on 4 January 1919 it was decided to create a separate Ukrainian Front, with its commander, comrade Antonov-Ovseyenko, subordinated to the commander-in-chief. The 9th Rifle Division, from the commander-in-chief's reserve, was to serve as the basis for the front. Comrade Antonov-Ovseyenko was to form one division for the newly created front from his own men and materiel, and comrade Kozhevnikov was to form another. The new front's chief task was the occupation and defense of the Donets Basin, for which it was necessary to closely coordinate its operations with the operations of the Southern Front. It was decided to employ a brigade from the 9th Rifle Division and partisan detachments in order to occupy the Ukrainian left bank and the line of the middle Dnepr, as well as for reconnaissance along the Black Sea coast and along the Ukrainian right bank (which it was not planned to occupy initially).<sup>8</sup> However, these instructions were not fated to be carried out. The partisan detachments had grown to such a size and overall proportion that they almost completely swallowed up the backbone of the regular Red Army and had diverted it far from the confines of the tasks entrusted to it by commander-in-chief Vatsetis.

The caution in laying out the initial idea can be explained not only by the small number of organized forces which Antonov-Ovseyenko disposed of, after the forces of Kozhevnikov's group, which had initially been designated for his forces, were employed to reinforce the Southern Front, but also by the uncertainty as to what forms and scope the armed interference of the Entente powers in Ukraine would take.

The high command's task was carried out by the movement of the Ukrainian Front's forces in two main groups: one (the Kiev group), in the general direction of Kiev, and the other (the Khar'kov group) in the general direction of Lozovaya, and from there partly on Yekaterinoslav, while the main mass would advance on the ports of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov. Thus the Ukrainian Front's units were to sort of lap around the Donets Basin, despite the fact that it was on its side of the boundary line.

The insignificance of the resistance by the Ukrainian Directory's small detachments made for a rapid advance by both groups. On 20 January their main forces were already along the front Kruty—Poltava—Sinel'nikovo, and on 5 February, following meager resistance, Kiev fell, after which the Ukrainian Front command planned to consolidate with the Kiev group in the area of Kiev and Cherkassy. And with units

of the Khar'kov group to securely occupy the areas of Kremenchug, Yekaterinoslav, Chaplino, and Grishino, while securing its flank against the Donets Basin. But in the course of subsequent events, both groups were before long caught up in further forward movement, following the elemental movement of the masses from the revolutionary centers to the country's borderlands. The opposing side could put up nothing to withstand this movement, due to the extreme weakness of its own forces, which by this time were being torn by profound internal contradictions, as well as due to the weakness and insufficient number of the Entente powers' forces designated for active operations on Ukrainian territory, and the passivity of their missions.

The internal contradictions among the local counterrevolutionary forces in South Ukraine were conditioned by the fundamental diversion of their political programs, insofar as some were proponents of an "independent" Ukraine and others of a "unified and indivisible" Russia. These and others sought complete power along the Black Sea coast.

The formation of the Volunteer Army unfolded, more successfully in the Crimea, the basis for which were the cadres transferred to Kerch' and Yalta by Denikin at the suggestion of the Crimean regional government at the end of November. These cadres were deployed as the VI Corps, which was moved up in the middle of December to the line Berdyansk—Yekaterinoslav—Nizhne-Dneprovsk. But as early as the end of December this corps abandoned Yekaterinoslav under attacks by rebels, and then fell back to the Crimean isthmuses. However, Denikin's attempt to create a Crimean-Azov Volunteer Army from these units was not realized. The Red forces' offensive, which by the beginning of March had reached the northern shores of the Sea of Azov, divided Mai-Mayevskii's<sup>9</sup> units from the Crimean Corps, forcing the latter to fall back into the Crimea under threat of being outflanked from Aleshki and Kakhovka.<sup>10</sup>

The intervention by the Entente, which had been widely proclaimed and expected in such significant scope, was very drawn out. The French command, which was faced with a number of complex missions in the Middle East and in the Balkans, had no free forces at hand, while those that were available showed no particular desire to get involved in our civil war. The troops' attitude forced them to fear the influence of Bolshevik agitation. Romania's internal situation was quite tense, while a large garrison had to be maintained in Constantinople.

Thus it was only in the beginning of December 1918 that with great difficulty a free French division was found which was dispatched by ship to Odessa, while the division's soldiers were promised—falsely, of course—a pleasant rest in the city. The division arrived at Odessa on 17 December 1918, at the moment when local volunteers, numbering 1,500 men, having boarded a steamship, abandoned Odessa. At the same time the Ukrainian Directory's forces appeared before Odessa, although they were slow to seize the city, which the French took advantage of, landing the volunteers back and occupying the city by forcing them to advance

before themselves. The forces of the Ukrainian Directory fell back and the Directory entered into negotiations with the French, which later brought about a shift in the Directory toward France. On 20 January 1919 the French landing was reinforced by Greek troops and they then broadened their occupation zone as far as Razdel'naya and Kolosovka stations, upon occupying Kherson and Nikolayev, at which point their activity ceased. The occupiers' forces, along with local formations and Polish detachments, reached 20,000 men in the middle of February.

At the same time, the wave of revolutionary rebel detachments continued to roll toward the south, brushing aside the Directory's weak detachments, or causing them to go over to their side. At the end of February 1919 one such wave, in the form of *ataman* Grigor'yev's<sup>11</sup> detachments, which had taken on a Soviet coloration, had reached the forward edge of the French occupation in the towns of Voznesensk and Tiraspol' and, following a small skirmish, forced their garrisons to fall back. On 2 March Grigor'yev appeared on the outskirts of Kherson and on 9 March captured it, following stubborn street fighting, thus inflicting a heavy defeat on the Greek troops defending it, and on 14 March the French hurried to abandon Nikolayev. The remaining Greek forces left behind to defend Nikolayev were almost completely destroyed by the rebels.

These circumstances determined the subsequent gradual movement of the Ukrainian Front's forces, which had been decided upon by Antonov-Ovseyenko on 17 March. The main mass of the Kiev group's forces moved on Zhmerinka and Proskurov, insofar as even more significant forces of the Ukrainian Directory were continuing to hold out along this axis. The Khar'kov group aimed the main part of its forces on Odessa. On 27 March the Kiev group inflicted a decisive defeat on the Directory's forces, throwing them back to the borders of Galicia, as a result of which the mission of capturing Odessa was eased by the "voluntary"<sup>12</sup> abandonment of the city by Greco-French troops.

The bolshevization of the French troops and fleet forced them to hurry to carry out this measure. On 6 April the Red forces entered Odessa. On 15 April they appeared before Sevastopol', which forced the French command to enter into negotiations for an armistice before the French battleship *Mirabeau* weighed anchor and was withdrawn, while at the same time units of the Ukrainian Front's Kiev and Odessa groups had finally spread as far as the boundaries of Galicia and the line of the Dnestr River.

The result of these operations was the significant expansion of the Ukrainian Front in length: its northwestern sector was in direct contact with Polish forces, and the southwestern sector with Romanian forces along the Dnestr River, while its southern boundary rested on the Black Sea. Only the Donets Basin, in which bitter fighting had not ceased, jutted into its line like a sharp wedge, causing a dispersal of its forces in order to secure it from this quarter.

Along with the territorial successes, the physiognomy of the Ukrainian Front was also transformed; the front had lost its regular composition by absorbing into itself masses of local partisan-type formations, with their shifting and often anarchistic ideology. This reason was later responsible for the poor combat quality of the front's units, which at the moment when the Southern Front's failures opened a broad corridor for an invasion of Ukraine by the Volunteer Army's forces, determined a new course of events which did not flow in favor of Soviet strategy on the Ukrainian front.

At the time being described by us the Entente's fleet ruled unchallenged on the Black Sea. On the Caspian Sea, the activities of the Caspian Fleet, consisting of only five ships and several torpedo boats, were expressed in the conveying of a caravan of transport ships as far as Staro-Terechnaya. The Red Fleet, being weaker both in the number of vessels and their quality *vis a vis* the enemy's faster fleet, avoided combat collisions with it in unfavorable conditions. Besides this, the enemy fleet, while disposing of better harbors like the ports of Petrovsk and Baku, was more independent in putting out to sea than the Red Fleet, which had to make use of the shallow and low-water Astrakhan' roadstead, from which a narrow canal, which froze in the winter, led to the open sea.



## The Civil War in the Baltic States, on the Western Front and Along the Approaches to Petrograd

*The Formation of the Baltic Soviet Governments and Their Armies. The Offensive by the Red 7th Army and the Latvian Red Army. The Results of Both Offensives. The Western Army's Offensive. The Work of Both Sides' Fleets in the Baltic Sea. The Turning Point in the 1919 Campaign on the Western Front. The Formation of the White Northwestern Army. The Summer 1919 Campaign Along the Lithuanian-Belorussian Sector and on the Ukrainian Right Bank. The Whites' May and June 1919 Offensive on Petrograd. The Soviet Forces' Counteroffensive Along the Petrograd and Pskov Axes and its Results. The Actions of the Hostile Fleets in the Gulf of Finland During the 1919 Summer Campaign. The Overall Situation on the Western Front Before the Beginning of the Northwestern Army's Second Offensive on Petrograd. A New Counterrevolutionary Plot in Petrograd; its Significance and Results. The Struggle Along the Approaches to Petrograd in the Autumn of 1919. The Red 7th Army's Counter Maneuver and its Results. The Elimination of the White Northwestern Army. Conclusions. The Operations of Both Sides' Fleets in the Gulf of Finland in the Autumn of 1919. The Final Events of the 1919 Campaign on the Western Front's Lithuanian-Belorussian Sector.*

We have already taken note of that process of organizing class forces, which began in the zone occupied by the Germans as the occupation regime weakened, and particularly as the occupied territory was liberated from German forces. At the same time as the propertied element was freely organizing on its own territory under the screen of German bayonets, the proletariat of Estonia, Latvia, Finland, Lithuania, Belorussia, and Poland, which was spread out over Russian territory, was striving for the same thing under the protection of the Soviet regime.

Soviet Russia, as the world's first proletarian state, rendered support to the workers' and peasant masses on the borderlands wishing to create Soviet republics in their own homeland. The Soviet regime enabled us to form in the RSFSR Soviet national armies both for capturing the territories of these nationalities, and for consolidating these territories.



The government of Soviet Latvia, which had at its disposal an armed force proven in combat actions in the form of the nine-regiment Latvian Rifle Division, which expanded into the Red Army of proletarian Soviet Latvia, was in the best condition. Upper-class Latvia did not dispose of a ready armed force and was unable to create one, not finding support among the popular masses, and foreign help had not yet arrived.

Such were the political prerequisites for the formation and activation of the civil war's western front. This front's operational axes coincided with the routes leading to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, and Poland.

The occupation of Poland was entrusted to the Red Estonian forces;<sup>1</sup> the main attack was to be launched along the Narva axis. The forces of the Red 7th Army and the Red Fleet were supposed to assist the Red Estonian units. The Latvian rifle units were supposed to occupy Latvia. By a decree of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic<sup>2</sup> of 4 January 1919 it was decided to create a special Latvian army, consisting of two rifle divisions and army cavalry. Comrade Vatsetis, who remained at the same time the commander-in-chief of all of the armed forces of the RSFSR, was appointed commander of the proletarian army of Soviet Latvia. Operations in Lithuania, Belorussia and Poland were entrusted to a special army entity under the name of the "Western Army." The beginning of the offensive depended upon the readiness of the troops earmarked for this purpose, but no later than the end of December 1918.

In the beginning of December 1918 an attempt was made to seize the town of Narva, which according to intelligence reports, was already in the hands of rebellious workers. But it turned out that German forces were still in the Narva positions and were, along with White Estonian forces, defending Narva. The operation against Estonia became prolonged. The White Estonian government, with the help of remnants of the German Army, as well as Russians and Finnish White Guards from Finland, quickly created a quite powerful force,<sup>3</sup> which we were unable to immediately crush. The Estonians operated successfully along internal operational lines, relying on two through rail lines running from Revel' and making widespread use of armored trains. We were forced to adopt methodical operations, developing them along three directions: 1) on Narva, Vezenberg and Revel', 2) from Pskov to the Verro (Voru)—Yur'yev (Tartu) area, and 3) from Verro to the Valk (Valga)—Pernov (Parnu) area. Quite significant forces were required for such an operation; all the more so as the White Guard forces were fighting stubbornly.

Nor did the liberation of Latvia prove to be an easy affair.

At the end of December the Red Latvian units invaded Latvia along three axes: 1) Pskov, Valk and Riga; 2) Rezhitsa (Rezekne), Kreitsburg (Krustpils) and Mitava (Jelgava), and; 3) Drissa, Ponevezh (Panevezys) and Shavli (Siauliai). The area's worker and peasant population greeted the Red riflemen as liberators from age-old oppression. On 3 January 1919 Riga was occupied (the successful uprising of the

Riga workers, which took place several days before the arrival of the Red forces and which disorganized the Whites' rear, aided the occupation of Riga to no small degree), and within a few days—Mitava. In the middle of January 1919 a movement into Courland along the broad front of Vindava (Ventspils)—Libava (Liepāja) began.

The German barons, in league with the Latvian bourgeoisie, put up powerful resistance. The fortified castles were transformed into citadels of feudalism. Hired volunteer detachments from the remnants of the German Eighth Army were brought into the struggle with the Red forces alongside local formations.

Latvia's economic situation was very serious. The German Army, which had occupied the area, carried out the formal robbery of the region upon its withdrawal, taking away bread, livestock, horses, and any kind of small creatures, while wrecking the railroads and bridges. (We managed to purchase the bridge over the Western Dvina near Dvinsk (Daugavpils) from German troops).

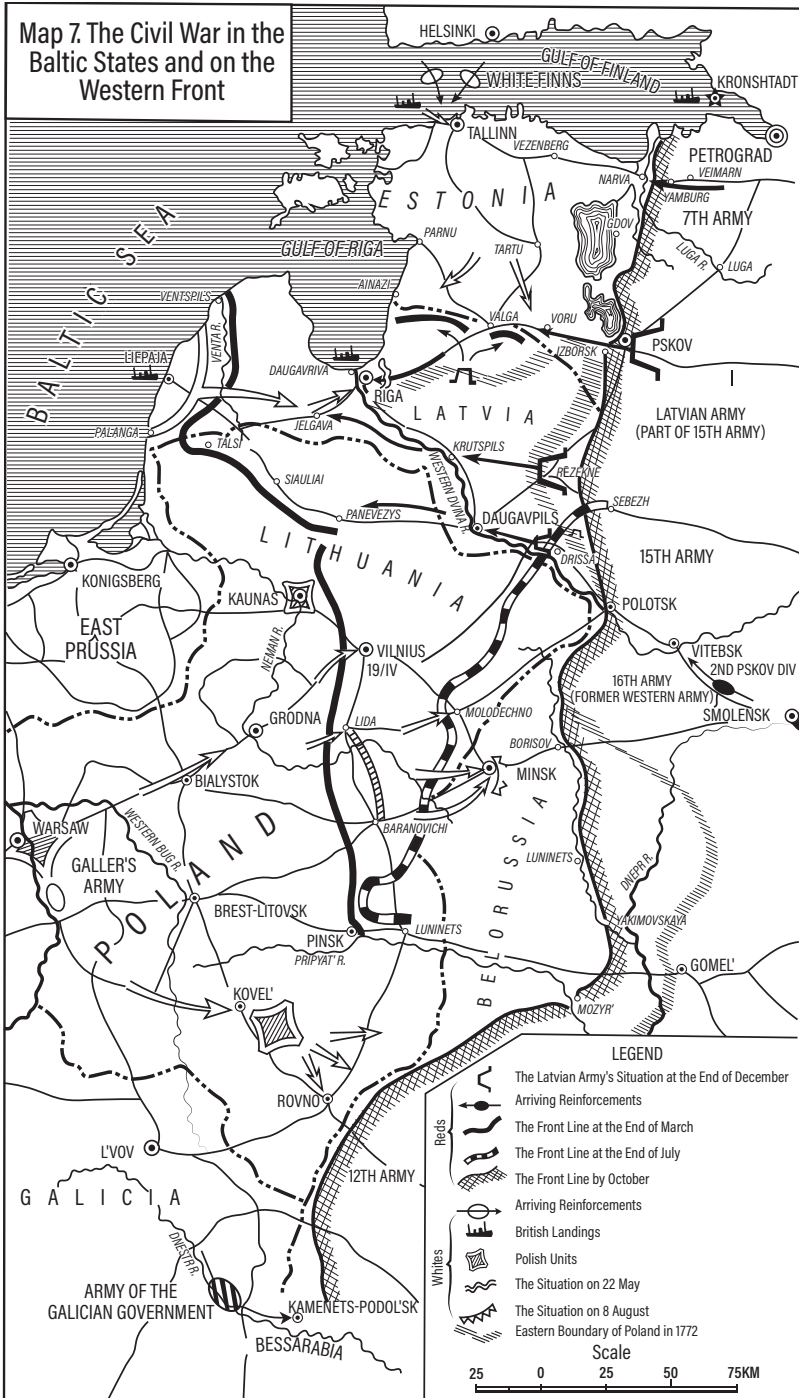
A shortage of food, which the Red Latvian government hoped to receive from Russia, was particularly hard felt. Such a grim economic situation reflected poorly on the course of forming new units called for the plan for creating an army.

The struggle to occupy Lithuania occurred in even less favorable conditions. The Soviet government of Red Lithuania, due to a shortage of sufficient cadres, was unable to create its own armed force. The petite-bourgeois (small proprietors) popular masses lay under the powerful influence of the Catholic clergy, and the process of the masses' emancipation from the holdovers of the former era to a new epoch unfolded quite slowly. We were forced to turn over the 2nd Pskov Division to the Lithuanian Soviet government. A situation like the one in Estonia arose; besides this, German forces came to the Lithuanians' aid.

The offensive along the Vistula River axis began following the Germans' withdrawal. The mission was: 1) the occupation of Belorussia, 2) an advance toward Warsaw as far as the Western Bug River (inclusively). The Red Army's advance to the indicated lines developed quite successfully. Poland was occupied by the struggle along other fronts and was weakly defending its eastern boundary.<sup>4</sup>

Following the capitulation of Germany, dominance in the Baltic Sea shifted to the British, who dispatched there their squadron, which landed and occupied the coastal cities of Revel', Ust'-Dvinsk (Daugavgrīva) and Libava. The Red Soviet Fleet on the Baltic Sea, despite its small size, tried to manifest activity, while carrying out deep strategic reconnaissance; during one of these missions in the area of the Revel' harbor, we lost two torpedo boats in a clash with the British fleet.

The greatest achievements were made by us in Latvia and along the Vistula axis on the western front at the end of March 1919. All of Latvia, with the exception of the Libava area, which was defended by foreign landings, was in our hands. But Soviet Latvia's strategic situation proved to be very difficult; the reason for this was our lack of success along the flanks, that is, in Estonia and Lithuania, to which the Latvian riflemen were supposed to render assistance. Soviet Latvia's army was



supposed to detach one brigade against Estonia for operations along the front Verro—Valk—Geinash (Ainazi), and on its left flank to take on the German volunteer forces in the Ponevezh—Shavli—Tel'shi (Talsi)—Polangen (Palanga) area. Thus the Latvian Army's comparatively weak forces were scattered along an enormous front: Verro—Valk—Geinash—Dvinsk—Vindava—Venta River—Tel'shi—Shavli. The center proved to be very elongated and weak, particularly along the Courland axis. There were no reserves. The formation of the 2nd Division, which had begun in January, encountered great barriers (despite the large influx of volunteers observed in July), chiefly due to the absence of food. The Latvian Red Army, which had played a major role in occupying the Baltic States, could have been extricated from this difficult situation by achieving major successes along its flanks—against Estonia and Lithuania.

Throughout the winter the White Estonian front had been considerably reinforced, particularly through the formation of Russian White Guard elements, organized by the émigré bourgeoisie. In Estonia there had already appeared the core of the future Northwestern Army in the form of Rodzyanko's<sup>5</sup> Volunteer Corps. The German bourgeoisie and landed aristocracy, which had escaped here after being driven from Latvia, rendered the Estonians no small amount of assistance. The Whites' attempts to go over to the offensive from Narva to Yamburg<sup>6</sup> and further were successful. The same sort of success accompanied their activities on Valk and Verro. This latter circumstance forced the commander of the Latvian Army (Slaven was appointed to this post in February 1919) to detach three rifle regiments against the White Estonians. The successes of the Red troops against Lithuania also came to a halt, because German volunteer forces appeared in the Kovna (Kaunas) area and consolidated the White Lithuanian government's situation.

One should bear in mind that for the RSFSR March was the beginning of the extreme exertion of all its human and materiel forces detached by it for the two main theaters—the Eastern and Southern. Because decisive fighting began in both theaters, the high command was constrained in allotting further men and materiel to reinforce the western front. Nonetheless, it is necessary to note that despite such a difficult combat situation, the combat successes of the insignificant units operating along the Soviet Latvian front were quite significant: the Red forces had already occupied Vil'na (Vilnius) and the right bank of the Neman River. They were preparing to subsequently continue operations to carry out the main part of the basic directive of 12 January 1919, no. 649a, namely, to occupy the middle Neman—Kovna—Grodna (Grodno) exclusively. According to available information, Kovna was occupied by one of Haller's<sup>7</sup> Polish divisions, with cavalry and tanks; four forts had been put in combat readiness.

The forces of four White commands continued to concentrate against the Red Western Front in four main areas: 1) in Estonia. 2) in the western part of Courland, with their center in Libava, 3) in Lithuania, and, 4) along the banks of the middle

Vistula. Attacks were expected from Estonia along three axes: 1) from Narva on Petrograd, 2) from Yur'yev on Pskov, and 3) from Valk on Vol'mar (Valmiera) and Riga. A movement of Polish-Lithuanian forces was possible from the middle Neman. As regards the movement of the main Polish forces against the RSFSR in the spring of 1919, this question was not entirely clear. There was some doubt as to whether Poland would decide upon coming in against the RSFSR together with Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, who were fighting under the slogan of a "united and indivisible Russia." The situation in the Baltic States had been very complicated by the appearance of new political and military groups. In Estonia the so-called Northwestern Army under General Yudenich, who did not recognize the independence of that same White Estonia that harbored him, had begun to come together, formed by reactionary elements of czarist Russia. In western Courland, with its center in Libava, the Whites had created a common front against the Red Latvian riflemen. Here were White Latvian forces, detachments of the Baltic aristocracy, detachments of the Russian bourgeoisie, hirelings selected in Germany with the money of Russian stockbrokers, as well as a brigade consisting of soldiers of the German Army hoping to receive land grants from the White Latvian government for their services. Each of the above-named armed White troop units had its own distinct political platform and its specific economic interests, but all of them taken together were against the Latvian proletarian government and on this basis a military bloc was created between them.

From what has been elaborated above about the situation along the front of the armies of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania it is clear that the Latvian riflemen had the task of not only fighting the White Latvian forces, but were also supposed to render assistance to the neighboring Soviet republics. In the beginning of April the forces of Soviet Latvia surpassed the limits of their endurance and their front, following a heroic struggle, collapsed along the entire stretch of Courland. The struggle concentrated along the approaches to Riga: in the west, from Libava, and in the north, from Estonia.

On 22 May 1919, following stubborn resistance, Riga was occupied by the Whites. The Red Latvian riflemen fell back and took up positions along the front Sebezh—Drissa. They, together with the Russian units attached to them, formed the 15th Army, which remained with the Western Front.

The arrival in Poland from France of the first trains of Haller's army, which had been formed by France from Polish immigrants with the chief task of fighting Bolshevism, made matters much livelier along the Lithuanian-Belorussian Army's sector. By the middle of April the Polish had occupied the front Lida—Baranovichi, and by 19 April had broken into Vil'na and, following three days of stubborn street fighting, forced Soviet forces to abandon the city.

The summer campaign of 1919 along the Lithuanian-Belorussian sector of the Western Front, along which the Lithuanian-Belorussian Army, renamed the 16th

Army in June 1919, was operating, passed in the enemy's stubborn attempts to establish himself within the bounds of so-called "Greater Poland," which existed before the partition of 1772. Operations along this sector from 1 July were especially active; almost all of General Haller's Polish Army had concentrated along this sector. In the beginning of August all of the Poles' efforts had been concentrated against the capital of Belorussia, the city of Minsk, which was taken on 8 August, following a stubborn battle. The enemy's subsequent operations were already not so decisive, due to their lack of desire to help Denikin's and Yudenich's armies in this way.

The high command, considering the extreme necessity of adopting essential measures for strengthening the Western Front, but finding it impossible to weaken the Eastern and Southern fronts, decided in June 1919 to turn over to the Western Front command all of the Ukrainian forces along the right bank of the Dnepr, which had been brought together as the 12th Army following the disbanding of the Ukrainian Front. By this decision, the Western Front's left flank was extended to the Black Sea and the Western Front received a very rich source for reinforcements and recruits and food supplies.

The 12th Army directed its main attacks against Petlyura's armies and threw them back on Galicia, which created a stable situation to the south of the *Poles'ye*<sup>8</sup> and had a retarding effect on the Poles' advance north of the *Poles'ye*. But the situation changed when units of the very same Haller's army began to operate against the Western Front along the Kovna and Rovno axes, while the Eastern Galician government's army, which had been drawn into the struggle in the Ukrainian theater by the Ukrainian Directory under the threat of refusing to supply food and equipment and which had been pushed out of the borders of Galicia by Polish armies, appeared in the Kamenets-Podol'sk area.

This happened at the end of July, when the influence of the offensive by the Volunteer Army's units from the Ukrainian left bank had already begun to tell. The 12th Army, which was forced from this moment to operate along two fronts, while waging defensive battles, fell back foot by foot giving up territory already occupied by it.

The end of the winter of 1919 in the maritime part of the Baltic sector, following the withdrawal of the 7th Army's units to their jumping-off positions along the Narva River and Lake Chud, was characterized by a lull in combat activities. Throughout the course of the winter the enemy managed only to capture Narva and a small strip of terrain along the right bank of the Narva River. The Northwestern Corps,<sup>9</sup> which was preparing to go over to the offensive, deployed along this sector in the beginning of May. At first its command's task was simply to attempt to seize such a space that would give it the opportunity to carry out unit formation on its own territory. The successful development of operations enabled it to significantly expand these tasks and to seize Yamburg and Pskov.<sup>10</sup>



On the night of 25–26 May 1919 the Northwestern Corps broke through the Red forces' position along the Plyussa River, after which it began to develop its operations on Yamburg, outflanking it from the rear through Veimarn station, while at the same time advancing on Gdov. The enemy, having seized these two locales, began, on the one hand, to actively advance on the town of Gatchina, reaching as far as Kikerino station, while on the other, driving from Gdov on Pskov, upon which from the west the right flank of the Estonian Army, which had achieved operational freedom due to the withdrawal of the Red Latvian Army, was bearing down. As a result of these joint activities, the city of Pskov was occupied on 7 June.

The Soviet command, tied down along the other fronts, was only in the beginning of June able to concentrate reinforcements for opposing the enemy advance along the Petrograd axis. These reinforcements were part of the shock group along the Yamburg axis, and consisted of two rifle divisions, one rifle brigade and a cavalry brigade. It was planned, upon deploying the group along the front Petergof—Krasnoye Selo—Gatchina, and resting its right flank along the fort of “Krasnaya Gorka,” to launch attacks along its flanks and to outflank the enemy along the Yamburg axis. This offensive failed to develop, due to unforeseen reasons. The consequences of a broad plot among the command element, the branches of which embraced Kronshtadt, Oranienbaum, “Krasnaya Gorka,” and Krasnoye Selo, had an unfavorable influence on this group's activities. The plotters counted on help from a British squadron in the Gulf of Finland and on assistance of part of the Baltic Fleet's ships. Treason reared its head in the flank units of the Red Army's shock group. The left flank's attack did not develop as the result of the former Semyonovskii Guards Regiment's going over to the enemy; the right flank's attack did not take place due to a mutiny by the garrison of the fort of “Krasnaya Gorka,” which was suppressed, however, on 29 June. Thus all of the shock group's operations came down to extended fighting with mixed success and their only result was the halting of the enemy advance along the Petrograd axis, although the enemy managed to somewhat expand its area of control in the Pskov area.

Operations along this front throughout July were of the same indecisive character. Only in August did we manage to reinforce the 7th Army, while at the same time completing the 15th Army's reorganization. This circumstance gave the Red 7th Army the opportunity to once again go over to active operations against the White Northwestern Army, together with the 15th Army's right flank. Both armies were given the mission of defeating the enemy, of capturing Pskov and restoring their position along the Narva River and Lake Chud. This time operations were made easier by the split that took place in the enemy camp. At the same time two of the 15th Army's divisions had begun operations against Pskov, seeking to turn it from the south, the Estonian Army, having uncovered the Northwestern Army's right flank near Pskov, began to fall back on Izborsk. This withdrawal was the result not of strategic, but of political reasons. The Estonian government feared an increase



in the military power of the Northwestern Army, whose working slogan was “a unified and indivisible Russia,” which ran contrary to the goals of the Estonian government’s policy.

Threatened by a deep turning of its right flank, the White Northwestern Army’s units were forced to abandon Pskov, which was once again occupied by Red forces on 8 September 1919, while the enemy fell back behind the Zhelcha River, while along the Petrograd axis he was pushed back behind the Plyussa River. It was along this narrow sector that the Northwestern Army once again halted, while rapidly reorganizing and reinforcing with equipment sent from Great Britain and readying itself for another attack on Petrograd.

Combat operations by the hostile fleets in the Gulf of Finland during this time were not highly developed. The Soviet fleet was too weak to undertake independent operations against the British fleet. The latter mainly behaved passively, while pursuing the local mission of subverting Russia’s naval might regardless of its political coloration. Thus all of its operations came down to a few raids, and not very successful ones, against the Kronshtadt roadstead, for the purpose of setting off mines laid there by Soviet vessels.

As can be seen from this, Petrograd at this time was faced with a very direct threat. At the time of the first offensive, Petrograd had just carried out mass party and union mobilizations. Tens of thousands of workers had been dispatched to the Urals and the Don. Petrograd also sent troops to Ukraine.

Due to the peculiarities of the northwestern front, that is, the 7th Army’s weakness, the presence of White Guard conspiracies and the numerous instances of the old command element and entire units going over to the Whites, the party organization and Soviet regime were faced here with special tasks. It was necessary, having put the entire organization on its feet, to carry out a number of forced and punitive measures, combining them with measures of broad-ranging agitation. At the same time, it was necessary to strengthen the 7th Army’s weak political organs.

As early as the beginning of May 1919, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers’ and Red Army Deputies, along with the Petrograd Union Council, put forward the slogan: “Everyone to the defense of Petrograd.” The workers’ defense council carried out a mobilization. The work of the regional committee for combating desertion was strengthened. The wives and grown members of the families of officer-White Guards, who had treasonably abandoned the ranks of the Red Army and gone over to the side of the enemies of the workers’ and peasants’ regime, were arrested.

The party, alongside the party mobilization, carried out a great deal of work among the Red Army soldiers. On 22 May a resolution by the union council and the conference of toiling women of all Petrograd stigmatized with shame the cowards who ran away before Yudenich’s bands and who “licked the boots of the White Guard executioners.” Meetings of Red Army soldiers took place in the various districts, and on 27 May a 10,000-man Red Army meeting passed a brief

resolution: “We swear that we will not give up Red Petrograd.” The reinforcing and filling out of the political organs was also an extreme necessity. Petrograd completely reorganized the 7th Army’s political organs through the combined efforts of party and military-political organizations, reinforcing them by sending their best workers there and simultaneously reinforcing the 15th Army.

Correspondence from the front at the time revealed the situation well, when it mentioned that some kind of amazing calm and apathy had initially reigned in the 7th Army, which was very quickly replaced by the desire to throw up everything and run away. And it was only then, “when the wave, which had rolled several tens of kilometers, reached a point close to Piter, that it began to smash itself against the creative work of the center, which turned our attention to what was happening right on our doorstep.”

As a result of the stubborn struggle with the enemy along the entire western front during the summer and early autumn of 1919, by October our armies’ front had become established along the line of the Luga and Plyussa rivers along the extreme right flank, and then ran to Pskov, Izborsk and Rezhitsa (excluding this locale), then leaping to Polotsk and from there moving along the Berezina River, along which it stretched until the settlement of Yakimovskaya, and then southwards, where it then came into contact with the Southern Front’s right flank in the Mozyr’ area. Our armies’ operations along the entire course of the front, with the exception of its right-flank sector—the northwestern theater—were waged under the banner of a stubborn defense against a numerically superior enemy, which involved the relinquishing of territory to the enemy. Only on the northwestern theater, thanks to a successful offensive by the Red 7th Army, was the White Northwestern Army’s rear pressed against the water system of lakes Pskov and Chud, along with the Narva River, while it retained only a narrow strip of territory with the towns of Narva and Gdov. Its generally hopeless situation was little eased by the fact that its right flank rested on Lake Pskov and the left on the Gulf of Finland, where the British fleet reigned supreme.

At the end of September 1919 the forces of the White Northwestern Army had grown to 18,500 infantry and cavalry, with 57 guns; the Red 7th Army’s forces during this time had increased to 25,650 infantry and cavalry and 148 guns, but the 7th Army’s numerical superiority was swallowed up by its elongated front. The latter stretched from Kopor’ye Bay through Yamburg and then along the Luga River, then crossing over to the Zhelcha River and the eastern shore of Lake Pskov. Southwest of the latter, it rested on the Vyorduga River—the boundary line with the 15th Army. The front’s overall length was 250 kilometers. The enemy, who occupied a shorter front of 145 kilometers, was able to gather his maneuver reserves. Nevertheless, the Northwestern Army command did not itself plan to go over to the offensive and decided upon it under the influence of the British military mission and counted on the assistance of the Latvian and Estonian armies and help from the British fleet,

and hoped to disrupt with an offensive peace negotiations between the Estonian and Soviet governments.

The offensive plan came down to a preliminary attack along the Pskov—Strugi-Belye and Luga axes, while leaving screens along them for securing the operation from the flanks, and then turning the shock group along a northern axis to take the town of Yamburg from the rear, while at the same time cutting all the rail lines running from Petrograd. The operations' final goal was the capture of the city of Petrograd.

At the same time, the survivors of the remnants of the "National Center" counterrevolutionary organization, following its summer defeat in Petrograd, and supported by an underground British committee, were preparing for an explosion from within, having brought into their organization several responsible officials from the 7th Army, including its former chief of staff. The conspirators established contact with the Northwestern Army and took part in drawing up plans for its offensive. The conspiracy was supposed to take the form of an open insurrection at the moment the enemy approached the capital, while it was planned to capture the battleship *Sevastopol'*. The conspirators were able to gather paltry forces not exceeding 500–700 men. They were unable to realize their intention; their plans were discovered and the guilty suffered the proper retribution.

The Northwestern Army's operation began on 28 September with a successful offensive by its II Corps along the Pskov and Strugi-Belye axes against the 7th Army's two left-flank divisions (19th and 10th rifle). On 4 October rail communications between Pskov and Petrograd were cut; on 8 October the II Corps had already carried out all the tasks assigned to it. On 10 October the enemy set about carrying out the second part of his plan, which consisted of launching an attack with the I Corps against the 7th Army's center and right flank. The White I Corps sought to carry out this maneuver, resting its left flank on the Estonian units to its north and sharply turning its right flank on Yamburg, with the goal of getting into the latter's rear. This mission was also carried out successfully; on 11 October Yamburg was occupied and by 12 October the 7th Army had been thrown back along its entire front and was falling back on Petrograd, while its two left-flank divisions (19th and 10th rifle) had become separated from it and had formed up with the 15th Army's right flank. The enemy's I Corps was putting the greatest pressure in the direction of Gatchina and Mshinskaya station.

Attempts to delay the enemy's offensive through counterattacks were not successful, and on 16 October he had already established himself in Krasnoye Selo, Gatchina and Strugi-Belye station, while the 7th army had fallen back to the close approaches to Petrograd. The enemy cut all of the rail lines leading to Petrograd, with the exception of the October (Nicholas) railroad. The White I Corps' right-flank division (1st Infantry) was supposed to have dispatched a powerful screen here to Tosno station, but it did not do this in its haste to take Petrograd. Before long the

enemy paid for this oversight, because it was along this railroad that reinforcements were hurriedly moving to Petrograd.

The Petrograd proletariat was actively getting ready for a defense, both within the capital and along the front. As early as 10 October a local mobilization of workers, born during 1879–1901, was declared. The city was reinforced and barricades were built inside it. The 7th Army, in its turn, was being strengthened with reinforcements for the Karelian sector of the front and with detachments of military cadets from Moscow.

The enemy's hopes for the active support of the British fleet were not justified. The British ships made an attempt to bombard the Kronshadt fortress's shoreline forts from Kopor'ye Bay, but it was soon halted by the fire of Red shore artillery. Some ships from the Baltic Fleet, in their turn, were brought in for the defense of the approaches to the city. All of these measures strengthened the 7th Army's stability.

If one approaches the second defense of Petrograd from the political point of view, then one must first of all keep in mind the following circumstance: Petrograd, having repulsed Yudenich's first offensive, had just carried out a mobilization to the southern front. Besides this, high-ranking workers had been additionally mobilized for the food details, which were organized then through the unions.

Thus the new defense demanded not only the utmost exertion of the forces of Petrograd itself and those of the neighboring provinces, but also help from all of Soviet Russia. The entire city had been transformed into a fortress, while all of the party members capable of carrying a rifle had been mobilized and called to the colors; a large number of communist combat detachments were created in all the districts through the union council, etc. Simultaneously, a mobilization for Piter was being conducted in Cherepovets, where almost all of the workers of the Shlissel'burg powder factory had left for the front; a significant part of the workers of the Sestroretsk factory also ended up there.

And comrade Lenin, in appealing to the workers and Red Army soldiers of Petrograd wrote: "Help for Piter is close by and we have sent it. We are far stronger than the enemy. Fight to the last drop of blood, comrades, and hold on to each inch of ground; remain steadfast to the end, for victory is not far off. We will be victorious."

On 20 October, Piter's districts, which were armed to the teeth, knew that Soviet Russia had come to help them. "Fresh units were brought up, the command element was refreshed and renewed, and proletarians forged in battle had been brought in." The slogan for the day was: "Into the attack" and on 21 October the turning point set in along the Piter front.

Beginning on 18 October, the enemy's offensive began to encounter stubborn resistance, which was also the result of the shortening of the army's front. It now ran from Gorovaldaiskoye station to Tsarskaya Slavyanka and its length did not exceed 80 kilometers. Nonetheless, by 21 October the enemy had managed to reach Strel'na,

which was already in the city's suburbs; on 20 October they occupied Pavlovsk and Tsarskoye (Detskoye) Selo. Only now did the enemy make an attempt to cut the Nicholas Railroad in the Kolpino area, but the attempt was unsuccessful. The enemy's offensive on Kolpino was halted by the 7th Army's reserves that had gathered there.

The Red command was itself preparing to go over to the offensive. It was decided, while tying down the enemy along the front, to launch an attack on him by the flank groups. The main role in this offensive fell to the left-flank Kolpino group, numbering 7,470 infantry and cavalry, with 12 guns, which was to be dispatched from the Kolpino area to the Detskoye Selo—Gatchina front. The 15th Army command, in its turn, was organizing an attack with three divisions from the Batetskoye—Novosel'ye—Pskov area against the Northwestern Army's rear, in an attempt to take the towns of Yamburg and Gdov. The 19th Rifle Division was supposed to move from the Batetskoye area and reach the line of the Baltic Railroad and the front Volosovo—Moloskovitse, directly into the rear of the White Northwestern Army's main forces. The 11th Rifle Division was to be dispatched from the Novosel'ye area to the lower course of the Plyussa River; the 10th Rifle Division was to attack from Pskov along the eastern bank of Lake Chud and captured the town of Gdov.

The 7th Army's counter maneuver began on 21 October and at first developed slowly. The enemy fought stubbornly to hold his position and launched uninterrupted counterattacks; Pavlovsk and Detskoye Selo changed hands several times. The enemy fought with particular stubbornness to hold the town of Gatchina. The enemy, in defending the Gatchina junction from 27 October through 2 November, tried once again, with the assistance of the Estonian Army (Estonian 1st Division), to go over to the offensive along its left flank in the direction of Krasnoye Selo, but the attempt to take it was unsuccessful. The attacks by the 15th Army's right flank soon began to exert an influence on the course of operations; on 31 October the enemy was thrown out of the town of Luga (by the 19th Rifle Division). On 3 November Soviet forces occupied Mshinskaya station, threatening the rear of the enemy's Gatchina group of forces, which forced him to begin a general retreat. The offensive by the 15th Army's 11th and 10th Rifle Divisions also developed successfully.

On 14 November the enemy's last resistance was broken in the Yamburg area. The Northwestern Army had been pressed to the Estonian border, crossed it and was interned in Estonia, in accordance with the conditions of the peace treaty between Estonia and our country. The Northwestern Army's offensive was a gesture of desperation on the enemy's part,<sup>11</sup> which could not subsequently develop into any sort of major operation due to the extreme inequality in forces of both sides. Operational cooperation between the White Northwestern Army and the southern White armies was excluded due to the great distance between them. The offensive's initial successes depended upon the 7th Army's elongated front and the low combat reliability of some of its units.<sup>12</sup> Things changed rapidly as regards the latter instance

as soon as the 7th Army came to rely on the conscientious and vanguard parts of Petrograd's population in the person of its working class and in the march back was able to significantly shorten its front, while at the same time being strengthened by reinforcements.

Throughout the operation, the actions of both sides' fleets in the Gulf of Finland were not particularly developed. The British fleet's main forces had been distracted toward Riga, which Bermont-Avalov's<sup>13</sup> (von der Goltz's former forces) White Guard forces were threatening, while operating as part of the Latvian Army but maintaining their Germanophile orientation. This corps' movement against the Latvian government was a direct attack on the part of Germany and the Baltic baronage that relied on it against British hegemony in the Baltic States. The British fleet's remaining ships made a weak attempt to bombard Kronshtadt. Our Baltic Fleet was too weak for independent operations in the Gulf of Finland. The battleship *Sevastopol'*, which was in the Neva River in the capital, and the destroyers *Vsadnik* and *Gaidamak*, which entered the sea canal for bombarding the enemy's lines in the Sergiev and Strel'na area, took a direct part in the defense of Petrograd as part of the fleet.

Polish forces, while taking advantage of the distraction of the Western Front's forces and attention to the events around Petrograd, undertook a number of local operations along the Polotsk and Vitebsk axes, concentrating significant forces in the Lepel' area. Their offensive attempts brought about a retaliatory counter maneuver by the 16th Army's right flank, but the fighting here did not reach a large scale, remaining of purely local significance; before long a prolonged lull set in along this sector.

# The Winter and Spring Campaign of 1918–1919 on the Eastern Front. The Northern Front

*The Struggle of the Eastern Front's Armies Along the Perm' Axis. The Fall of Perm'. The Operations of the Red Eastern Front's Armies in the Orenburg and Ural'sk Areas. The White Command's New Operational Plan on the Eastern Front; Its Analysis. The Red Command's Plan for Overcoming the Ural Range; Its Analysis. New Exertions by the Country and Party to Aid the Red Eastern Front. The Origin of the Idea of a Counter Maneuver. The Southern Group's Point of Departure and its Regroupings in Connection with the Breakthrough of the Red 5th Army's Front. The Overall Idea of the Southern Group's Counter Maneuver and the Operational Plan Drawn up by M. V. Frunze; Its Analysis—The Change in M. V. Frunze's Plan under the Influence of a New Change in the Situation. The Buguruslan and Sergiyevsk Operations. The Bugul'ma—Belebei Operation. The Northern Front. The Elimination of the Northern Front*

We left the Red Eastern Front at that moment when the enemy's shift to the east along the Ufa axis had revealed itself and the struggle along the Perm'—Yekaterinburg axis had begun to take on a stubborn and prolonged character. By the end of November 1918 our 1st, 5th, 2nd, and 3rd Armies disposed of 58,360 infantry and 5,980 cavalry, with 265 guns. Our four armies' immediate mission was to reach the front Chelyabinsk—Yekaterinburg. But the enemy, having left along the Ufa axis the remnants of the Constituent Assembly's disintegrating army and part of the Orenburg Cossacks, continued to accumulate his forces along the Perm' axis. Here, by 27 November 1918, he had deployed along the front Turinsk factory—the Yekaterinburg—Kungur highway (inclusively) General Gajda's army, with an overall strength of 40,000–42,000 infantry, 4,000–5,000 cavalry and 100–120 guns, with the task of taking the city of Perm' and reaching the line of the Kama River. The Red 3rd Army could put up against these enemy forces only 30,000 infantry and cavalry and 78 guns.<sup>1</sup> (See Map 4 of the plate section)

The situation of our Eastern Front's command was unfavorable in the sense that it was unable to freely dispose of those surplus forces that it was able to form along the Ufa axis in order to reinforce the Perm' axis, because from the second



half of November 1918 it had set about transferring the 1st Army's units (with the exception of the 1st Division) to the Southern Front. Nevertheless, the Eastern Front command, proceeding from the high command's instructions, issued an order at the end of November 1918 to assume the offensive with a group consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Armies. The 3rd Army was supposed to break through the enemy's front in the direction of Kungur and Yekaterinburg, while the 2nd Army was supposed to assist the 3rd Army's operations by reaching the front Birska—Krasnoufimsk.

Thus the struggle to capture the line of the Kama River began as a meeting operation for both sides. It's quite understandable that the 3rd Army's offensive, which encountered the enemy's superior forces, was unable to develop and the army was forced in the beginning of December 1918 to go over to a static defense. The 2nd Army, which was in the area of the town of Sarapul', 150 kilometers behind the 3rd Army's right flank, was unable to assist it in time. Finally, the 3rd Army's morale and combat resilience had been exhausted and, beginning with the second half of December, its left flank and center began to fall back rapidly along the direction of the city of Perm'.

The Eastern Front command, foreseeing the unsteadiness along the Perm' axis, approached commander-in-chief Vatsetis with a request to reinforce this axis with a "reliable brigade." Vatsetis answered that a brigade could not be sent and proposed parrying an attack on Perm' with a maneuver by the Red 2nd and 5th Armies. Such a reply by Vatsetis becomes understandable if we recall that at just about that time preparations had begun for decisive campaigns along the southern and western fronts, to where he was assiduously gathering all available reserves. It required interference by the government to reinforce the Perm' axis. On 13 December V. I. Lenin demanded that the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, Trotskii, help Perm' and the Urals. On that day, that is, 13 December, the commander-in-chief placed the 7th Rifle Division's 1st Brigade, from the Yaroslavl' Military District, at the disposal of the Eastern Front (directive no. 479/III). But this brigade arrived late.

However, the drop in the 3rd Army's combat capability depended not only on military reasons. In the conditions of the civil war, an army reflected, in particular, with great sensitivity all the wavering of those social strata from which it was derived. This is what happened to the 3rd Army. Its workers' cadres, which had become quite thin in the preceding fighting, had been watered down by the mobilized peasantry from the immediate rear—Perm' and Vyatka provinces. Typical signs of disintegration had appeared in the 3rd Army's ranks during its retreat to Perm': desertion, insubordination and numerous instances of troops going over to the Whites.

Subsequent attempts to firm up the 3rd Army's situation by maneuvering the 2nd Army in the direction of Sarapul' and Krasnoufimsk were not crowned with major success. The 3rd Army, left on its own, ceded Perm' to the enemy on 24 December 1918, after which it continued its disorderly retreat to the town of

Glazov, losing equipment and suffering heavy personnel losses. The 3rd Army fell back 300 kilometers in 20 days. Its retreat created a realistic threat to Vyatka and the entire Eastern Front.

The Central Committee of the VKP(b) dispatched a commission that included comrades Stalin and Dzerzhinskii<sup>2</sup> to the 3rd Army's area to put its units in order and to mobilize the attention of the party and soviet organizations to the front's needs and tasks.

As early as the end of January, comrade Stalin was reporting to the Defense Council:<sup>3</sup>

1,200 reliable infantry and cavalry have been dispatched to the front by 15 January; two squadrons of cavalry within a day or two. The 3rd Brigade's 62nd Regiment (having been scrupulously checked beforehand) has been dispatched. These units offered the opportunity to halt the enemy's offensive, brought about a change in the 3rd Army's attitude and opened the way for our offensive on Perm', which is still successful. A serious purge of soviet and party establishments is going on in the army's rear. Revolutionary committees have been organized in Vyatka and in the district towns. The placement of strong revolutionary organizations in the countryside has begun and is continuing. All party and soviet work is being reconstructed along new lines.<sup>4</sup>

A local failure along the Perm' axis was made good by the successes of Red arms along the main Ufa and Turkestan axes. Indeed, several days later, following the fall of Perm', Soviet forces in their turn, occupied Ufa on 31 December 1918, and on 22 January 1919 units of the Red 1st Army, which were attacking from the west, linked up in the city of Orenburg with comrade Zinov'yev's Turkestan Army (which numbered no more than 10,000 men), attacking from Turkestan. Finally, on 24 January 1919 the Red 4th Army's forces took Ural'sk.

Thus as a result of the 1918 campaign the main mass of the Eastern Front's forces had managed to approach the Ural range—the last local line that had to be overcome by these forces in order to pour out into the plains of Siberia like a broad wave and to roll to the enemy's vital and political centers. However, the large size of the center and the enemy's resistance interfered with achieving these goals in 1918. In general, the enemy's success along the Perm' axis and his failures along the Ufa axis created a situation of unstable balance for both sides on the eastern front.

The overall political-economic situation that had arisen in the beginning of 1919 in the camp of the revolution and the camp of the Whites had created for the enemy a number of prerequisites for an attempt to turn this instability to its advantage. We halted in one of the preceding chapters on Kolchak's coup.

With Kolchak's internal victory, once again that naked bourgeois-landowner reaction, which relied upon the officer caste,<sup>5</sup> took a leading part on the historical stage. The petite-bourgeois and democratic counterrevolution of the Constituent Assembly members, which had been routed and weakened, faded into the background. Having taken up the position of governmental opposition, it was

unable to thwart the mobilization of the Siberian youth cohorts, which Kolchak managed to carry out, while relying on officer formations in the rear. The strong officer cadres at the front offered a firm organizational skeleton for these cohorts at the front. Thus in the beginning of 1919 Kolchak disposed of the Siberian Army,<sup>6</sup> the internal class contradictions of which had not yet managed to burst into the open. Kolchak needed to strike while the iron was hot in order to strengthen his reputation among the Allies.

The internal situation in the revolutionary camp offered some hopes for the success of an offensive attempt. We have already outlined that wave of petite-bourgeois wavering within the Soviet camp, the external expression of which were the social-appeasement parties' leap to the right and the temporary upward swing of the curve of peasant uprisings. Both of these were the result of the growth of our food difficulties by the spring of 1919. The enemy only overlooked one circumstance unfavorable to himself. The peasantry, in his uprisings, did not put forward slogans of struggling against the Soviet regime, which testified to the firm inculcation among it of the very idea of the Soviet regime, in exchange for the idea of the Constituent Assembly. Food requisitions had been felt very sharply by the Volga region's peasantry. Here a wave of peasant uprisings rolled along Simbirsk and Kazan' provinces in the immediate rear of the Red Eastern Front. This circumstance, in connection with the Red 3rd Army's failure and the dispatch of part of the Eastern Front's force to the Southern Front created a situation of temporary weakness for the Eastern Front's armies.

Taking advantage of this situation, the enemy's high command decided to continue to try and launch a decisive attack along the northern operational axis—through Perm' to Vologda. In the event of success, an attack along this axis would lead to the linkup with the interventionists' forces on the northern front. Upon thus linking up with the interventionists, Kolchak could have developed an attack from Vologda on Petrograd, bypassing the defensive line of the Volga and Kama rivers. The White command, along with this attack, was aiming a powerful attack at the line of the middle Volga, approximately along the front Kazan'—Simbirsk, which would have led him along the shortest route to the Moscow operational axis, which was extremely important for both sides, and would have given him two permanent crossings over the Volga (the bridges at Sviyazhsk and Simbirsk). The latter axis was more important, because it ran through the more populated and resource-rich provinces and would bring Kolchak's forces closer to the armies of the southern counterrevolution.

The realization of this operation was entrusted to three separate armies directly commanded by Admiral Kolchak's headquarters: General Gajda's Siberian Army, numbering 52,000 infantry and cavalry and 83 guns, had already been concentrated along the Vologda—Vyatka axis, approximately halfway between Glazov and Perm'; General Khanzhin's<sup>7</sup> Western Army, numbering 48,000 infantry and cavalry and

120 guns, was deploying along the front excluding Birsik—excluding Ufa, and; the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks, numbering 11,000–13,000 men. In all, the enemy disposed of 113,000 troops and more than 200 guns. Of this number, 93,000 troops occupied a 450-kilometer front, concentrating there in three separate and powerful groups along the Vologda, Sarapul' and Ufa—Moscow operational axes. The enemy's strategic reserves were General Kappel's 3-division corps in the Chelyabinsk—Kurgan—Kustanai area and three infantry divisions, which were forming in the Omsk area.

In turning to an evaluation of the enemy's plan, we once again must first of all proceed from the political factor. The gigantic scope of the operation in space and the decisiveness of its final goals excluded the possibility of pursuing it to its end in one fell swoop by the White armies' available forces. This means that its success was directly dependent upon the success of subsequent peasant mobilizations. But the political line of the Kolchak government as regards the peasantry had already excluded the possibility of any kind of cooperation between it and the peasantry for its own enslavement. Moreover, any further mobilization of the peasantry would disrupt the unstable social balance of the White eastern armies to Kolchak's detriment, by watering down the officer cadres in a peasant mass hostile to them, and would open the doors to an exacerbation of the social struggle within the confines of the army itself. In such a situation, the Siberian command could count on the success of a short attack and a limited scope of the operation, while political and strategic interests should have impelled it to choose such operational axes as would have given it the opportunity to extend a hand to the White southern front as soon as possible. All of these axes lay south of Ufa. But the formation of a powerful White military bloc and the possible confluence of the White governments of South Russia and Siberia were evidently not to the liking of British policy. It, as before, continued to push Kolchak's operational thinking and will in the direction of Vyatka and Vologda. Thus the plan for the Whites' 1919 spring campaign has an air of duality about it, which is generally harmful in military affairs and particularly harmful given a comparative weakness of force. This duality was expressed in the desire to simultaneously launch two powerful attacks toward Vyatka and along the front of the middle Volga.

The enemy, however, in the contemplated broad launching of a general offensive, was unable to secure cooperation with the Ural Cossacks. The Red 4th Army, under the command of M. V. Frunze, had driven a deep wedge during February 1919 between the armed forces of the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks, while moving toward the line Lbishchensk—Ilets'k—Orsk.

In such a situation, the Red Eastern Front command, in developing its own high command's directives, and despite the lack of stability along the 3rd Army's sector, was preparing to overcome the Ural range.

At the end of February and beginning of March 1919, the disposition of the Red forces appeared as follows. The 4th, Turkestan<sup>8</sup> and 1st Armies occupied a broad

front from the Caspian Sea through Slomikhinskaya and Ilets'kii Gorodok, with a deep wedge facing the enemy toward Aktyubinsk and then to Orsk, the factory in Kananikol'skii and excluding the factory in Bogoyavlenskoye, with an overall strength of 52,000 troops, 200 guns and 613 machine guns. Further on, the 5th Army's 10,000 troops, 42 guns and 142 machine guns were stretched along the front Bogoyavlenskoye factory—excluding Yavgeldin, stretching more than 200 kilometers. The Red 2nd Army, numbering up to 22,000 troops,<sup>9</sup> 70 guns and 475 machine guns was in position along the Sarapul' axis, separated from the 5th Army's left flank by 60 kilometers, and finally, the 3rd Army, which numbered 27,000 troops (rounded out), 69 guns and 491 machine guns, was scattered along a broad front along the Perm'—Vyatka axis, on both sides of the railroad. In all, the Eastern Front's armies disposed of 111,000 troops, 379 guns, 1,721 machine guns, five armored trains, and 30 aircraft.<sup>10</sup>

The Reds' overall disposition was more vague than that of the Whites, because one can descry in it one typical feature, namely the weak and extended center (5th Army) along the Ufa operational axis, which was extremely important for both sides.

The disposition of both sides before the beginning of decisive operations on the eastern front resulted in a situation in which the group of southern armies, which was powerful but extremely scattered in space, was most densely occupying the northern sector of its front: Orsk—Sterlitamak (comrade Gai's<sup>11</sup> 1st Army of 18,000–21,000 troops), was facing with its 52,000 troops 19,000 Whites. The weak 5th Army, with its 10,000 troops, was opposed by Khanzhin's quite powerful White group of 49,000 and, finally, along the northern operational axes the correlation of forces was almost equal: 22,000 Reds (2nd Army) were faced by 21,000 Whites along the Sarapul'—Osa axis, and along the Vyatka—Perm' axis 32,000 Whites faced 27,000 Reds (3rd Army).

The Eastern Front command planned to carry out an operation to overcome the Ural range, with the simultaneous defeat of the opposing enemy in the following manner.

The Eastern Front's right-flank armies (4th, Turkestan and 1st) were to complete the rout of the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks. Then the 1st Army was to head for the city of Chelyabinsk in two columns. The right column (24th Rifle Division) was to head there, bypassing the Ural range from the south, through Orenburg, Orsk and Troitsk. The left column (20th Rifle Division) was to be directed from Sterlitamak to Verkhneural'sk, crossing the Ural range and from there head to Chelyabinsk. The 5th Army's mission was to overcome the Ural range in its sector, get into the rear communications of the enemy's Perm' group, while moving on Zlatoust and Chelyabinsk, and aiding the 2nd Army's right flank. The 2nd Army was to attempt to turn the left flank of the enemy's Perm' group, which would inevitably lead to a preliminary collision with the Whites' equally strong middle group. Finally, the powerful 3rd Army was to have the passive task of tying down the enemy group opposing it.

The plan of the Eastern Front command was also distinguished by its breadth of design and scope and also forced us to take into account the further reinforcement of the front's armies through local mobilizations. It seemed that in this regard, the situation of the moment required a cautious evaluation. But herein lay the strength of our political-strategic leadership's foresight, which despite a series of temporary waverings of the peasant masses, was able to perceive a wave of large peasant reserves rising to meet it from behind the White front's line and which was already making itself felt through outbreaks of the partisan movement in various places in Siberia.

In turning to a comparison and evaluation of the operational plans of both sides, we should note above all that both were inculcated with an active spirit, which lent a lively flavor to subsequent combat activities. In turning to the Whites' plan, we must particularly admit that the realization of the plan was traced in very simple lines: it consisted in launching two powerful attacks along the northern and central operational axes. The latter attack was to cut the communications of the Red Southern Group, which was dangerous for the enemy, while the group itself was to be pressed back to the south. Thus the Whites would gain the opportunity to unleash the counterrevolutionary forces of the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks and to secure its influence on Turkestan. The only thing the Whites could not count on was the political support of their operation due to the sharply hostile attitude toward them of the local population and those microbes of disintegration which were unceasingly undermining the cohesion of the White armies from within.

In turning to an analysis of the Reds' plan, we should note its complexity and intricate nature, which was the result of the absence of a calculation for time and space. Actually, a single glance at a map is sufficient in order to be convinced that the 1st Army's turning maneuver could not, due to calculations of time, exert any influence on events along the 5th Army's front, which was forced to deal with an enemy four times as strong. Even had the 5th Army managed to defeat this enemy, its arrival in the rear of the Whites' Perm' group would have exerted an influence on its operations only after a very extended period of time (it is 300 kilometers from the 5th Army's front to Chelyabinsk, and from there approximately another 200 kilometers to Yekaterinburg, now Sverdlovsk). Finally, the missions assigned to the 2nd and 3rd Armies, would have led to their frontal collisions with enemy groups of equal strength, because the 2nd Army, upon carrying out its task, could not avoid colliding with the Whites' Osa group (a composite corps).

A prerequisite of the enemy's overall assumption of the offensive was his local operation against the Red 2nd Army's right flank, with a preliminary attack against its left flank, as a result of which this army's right-flank division (28th) was thrown back in the latter third of February 1919 to the town of Sarapul' and pulled the 2nd Army back with it toward the Kama River; because of this, our 5th Army's left flank in the Ufa area was uncovered and the 3rd Army's right flank fell back



on Okhansk. Thus through a series of local attacks throughout February 1919, the enemy managed to prepare for himself a convenient jumping-off position for a general assumption of the offensive.

The offensive began on 4 March 1919. General Gajda's Siberian Army, while launching the main attack in the space between the towns of Okhansk and Osa, achieved a number of local successes along the sectors of our 3rd and 2nd Armies. During 7–8 March the enemy captured the towns of Osa and Okhansk and continued to develop his offensive toward the line of the Kama River. This offensive subsequently also continued with territorial successes, which were however slowed down by the size of the theater, the muddy roads and the resistance of our forces. The enemy, aside from territorial successes, was able to cause us a number of equipment losses, capture a number of factories and inflict significant losses on the Red 2nd Army. For example, on 7 April alone the enemy was able to establish himself in the Izhevsk—Votkinsk area and on 9 April occupy the town of Sarapul'. On 15 April the Siberian Army's extreme right-flank units entered the completely roadless and wild Pechora area and linked up with small parties of the White northern front, but this event, as one would expect, had no strategic consequences.

Throughout the second half of April the offensive force of Gajda's army began to weaken under the influence of the Red 3rd Army's growing resistance. It still had a few territorial achievements along its left flank, throwing back the Red 2nd Army's right flank beyond the lower course of the Vyatka River.

The offensive by Khanzhin's army, which began on 6 March, unfolded from the very start at an incomparably more rapid pace and with more significant results. This army's shock group attacked directly into the open space between the internal flanks of the 5th and 2nd Armies. The Whites' shock group, having come down hard on the 5th Army's left flank (the 27th Rifle Division's left-flank brigade), threw back the 5th Army's left-flank brigade and, turning sharply to the south and moving along the Birska—Ufa road, began to cut almost without opposition the rear communications of both of the 5th Army's Divisions (27th and 26th Rifle), which were stretched out like a thread. Following a four-day battle the operational cooperation of the 5th Army's units had been disrupted, and its remnants, which had broken up into two groups, were only trying to cover the two most important axes along its sector—Menzelinsk and Bugul'ma. The commitment of local reserves into the fighting along the 5th Army's sector and attempts to assist the 5th Army through the active operations of a group that had been concentrated along the 1st Army's left flank in the Sterlitamak area, which had been undertaken by the Eastern Front command in the period of time from 13 through 31 March, were unable to restore its situation and the enemy, while developing his success along this sector, had already occupied the town of Belebei on 6 April 1919, which finally determined the 5th Army's withdrawal along two diverging axes—on Simbirsk and Samara. The enemy's offensive along the Simbirsk axis particularly threatened both Chistopol',



in which significant grain supplies had been concentrated, which were so necessary to the hungry center and Kazan' itself.

Thus the offensive by Khanzhin's army had already developed into a strategic breakthrough of the Eastern Front's center. And if this event failed to exert a fatal influence on the state of affairs along the entire front, then the reason for this lies in the peculiarity of the conditions of the civil war. The large size of the combat sectors and the small number of troops in them created convenient conditions for maneuver for small detachments. No matter how deep the Whites' breakthrough was, it failed to spread its influence to the neighboring groups of troops, which gave us the opportunity to prepare a retaliatory counter maneuver, but this maneuver required time for its realization, so for the time being the Eastern Front command could only think about maintaining its position along the most important operational axes.

Whatever the case, the eastern front during these difficult days, as was the case in the summer of 1918, once again attracted the attention of the broad popular masses throughout the country and the forward detachment of the proletarian revolution—the Communist Party. The revolutionary creativity of the masses, warmed by comrade Lenin's appeal, who said in connection for the preparation of a mobilization by the unions for the eastern front: "In order to consolidate our victory, we need new, decisive and revolutionary methods,"—was taken up by the party's organizational measures and yielded results in a short span of time. Before long a mighty stream of active and politically conscious reinforcements, in the person of union members and worker volunteers from 22 of the republic's provinces, departed for the front. A number of telegrams from various cities in the republic testified to the enormous enthusiasm with which the party and union mobilizations for the eastern front took place. The high command's strategic reserves were dispatched there, in the form of the 2nd Rifle Division and two rifle brigades (a brigade from the 10th Rifle Division from Vyatka and a brigade from the 4th Rifle Division from Bryansk), as well as 22,000 reinforcements. Besides this, the 35th Rifle Division, which was completing its formation in Kazan', was to be subordinated to the Eastern Front, as well as the 5th Rifle Division, which was being brought up by the front command from the Vyatka axis.

The Southern Group of Red armies, under its commander, comrade Frunze,<sup>12</sup> was slated to play a decisive role in the resulting complex situation on the eastern front. The decisive turning point of the campaign on the eastern front, which laid the foundation for the start of the rout of all the counterrevolution's armed forces, is linked to his name. Thus it seems very instructive to halt in greater detail on the series of operations prepared and conducted by comrade Frunze, which in their totality constitute the Southern Group's counter maneuver.

For a better understanding of the subsequent course of events, we must go back to a more detailed description of the Southern Group's initial situation and its regroupings in connection with the breakthrough of the 5th Army's front. Against the background

of this situation, it will be easier to bring out that valuable preparatory work which was carried out on the personal initiative on comrade Frunze and which was one of the chief prerequisites for the favorable development of the future operation.

At the beginning of March 1919 the overall grouping of comrade Frunze's group of forces was as follows. The 4th Army (22nd and 25th Rifle Divisions, with up to 16,000 troops) occupied a front facing the Ural'sk Cossacks from the Caspian Sea to Iletskii Gorodok. The Turkestan Army (12,800 troops) held positions from Iletskii Gorodok, through Aktyubinsk, to Orsk, inclusively. The strongest was the 1st Army's front, from the area excluding Orsk to Sterlitamak. Up to 20,000 troops were concentrated here (20th and 24th Rifle Divisions, plus the Orenburg and Iletsk Groups). The 1st Army, in accordance with the Eastern Front command's initial plans, which had not been changed even after the 5th Army began falling back, was supposed to attack along the front Kustanai—Troitsk, which is why it had concentrated the entire 24th Rifle Division along its right flank. The group had no reserves of its own.

Such was the situation that met comrade Frunze upon taking up the command of the group. As soon as the lack of stability along the 5th Army's front began to take on quite definite forms, which had become apparent as early as mid-March, comrade Frunze became concerned about shoring up his situation along the Orenburg axis and about creating a definite strategic reserve for himself. This was achieved through the partial weakening of the 4th Army, from which one rifle division (25th) was to be taken, although the army was to then receive only a defensive task. The Turkestan Army was to receive orders to firmly secure the Orenburg area and to maintain communications with Turkestan, which is why it was to be reinforced with one brigade from the 25th Rifle Division. The division's two remaining brigades were to be moved to Samara—the junction for roads to Ufa and Orenburg. The 4th and Turkestan Armies later had to hold the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks' renewed offensive activity with an energetic and active defense.

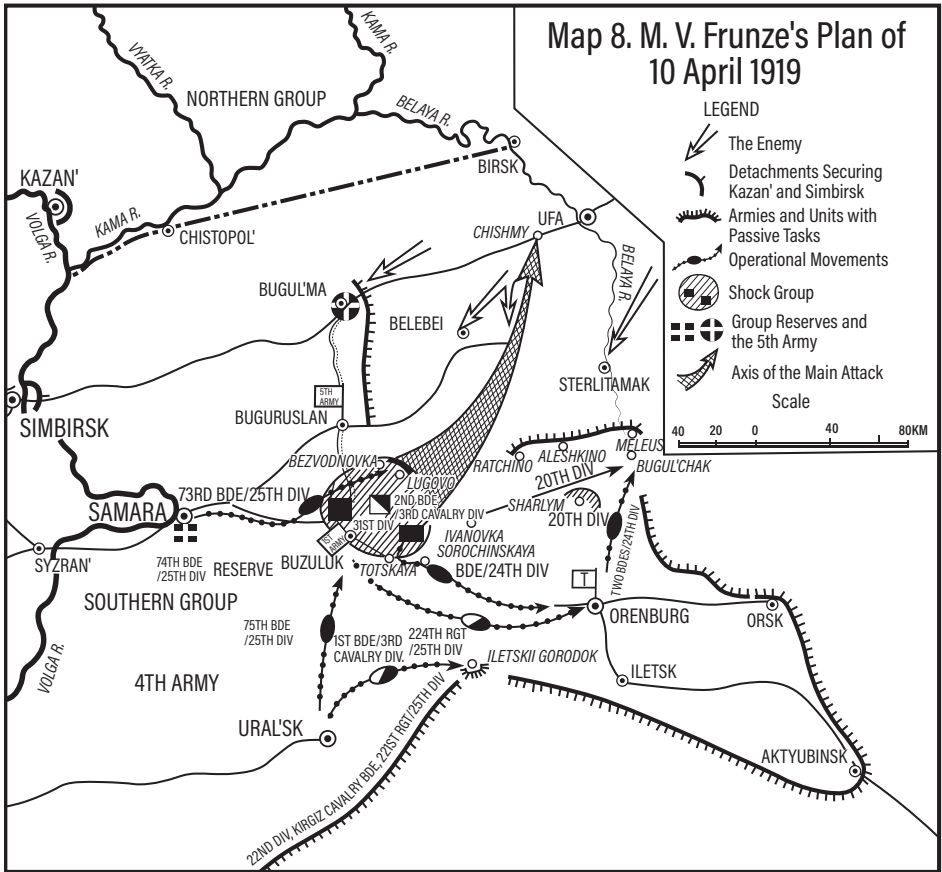
The matter was more complicated in the 1st Army. Its right flank (24th Rifle Division) was successfully developing its own offensive on Troitsk at the beginning of April, at the same time its left flank had to at first dispatch three regiments to Sterlitamak, to help the 5th Army, and then to move a brigade on Belebei. These forces failed to exert any substantial influence on the situation in the 5th Army. The enemy particularly managed to preempt in Belebei the 1st Army's brigade that had been dispatched there. The 1st Army, because it had already weakened its left flank, although this had been done with the perfectly correct goal of assisting its neighbor, already had nothing with which to react to the enemy's occupation of Sterlitamak, which took place on 4 April 1919. The occupation of Belebei created an immediate threat to the 1st Army's rear, which forced us to halt the successfully developing offensive by the 1st Army's right flank, that is, of the 24th Rifle Division. Under cover of stubborn fighting by the remnants of the 20th Rifle Division, which was holding off enemy pressure from Belebei to the south and gradually falling back

behind the Salmysh River, following 12 days of uninterrupted marches, we were able to pull the army's right flank, which had moved far forward, back, and to pull back the 24th Rifle Division back to the area of the village of Ivanovka, on the Tok River, in the rear of the 20th Division. This skillful withdrawal maneuver by the 1st Army, which completely corresponded to the situation, forced the Turkestan Army to also carry out a partial regrouping on the march back, so that by 18–20 April its new front ran along the line Aktyubinsk—Il'inskaya—Vozdvizhenskaya, which, in its turn, forced comrade Frunze to shore up the overall situation of his two armies by moving up his strategic reserve to the Orenburg—Buzuluk area.

Thus comrade Frunze's skillful regroupings during the period preceding the start of the decisive operation facilitated both the securing of his group's left flank, as well as the accumulation of strategic reserves near the decisive axis of the future counter maneuver.

The overall idea of the Southern Group's counter maneuver and comrade Frunze's operational plan is as follows. The final regroupings of the 1st Army and the Turkestan Army's left flank were already taking place when the idea of a decisive counter maneuver by the Southern Group had taken final shape. The idea of this maneuver had been gradually maturing and, as it was being refined, took on a broader scope. On 7 April the Eastern Front command planned to concentrate only all of the 1st Army in the Buzuluk—Sharlyk area for an attack against the enemy attacking in the direction of Buguruslan and Samara.<sup>13</sup> On 9 April the Eastern Front's revolutionary military council was already broadening the Southern Group's operational confines, including within it the 5th Army, and in this manner offering its command nearly complete freedom of action. Comrade Frunze, depending on when his forces could complete their regrouping, was to launch a decisive attack before the end of the spring thaw, or following it, while the attack's immediate goal would be the advance of the 1st Army's left flank to the Samara—Zlatoust railroad in order to secure the withdrawal of the 26th Rifle Division (5th Army), which had become completely disorganized in the fighting, into the reserve.<sup>14</sup>

However, the following day, that is, 10 April, as a result of a meeting held in Kazan' between the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council,<sup>15</sup> the commander-in-chief and the Eastern Front's revolutionary military council, the latter issued a directive on 10 April (No. 123/s), according to which the Southern Group was "to defeat the enemy forces, which continue to press the 5th Army, with an attack from south to north, gathering for this a fist in the Buzuluk—Sorochinskaya—Mikhailovskaya (Sharlyk) area." The necessity of halting the continuing retreat by units of the 5th Army along the Buguruslan and Buzuluk axes was further pointed out, but not at the expense of the forces designated for the decisive attack, but with the assistance of units being formed in Samara by the local provincial military committee. Thus this directive, in its final form, also gave broad scope for comrade Frunze's independent operational creativity.



Simultaneously with this directive there followed the formation of the “Northern Group,” consisting of the 3rd and 2nd Armies, under the overall command of the commander of the 2nd Army (V. I. Shorin),<sup>16</sup> with the task of defeating General Gajda’s army. The boundary line between both groups ran through Birsk and Chistopol’ and the mouth of the Kama River (all locales within the Northern Group).

The correlation of forces which had come about on the eastern front by the middle of April allowed us to count on the successful fulfillment of these tasks. The true overall disposition of forces of both sides in the middle of April was as follows. There were 33,000 enemy troops against 37,000 Red troops along the Perm’ and Sarapul’ axes; as before, the enemy disposed of 40,000 troops in the area of the breakthrough against 24,000 Red troops, and thus the numerical superiority in forces, instead of four-to-one, as had been the case at the beginning of the operation, had decreased to nearly two to one, which was the result of the preceding skillful regroupings carried out by comrade Frunze in his group. Besides this, this time the size of the theater had come to the aid of the Reds.

Khanzhin’s army, as it moved forward, was elongating its front more and more. Having occupied the town of Buguruslan on 16 April, it was stretched out along a 250–300 kilometer front, with its right flank at the mouth of the Vyatka River and its left southeast of Buguruslan. Five enemy divisions were moving in a fan-like manner along this front. Echeloned far to the rear of this army was General Belov’s<sup>17</sup> army group, which was part of Dutov’s Southern Army, and which had been delayed along the Orenburg axis by the energetic actions of comrade Gai’s Red 1st Army.

Comrade Frunze decided to realize his mission in the following manner: to concentrate the shock group in the area of the town of Buzuluk and to strike with it into the enemy’s left flank, throwing him back to the north. In the meantime, the 5th Army, was supposed to halt the enemy’s advance in the direction of Buguruslan and along the Bugul’ma railroad, covering the Buzuluk—Buguruslan—Bugul’ma road. Thus the operation’s main target was the enemy’s forces and their defeat would signify the favorable resolution of all other tasks. Insofar as the plan for the Southern Group’s counter maneuver, which had been worked out in detail by M. V. Frunze, is a very instructive example of a commander’s fine and precise operational work, we consider it necessary to halt here in greater detail.

Comrade Frunze’s overall idea, in its practical realization, was broken up into a series of separate tasks, which he assigned to his armies. The Turkestan and 4th Armies received confirmation of their previous tasks (to hold the Orenburg and Ural’sk regions). The launching of the main attack was entrusted to the 1st Army and its distribution of forces for this purpose was carried out according to M. V. Frunze’s direct instructions. The 20th Rifle Division was to secure the regrouping, for which it was supposed to hold the front Meleus—Aleshkino—Ratchino. The 24th Rifle Division, with the exception of one brigade, which was being transferred to the army’s shock group from the area of the village of Ivanovka

(north of the Tok River), was to delay the enemy through its active operations in the direction of Buzuluk, thus winning time for the shock group's final concentration in the Buzuluk area. In order to form this group, the Turkestan Army was to transfer the 31st Rifle Division and a brigade from the 3rd Cavalry Division to the 1st Army. Their lead units were supposed to arrive in the Buzuluk area no later than 18 April. Besides this, a brigade from the 24th Rifle Division, which was being transferred to the area of the village of Tot'skaya, was to be part of the shock group, as well as the 75th Rifle Brigade (two regiments), which was being transported to Buzuluk, from M. V. Frunze's strategic reserve. Other of the strategic reserve's units received the following tasks: the 73rd Rifle Brigade was to be transferred by 18 April to the area of the village of Bezdvodnovka, in order to cover the shock group's concentration, while at the same time becoming part of the latter; the 74th Rifle Brigade was to remain in Samara as part of the group's overall reserve.<sup>18</sup>

Worthy of attention in the Southern Group's distribution of forces is the correlation between those which were designated for carrying out an active task and those which were supposed to carry out passive tasks. The first included, in general, the entire 5th Army (the weakened 26th and 27th Rifle Divisions, the Orenburg Division, and part of the 35th Rifle Division)—10,700 infantry, 820 cavalry and 72 guns, which approximately occupied the front Novaya Kalmykovka—Arkhangel'skoye;<sup>19</sup> M. V. Frunze's shock group (from which the larger shock group was formed) consisted of the entire 1st Army, with the exception of the 20th Rifle Division (24th, 25th and 31st Rifle Divisions,<sup>20</sup> and a brigade from the 3rd Cavalry Division), for a total of 22,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 80 guns) was in the Ivanovka—Zimnikha—Buzuluk area.<sup>21</sup> Thus comrade Frunze, thanks to a skillful regrouping, was deploying along a 200–220 kilometer front 36,620 infantry and cavalry, with 152 guns for active operations, leaving only 22,500 infantry and cavalry and 80 guns for passive tasks along the entire remainder of his front, with an overall length of 700 kilometers, from the village of Ivanovka to the Caspian Sea<sup>22</sup> (20th and 22nd Rifle Divisions, units of the Turkestan Army and local formations in Orenburg, Ural'sk and Iletsk).

The distribution of forces between the axes of the frontal and flank attacks within the active group is worthy of attention. The first fell to the 5th Army, numbering 11,000 infantry and cavalry (rounded out). For the second, comrade Frunze designated about 26,000 infantry and cavalry. Also worthy of note is comrade Frunze's securing the concentration of his active fist: three brigades, which were securing this concentration (two brigades from the 24th Rifle Division and the 73rd Rifle Brigade from the 25th Rifle Division), received not passive, but offensive tasks.

We will now turn to an examination of the changes made to comrade Frunze's plan under the influence of new information about the situation and, most of all, to an analysis of the Buguruslan and Sergiyevsk operations.

Comrade Frunze's plan in its initial form had as its task the clean slicing off of the enemy's invasion wedge, the head of which was already approaching the middle Volga; the enemy was threatening the town of Chistopol' on the Kama River (along the Red 2nd Army's sector),<sup>23</sup> and along the 5th Army's sector was pressing hard along the Sergiyevsk axis, pushing back units of the 27th Rifle Division toward Chelny station. The threat along the Sergiyevsk axis, evidently, particularly concerned the Eastern Front command, because during the development of the enemy's success here the Southern Group's railroad communications were coming under threat in the area of Kinel' station and the entire deployment of the group could have been thwarted. The fall of Chistopol', in connection with the continuing instability along the sector of the 2nd Army, which on 10 April was already falling back to the right bank of the Kama River, was creating a direct threat to Kazan' as well. This is why in the final days before the Southern Group's decisive counter maneuver; the plan underwent significant changes, both as regards the distribution of forces and tasks between them, as well as to the scope of the maneuver itself. The front command dispatched reinforcements that were still en route not to the Buzuluk area (part of the 2nd Rifle Division, units of the 35th Rifle Division), but employed them for a frontal covering of the Volga, in accordance with a decree by the front's revolutionary military council of 16 April, which stated that under no circumstances should the enemy be allowed to reach the line of the Volga River (strengthening the 5th Army).<sup>24</sup> Besides this, two brigades from the 1st Army's shock fist (the 25th Rifle Division, with the exception of the 73rd Rifle Brigade) were to reinforce the 5th Army.

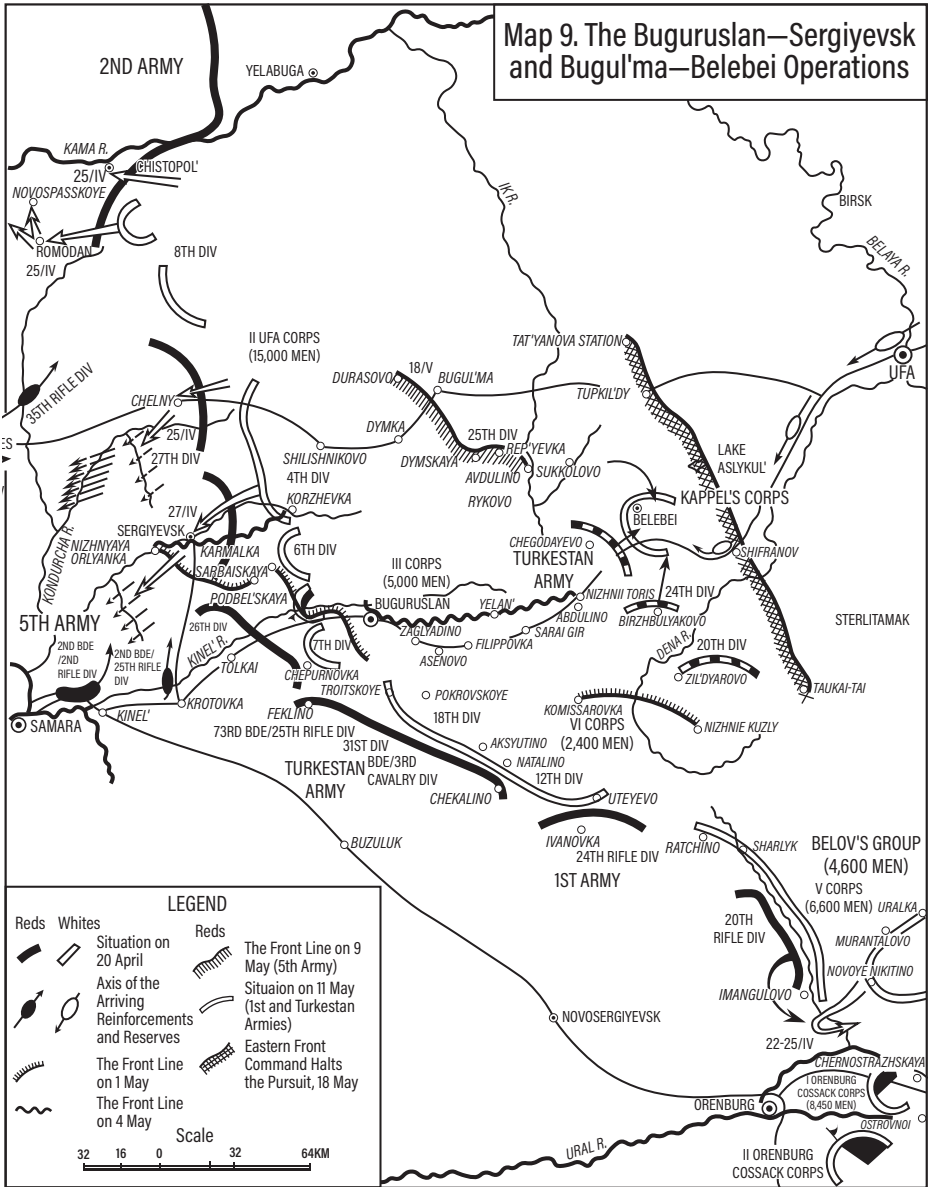
Thus the strength of the troops designated for launching the flanking attack against the enemy was to decline to three rifle brigades and one cavalry brigade (31st Rifle Division,<sup>25</sup> 73rd Rifle Brigade, and a brigade from the 3rd Cavalry Division), which speaks to the shifting of our attack's center of gravity from the enemy flank and rear to his front, which was emphasized in the corresponding shift of our forces: by 23 April the 5th Army already numbered 24,000 troops, chiefly at the expense of the shock group.

The remaining units of comrade Frunze's shock fist were named the Turkestan Army.

The above-listed regroupings forced comrade Frunze to make changes in his initial operational idea. These changes sprang from that information on the enemy which comrade Frunze managed to gather during 16–20 April from captured enemy orders. According to these orders and intelligence information available in the group's headquarters, the enemy's situation was developing as follows by 20 April.

A strong enemy group, in the form of the II Ufa Corps, which had a strength of up to 15,000 infantry and cavalry (this group's right flank stretched all the way to Chistopol'), was pressing along the Samara—Sergiyevsk axis; the enemy's





III Corps (6th and 7th Infantry Divisions, a jaeger battalion and three regiments of cavalry), with an overall strength of 5,000 troops, was attacking from Buguruslan to Samara, with one division (6th) north and another (7th) south of the Kinel' River, with a cavalry group moving on Tol'kai station. By 16 April the corps was supposed to reach the front Podbel'skaya station—Chepurnovka. The Whites' VI Ural Corps, consisting of only 2,400 troops (18th and 12th Infantry Divisions) was echeloned behind and out of contact with the III Corps and was supposed to reach the front Pokrovskoye—Natal'ino—Uteyeva by 19 April.

General Kappel's corps, numbering 5,100 infantry and cavalry, which had hurriedly completed its formation in the Belebei area, had the task, upon completing its concentration, of developing the attack in the space between the III and VI Corps. Finally, further to the south and also echeloned behind the left flank of Khanzhin's army, was the right-flank V Corps of Gen. Belov's southern army group, which was moving toward the Salmysh River along the front Imangulovo—Ratchino. This corps' strength was 6,600 infantry and cavalry. Behind this corps' left flank, echeloned back in the Uralka—Novonikitino area, was the Whites' IV Corps in reserve, with an overall strength of 4,600 infantry and cavalry. The I and II Orenburg Corps, with an overall strength of 8,450 troops, were operating along the Orenburg axis, attempting to seize the city of Orenburg by attacks from the east and south, and spreading further to the south to the establishment of communications with the Ural Cossacks. The Ilets'k Cossack Division (1,900 troops) and numerous partisan detachments were operating in the Ural steppes.

Thus by 20 April the Whites' entire front was warped by echelons from the right, while these echelons were not in combat contact with each other. This was particularly the case as regards the Whites' III and VI Corps. This disposition of the Whites' forces in space suggested to comrade Frunze a goal which corresponded to the situation—the defeat in detail of the enemy echelons closest to him, namely the Whites' VI and III Corps, while his main attack would be initially directed in the space between both of them. At the same time, the significant reinforcement of the 5th Army enabled him to assign broader tasks in space, while the weakening of the shock fist's strength forced him to more closely coordinate its actions with the actions of the frontal group (5th Army).

Thus comrade Frunze's final decision was formulated on 19 April 1919 in the following manner. The 1st Army (comrade Gai), upon going over to the offensive, was supposed to tie down the enemy's VI Corps, in this way securing the Turkestan Army from the right. The Turkestan Army was given the task of defeating the enemy in conjunction with the 5th Army and throwing back his Buguruslan group, that is, the III Corps, to the north, cutting it off from its communications with Belebei, for which the army was supposed to reach the front of the Zaglyadino and Buguruslan railroad stations. The Turkestan Army's cavalry was to carry out reconnaissance between the enemy's III and VI Corps, to maintain contact with the 1st Army,

and to launch an attack against the rear of the Whites' III Corps along the Sarai Gir—Filippovo sector of the railroad, while the 5th Army was to decisively attack the opposing enemy in the general direction of Buguruslan, for the purpose of capturing the latter. The fulfillment of all of these tasks would begin upon the final concentration of the Turkestan Army.

At the same time the front command, which was concerned, as we have already mentioned, by the enemy's successes along the shortest axis to the middle Volga, and which had because of this weakened the forces of the Southern Front at the expense of its shock fist, was deciding to organize another two independent maneuvers with the aid of the delayed reinforcements that were being dispatched to Frunze's group. The command first of all sought to seize in pincers units of the Whites' II Corps in the Sergiyevsk area, from Melekes and Krotovka, for which it was planned to employ the 2nd Rifle Division and units of the 35th Rifle Division, which had previously been designated as part of Frunze's shock group.<sup>26</sup>

Thus in the final variation of the plan, aside from the main attack along the Buguruslan axis, another new attack was planned along the Bugul'ma axis (not counting the one already planned from the Sharlyk area). In connection to this, the 2nd Rifle Division was transferred on 24 April to the control of the commander of the Southern Group, but was to remain for a few days in the Samara area until it was brought up to strength.

The threat to Chistopol' forced the Eastern Front command to search for a way to secure Kazan' by activating its armies' Northern Group, which is why the 3rd Army was assigned the task of going over to the offensive no later than 29 April for the purpose of defeating the enemy west of the Kama River.<sup>27</sup> This was the third maneuver planned by the Eastern Front command and, finally, along the Orenburg axis a fourth, and for the Reds, successful maneuver had begun, which had come about independently of the Red command's will and which was essentially a successful prologue to the Southern Group's main maneuver.

Before we take up the elucidation of subsequent combat events, we will stop for a few words about both sides' morale-political state. By the start of active operations by M. V. Frunze's group the worn-out combat fabric of the Red armies had been significantly restored. The stream of party and union mobilizations of the proletariat had poured into these armies.

A report made by one comrade, who had returned from the eastern front, in Petrograd's Vyborg district was typical of the first months of 1919. The speaker thought that "The Red Army has now passed through its especially feverish construction process. The life of the army is now settling down." Besides this, the speaker was sure that the communists at the front were being pushed aside by the command element, so that they are starting to think as if "they are superfluous at the front," and that this is evidently taking place due to the incorrect policy of the "central military spheres." It was pointed out, in conclusion, that it was necessary

to send new groups of communists to the front in order to “relieve those who have become tired.”

The following circumstance was reflected in the situation at the time. As a result of the successes of Soviet arms by the close of 1918, many assumed that the army’s “feverish construction” had already been completed, when actually everything was still ahead. Further, the exhaustion, which had been noted among the mobilized communists at the front, and the origin and development of the so-called “left” military opposition<sup>28</sup>—all of this, naturally, could not but be reflected in the units’ combat capability and was one of the reasons for the initial successes of Kolchak’s offensive. This offensive in no way raised the question that supposedly “life in the army has settled down.” On 10 April comrade Lenin turned to the Petrograd workers with a special appeal. The appeal stated that Piter’s workers must raise everything for the eastern front and to mobilize everything, and concluded with confidence that “Piter’s workers will show an example to all Russia.”

On 11 April 1919 the famous “Theses of the Central Committee of the RKP in Connection with the Eastern Front’s Situation” appeared. Calling upon the party to exert all forces for mobilizations, the theses demanded that conduct of a mobilization through the unions. It was further demanded that agitation be increased among those mobilized, that all white-collar men be replaced by women, that aid bureaus or assistance committees for the Red Army be created, and that the peasants, and particularly peasant youth, of the non-agricultural provinces be brought into the ranks of the Red Army and for the food army along the Don and in Ukraine through the unions.

By the way, as early as the end of June 1918, in Petrograd they had set about creating so-called regiments of the rural poor, to which each committee of the poor dispatched two reliable peasants for service in the Red Army. As a result, there were up to three regiments in Petrograd, staffed by the rural poor.

Following the publication of comrade Lenin’s appeal and the Central Committee’s theses, feverish work began in Petrograd. The matter of mobilization was raised at meetings of the Petrograd committee and in an organizers’ meeting on 22 and 23 April 1919. It was decreed to mobilize 20% of party members and, for the unions, 10% of the members of each union for the front and the Don, in the latter case for strengthening the Soviet regime and the construction of Soviet organizations. They then decided to carry out a mobilization in the Youth Union<sup>29</sup> and in the commissariats, which were to be serviced by female labor as much as possible. Due to the fact that Yudenich was already gathering in Gel’singfors “all kinds of volunteer scum,” they believed that if they were to dispatch tens of thousands of Piter’s workers to the eastern front, the Don and Ukraine, then more than 100,000 workers would still be left in Petrograd, which could be employed, “by also strengthening vigilance” to defend Petrograd.

In Moscow, in view of the mobilization of the 1886–1890 age groups, the presidium of the VTsSPS<sup>30</sup> decreed that even in such an important category of toilers

as the railroad workers, 30% of qualified workers could be mobilized, while all of the responsible workers of the union movement could be mobilized, leaving only the most necessary. Comrade Lenin spoke on 17 April at the Moscow conference of factory-plant committees and unions, and following his speech a note was read out from a 50-year old worker, who declared that he was taking up his rifle and was ready to defend the Soviet regime with his blood.

The VTsSPS turned to the workers of Soviet Russia with two appeals. One can judge how the local organizations heeded the party's call by how in Syzran' they independently created in five days the 1st Communist Regiment, numbering 1,200 men, and that in Simbirsk all the communists were mobilized; in Samara the unions were put on a wartime footing; Nizhnii-Novgorod carried out a total mobilization and formed a workers' shock battalion.

On 25 April a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee<sup>31</sup> was held, which adopted two extremely important decrees. The first declared the mobilization of peasants—each district was to produce from six to 20 men, former soldiers, if possible. The second decree announced an amnesty for all those arrested for struggling against the Soviet regime but who had not taken a direct part in fighting against it.

On 29 April the party's Central Committee, in view of the extremely intense situation along the fronts, turned to organizations with the appeal to earmark  $\frac{3}{4}$  of their staff for the organization and dispatch of reinforcements, for the hurried formation of units and for their equipping, etc. The chief slogan was: "Give the maximum of men and materiel to the front."

It goes without saying that the 1 May celebration in 1919 was conducted under this slogan and that the linking of all of the measures described with the great swelling up of the working class and toilers inevitably created a turning point on the eastern front. As a result, we were not only able to restore our combat capability, but to raise political consciousness to new heights. The masses were ready to endure new burdens for the sake of the successful completion of the civil war.

Matters stood otherwise in the enemy camp. By the time of the maturation of the decisive events on the eastern front the peasant element in the White armies' ranks had begun to undergo that same process of the massive shift of the peasantry to the side of the revolution that had already quite clearly expressed itself in the Siberian rear. Facts of the massive uptick in the partisan movement and the movement of the petite bourgeoisie and well-to-do strata of the intelligentsia from Kolchak are testimony to this. This revolutionary shift in the peasants' psychology found its immediate expression in the beginning of the dissolution of the White armies, which had revealed itself by means of quite perceptible facts. We have already spoken of the preparatory measures for organizing comrade Frunze's counter maneuver which took place along the 1st Army's right flank.

General Belov, in his desire to capture Orenburg as soon as possible, following a series of unsuccessful frontal attacks against the city, decided to commit his

reserve, General Bakich's V Corps, into the fighting. The latter, having crossed the Salmysh River at Imangulovo, along the 20th Rifle Division's extreme right flank, was supposed to assist the capture of Orenburg from the north and, in the event of success, upon advancing to Novo-Sergiyevskoye, to complete the encirclement of the Red 1st Army in conjunction with the Whites' V and VI Corps. However, comrade Gai, having rapidly and skillfully regrouped his army, routed Belov's group in a three-day battle from 22 through 25 April, completely destroying two of its divisions, while the remnants of the IV Corps went over to the Reds. The defeat of Belov's group had strategic significance, because thanks to it the rear communications of Khanzhin's army on Belebei were uncovered and the 1st Army acquired significant operational freedom.

In halting on the episode of the rout of General Bakich's IV Corps, we first of all should note its social significance, which testifies to the complete disruption of that unstable balance that still somehow maintained itself within Kolchak's armies between the command element and the mass of soldiers. All of Kolchak's preceding policy as regards the peasantry inevitably led to a break with the latter. The routed IV Corps had been manned by peasants from the Kustanai district immediately following the suppression of a peasant uprising there through bloody and senseless measures. The peasants who manned this corps saw in their command element the chief malefactors of their mass executions and floggings. Bakich's corps, as subsequent events will show, was not an exception to the general rule, but only expressed more immediately and colorfully the overall picture of the process of the dissolution of the White forces.

But while dangerous events for Khanzhin were maturing along his army's left flank, the head of this army's wedge, which had already shrunk to 18,000–20,000 infantry, continued its rush to the Volga, despite the visible signs of dissolution. On 25 April units of Khanzhin's army occupied Chelny station, near the town of Sergiyevsk, and threatened Kinel', a junction station along the rear railroad communications of the entire Southern Group with its main base. These events aroused the Eastern Front command to order the Southern Group to go over to the offensive, without waiting for the complete concentration of the Turkestan Army. In the same manner, the 2nd Army's right flank was ordered to assume the offensive along the Chistopol' axis for the purpose of recapturing Chistopol'.

The success along the 1st Army's front enabled us to assign it broader active goals, namely: the army's 24th Rifle Division received orders to attack directly on Belebei; the Turkestan Army (four brigades) along the 65-kilometer Chekalino—Feklino front, was to attack directly to the north; the 5th Army was to go over to the offensive along the Buguruslan, Sergiyevsk and Bugul'ma axes, with two brigades from the 2nd Rifle Division behind its right flank.

The results of the offensive were evident as early as 28 April, when the enemy's 11th and 6th Infantry Divisions were routed in battle southeast of Buguruslan.<sup>32</sup>

By 1 May the 5th Army's front ran south of Zaglyadino (to the southeast of Buguruslan) and then ran along the line of the Kinel' River as far as the village of Podbel'skoye, and then turned to the southwest through the village of Sarbaiskaya (40 kilometers north of Krotovka, a junction along the Sergiyevsk branch line), and then turned to the northwest, to the village of Nizhnyaya Orlyanka, while the shock group had fallen behind the 5th Army by an entire day's march. Its front ran along the line Troitskoye (Touzanovo) to the Malaya Kinel' River (25 kilometers to the southeast of Zaglyadino)—Akseyevka; the 1st Army's units reached the line Komissarovka—Novye Kuzli (40 kilometers to the southeast of the village of Mikhailovskoye and Sarai-Gir station).

However, the great size of the theater slowed for a time the strategic results of comrade Frunze's flank attack. This is why during this time the Whites' II Corps scored a few more tactical successes, throwing back units of the 5th Army on the Chernavka River and beyond the Shlamka River, while Sergiyevsk fell into their hands on 27 April and they pushed our forces along the Chistopol' axis from Romodan toward Novospasskoye.

During the following days the Southern Group's offensive continued to develop successfully, while the Eastern Front command, in order to accelerate the influence of the shock group's attack on the enemy along the Simbirsk and Samara axes, ordered that the axis of the Turkestan Army's offensive be shifted somewhat more to the west aiming it at Bugul'ma, and the 5th Army's right flank on Shalashnikovo station, which would reduce even more the initial scope of our flank group's turning movement.

According to these orders, the Southern Group's shock part was to reorient its front from a northeastern axis to a northwestern one. In developing these orders, comrade Frunze on 1 May had as his goal the destruction of the enemy group operating southeast of Sergiyevsk through a double envelopment, for which the 1st Army was supposed to tie down the enemy through the active operations of its left flank in the area of the village of Avdulino; the Turkestan Army was to swing its right flank directly on Bugul'ma, and the 5th Army, which was being reinforced, as we mentioned earlier (units of the 2nd and 35th Rifle Divisions), was supposed to organize a double envelopment of the Whites' II Corps from Buguruslan and Melekes. Upon the elimination of the enemy's Sergiyevsk group, it was planned to throw back his Bugul'ma group to the north through joint efforts, cutting it off from communications with Ufa.

The Sergiyevsk operation also unfolded successfully for us. On 4 May units of the 5th Army captured Buguruslan and the front of the Turkestan and 5th Armies ran along the line Novyi Toris—Yelan'—Buguruslan; units of the 5th Army, which were also attacking toward the town of Sergiyevsk from the south, were located ahead, echeloned around Sergiyevsk itself, along the front Korzhevka—Karmalka—Nizhnyaya Orlyanka. The strategic situation of the Whites' II Corps, which was being threatened from the flank and rear, was becoming dangerous and could not



be saved by a tactical success along the Buguruslan axis, the result of which was the retreat of the 5th Army's left-flank units behind the Kondurcha River. Actually, as early as 5 May the Whites' were forced to clear out of the town of Sergiyevsk and to begin a general and hurried retreat to Bugul'ma. The strategic results of the Southern Group's counter maneuver manifested themselves on this day. They were expressed by the fact that the Whites had to renounce their successes along the Red 2nd Army's right flank, that is, the influence of Frunze's maneuver had already begun to tell on the situation of our Northern Group: on 4 May the Whites abandoned the town of Chistopol' and began a withdrawal to the east. However, Gajda's Siberian Army along the 2nd Army's sector continued to secure local territorial successes, while strongly pushing back the army's 28th Rifle Division, forcing it to fall back behind the Vyatka River on 4 May.

M. V. Frunze, foreseeing the successful outcome of the Sergiyevsk operation, even before its completion, in a 4 May directive was already outlining the parallel pursuit of the enemy along the Bugul'ma axis, shifting the 5th Army's right flank to Dymka station, in order to cut off the enemy's withdrawal route from Sergiyevsk to Bugul'ma. The Turkestan Army was supposed to cover this maneuver against the Belebei area. But as early as 6 May comrade Frunze's plan had outgrown these borders and turned into a broad and new Bugul'ma—Belebei operation.

The operations that developed from comrade Frunze's decision, adopted on 6 May 1919, are inextricably linked to each other, one flowing from the other, which is why we consider it possible to unite them under the title of the Bugul'ma—Belebei operation. The operation's chief idea consisted of cutting the enemy off from his rear communications with Ufa and was distinguished by the same broad scope of operational creativity by which all of M. V. Frunze's preceding operational arrangements were distinguished. The characteristic features of the operation itself are sketched as follows.

The 1st Army, while actively defending Orenburg, was supposed to push forward the troops from the Orenburg area to the front Ostrovnoi—Chernostozhskaya—Murantalovo. The army's remaining two divisions (20th and 24th) were supposed to reach the front Sterlitamak—Shafranovo, securing through this maneuver the Turkestan Army to the left against a possible attack against it from the Sterlitamak area. The Turkestan Army received orders, upon concentrating in the area of Sarai-Gir station, to attack directly on the town of Belebei.

The 5th Army retained its previous task of advancing its right flank as quickly as possible to the area of Dymka station. This broad and brilliantly conceived operation would have resulted in the complete encirclement of the enemy if the disposition of the forces in space had corresponded to this idea. But as a result of the preceding operations and the reduction in the depth of the turning movement of Frunze's shock group as early as the beginning of its maneuver, the front of Frunze's three armies by the start of this operation, due to the rapidity of the 5th Army's activities, ended

up echeloned back from the left flank. The task of conducting a frontal offensive against the enemy in the Bugul'ma area fell to the left-flank echelon, in the shape of the 5th Army, which was the strongest and closest to the enemy. However, the 5th Army itself was outflanking him with his right flank. We could not count on the support of the 2nd Army's right flank from the Chistopol' axis, because of its great distance from the 5th Army's left flank and the slowness of the 2nd Army's advance.

We repeat that such a situation arose contrary to the will of the Southern Group command. The group command could only gradually adjust it, which was expressed in the direction of the Turkestan Army not on Bugul'ma, but on Belebei and by fulfilling its mission of defeating Kappel's corps, which was completing its concentration there.

The operation itself unfolded in the following manner. As should have been expected, the Red 5th Army was the first to come into contact with the enemy around Bugul'ma, launching its main attack along its right flank. On 9 May it unfolded along the line Avdulino—Rep'yevka—Dymskaya—Durasova, while the situation of its right-flank 25th Rifle Division (the front Avdulino—Rep'yevka) was especially threatening to the enemy's rear communications, which is why it was ordered to energetically continue its advance to the railroad bridge over the Ik River. Under threat from this maneuver, the enemy abandoned Bugul'ma and Red troops entered it on 13 May 1919.

The Turkestan Army's forward units came into contact with the Whites' troops in the Belebei area, and on 13 May the army deployed in the area of the village of Chegodayevo with the 1st Army's 24th Rifle Division echeloned to the right and behind in the Birzhibulyakova area and the army's 20th Rifle Division still further echeloned back in the Zil'dyarovo area. The Belebei operation was actually conducted without the 5th Army being operationally subordinated to comrade Frunze. The new commander of the Eastern Front, comrade A. A. Samoilo,<sup>33</sup> decided to employ the 5th Army to assist the Northern Group of Red armies. On 10 May the 5th Army was directly subordinated to the Eastern Front command and it was ordered, upon the occupation of Bugul'ma, to regroup its front in a northeastern direction along the line Rykovo—Bugul'ma—Kichui River, in expectation of a further movement to assist the Red 2nd Army; on 14 May Samoilo again directed the 5th Army's main forces on Belebei, ordering the 25th Rifle Division against the town and to pull the 2nd Rifle Division into his reserve to the Sukkulovo area.

On 17 May Samoilo issued a new directive, which determined the sharp turn of the 5th Army's main forces to the north. The army was instructed, while firmly securing the Bugul'ma—Ufa and Bugul'ma—Birsk axes, to cross the Kama River along the sector Yelabuga—mouth of the Vyatka River and to launch an attack against the left flank of the enemy operating north of the Kama River. The Red 2nd and 3rd Armies were to simultaneously go over to the offensive against the opposing enemy. But because the enemy's center of resistance in the Belebei area had not yet

been eliminated, two divisions (the 25th Rifle Division from the Avdulino area and the 2nd Rifle Division from the area of the village of Sukkulovo) were transferred to comrade Frunze from the 5th Army. Besides this, a division from the 5th Army was moving along the Bugul'ma—Ufa railroad to assist the Southern Group. On 19 May Samoilo ordered the 5th Army to cross not over the Kama River, but over the Belaya River, to attack the enemy in the rear.

Thus the Belebei operation was conducted by comrade Frunze with only the indirect assistance of the 5th Army,<sup>34</sup> while unity of command along the Belebei axis had been disrupted. Comrade Frunze made no changes to 1st Army's preceding missions and only demanded their energetic realization in view of the clear signs of demoralization among the enemy's troops. The 25th Rifle Division received orders to envelop Belebei from the north. The resistance by units of Kappel's corps, which were arriving one by one at Belebei, and which was being threatened by a pincer movement from the north and south, was not especially lengthy, and as early as 17 May the corps had abandoned Belebei and was falling back in disorder behind the Belaya River in the direction of Ufa. However, while underestimating the scope of the enemy's defeat along the Ufa axis, on 18 May Samoilo halted the Southern Group's pursuit along the line of Taukai-tau Mountain—Shafranova—Lake Leli-Kul'—Tyupkil'dy—Tam'yanova station, forbidding it to cross the line without his order. This decision of his is explained by the fear of the defeat in detail of those units that had forged far ahead during the pursuit. He wished to carry out the pursuit in a systematic and concentrated fashion.<sup>35</sup>

The Belebei operation was the concluding link in that chain of operations into which the Southern Group's maneuver was broken up, the beginning of which may be traced to 22 April (the 1st Army's meeting battles along the Salmysh River).

Comrade Frunze, in the course of nearly a month, had brilliantly carried out the difficult task entrusted to him and finally tore the offensive initiative from the enemy's hands. The morale consequences of the counter maneuver were no less great: they finally undermined the internal communications of Kolchak's armies.

While a favorable turn in operations was maturing in the center of the Red Eastern Front, the enemy continued to win temporary successes along the neighboring sectors. The enemy in the Orenburg and Ural'sk regions, taking advantage of the weakening of the troops operating there, manifested increased activity: he unsuccessfully attempted to capture the city of Orenburg and temporarily established himself in the town of Aleksandrov-Gai.

Along the 2nd Army's front, the enemy managed on 13 May to carry out a partial breakthrough of the front in the area of the village of Vyatskie Polyany (on the Vyatka River), but this breakthrough was eliminated by the forces of the 2nd Army's local reserves.

In the meantime, the pressure of the 5th Army could be felt in the Menzelinsk area in the last third of May, which forced the enemy to pull part of his forces back from

the line of the Vyatka River to the east. The Red 2nd Army took advantage of this and on 25 May threw its right flank (28th Rifle Division) over to the eastern bank of the Vyatka River and then crossed the remainder of its forces, which had rapidly advanced to the Izhevsk—Votkinsk area, which marked the limit of subsequent offensive attempts by General Gajda's Siberian Army.

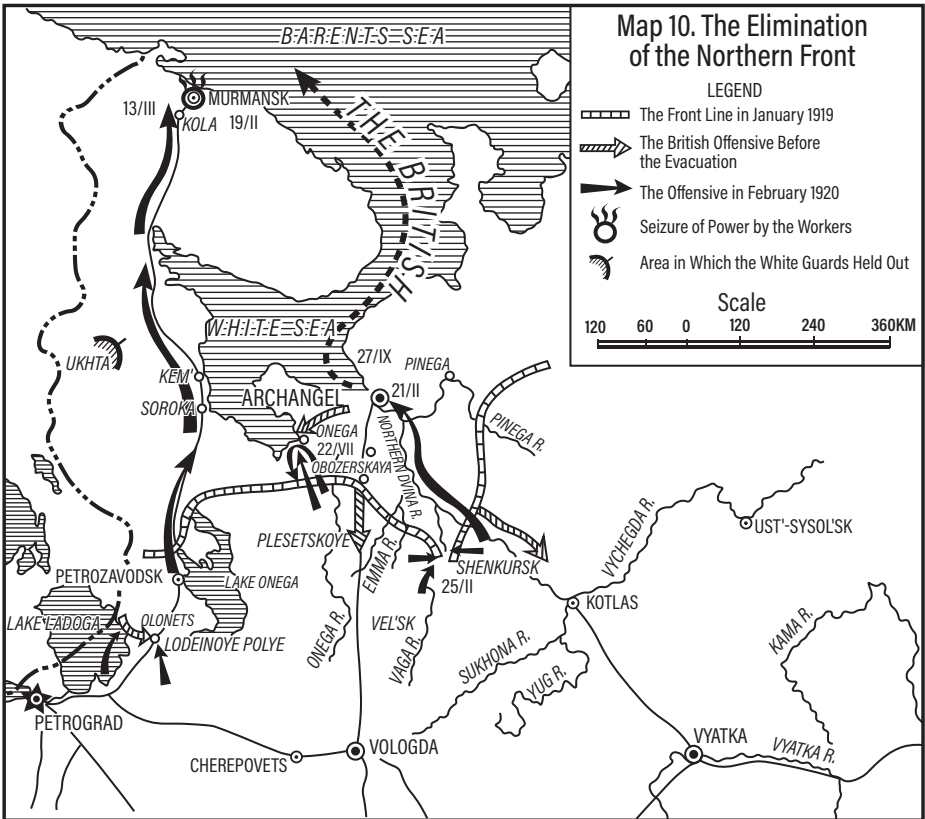
Gajda soon had to renounce even that active maneuver, which he would have undertaken along his right flank along the Vyatka axis, for the purpose of parrying the Red 2nd Army's maneuver. In spite of this, in the beginning of June Gajda pushed the Red 3rd Army back and temporarily occupied the town of Glazov, although he was soon forced to begin a retreat under the influence of the overall situation along the front.

Now there was an opportunity to take advantage of and to expand the success achieved along the central sector of comrade Frunze's front. The Eastern Front command had in mind first of all the enemy group which was operating north of the Kama River, which the 3rd and 2nd Armies were to attack, while the 5th Army was to throw two of its divisions along the lower reaches of the Belaya River to the right bank of the Kama River to assist these armies. Its remaining divisions, having crossed over the Belaya River, were supposed to support the Southern Group in capturing the Ufa area. The latter, aside from this mission, was supposed to energetically suppress offensive attempts by the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks. The Ural Cossacks, taking advantage of the material support by the British from Persia through Gur'yev, had already surrounded Ural'sk, while the Orenburg Cossacks had arrived at Orenburg itself. Both of these locales were in a very difficult situation.

The favorable conclusion of the Belebei operation freed up the hands of the Southern Group command in this regard. The group command had the opportunity to reinforce the troops operating in the Orenburg and Ural'sk regions with three infantry brigades and to begin energetic operations against the rebels in the Orenburg—Iletskii Gorodok area and against the Ural'sk Cossacks in the Novouzensk—Aleksandrov-Gai area.

Events on the northern front, which, as we have mentioned, was created by the Entente for cooperating with the main, eastern front, are somewhat linked to the events on the eastern front. However, this cooperation was not achieved before the end of the northern front's existence. During this period, when Kolchak's armies were straining all of their might along the Perm'—Vyatka axis in order to develop their offensive activity, the White forces of the northern front were not in a condition to manifest any kind of activity.

The harsh climatic conditions of the northern theater in the Murmansk and Archangel areas determined the halt there of major combat operations for the winter period. The most significant event there during the winter of 1918–19 was the struggle to capture Shenkursk, which fell to Red forces on 25 February 1919.<sup>36</sup>



The mutual situation of both enemies on the northern front did not undergo any profound changes during the early spring of 1919. An attempt by local pro-Soviet forces, with the support of the Finnish government, to establish themselves in April 1919 in the Olonets area and to spread their influence on Lodeinoye Polye was quickly eliminated by Soviet forces with the support of the Lake Ladoga Flotilla.

The summer of 1919 was noteworthy for the strong disintegration among the units of the counterrevolutionary Russian Northern Army along the theater's main axes—Archangel and Murmansk—which in and of itself excluded the possibility of active operations on its part. This disintegration was expressed in the mutinies of entire units and their going over to the Soviet forces' side and their abandonment of entire combat sectors. As a result of one of these mutinies, on 22 July 1919 the town of Onega fell into the hands of the Red troops. The disintegration also touched deeply those British troops who were fighting on the northern front. On the other hand, voices were heard in Britain itself that the British expedition should abandon the White Sea coast.

This question was resolved in principle in August 1919. But the British command decided to first launch a brief attack against the Red 6th Army in order to ease the withdrawal of its forces. The correlation of both sides' forces enabled the British command to undertake this operation. At the same time as the enemy's forces along the Archangel axis had reached 32,000 troops,<sup>37</sup> while numbering 14,000 along the Murmansk axis, the 6th Army could oppose against them only 22,700 troops. The enemy's offensive began in the first ten days of August and was directed upstream along the Northern Dvina River. Soviet units were thrown back along the Kotlas axis, after which the British halted their operations and offered to evacuate the Russian counterrevolutionary units to the civil war's other fronts. The Russian counterrevolutionary command, in the person of General Miller, turned this proposal down and, in its turn, decided to go over to the offensive with its own forces along the Vologda and Onega axes. The Whites' regrouping took up all of August, while the Dvinsk axes had been greatly weakened by the enemy so that his second offensive began only in the beginning of September. This time, once again the enemy achieved only purely local successes in the form of the recapture of Onega and the seizure of Plesetskaya station, after which his offensive died out, while at the same time the British abandoned Archangel on 27 September and Murmansk on 1 October, thus leaving the enemy's Northern Army to its own devices. This army's strength did not exceed 25,000 men and it was forced to defend an enormous front from the Finnish border to the Ural Mountains. Attempts to strengthen it through mobilizing the local population did not yield favorable results; the inhabitants of Onega area of Karelia even raised an armed insurrection during an attempt to mobilize them and General Miller had to renounce his attempt.

Thus as the result of the summer campaign on the northern front its complete security for Soviet strategy became clear; it only remained to wait for its disbandment.

This was once again the result of that process of disintegration which broke out with renewed strength among the forces of the northern anti-Soviet front in the beginning of 1920. The realization of the hopelessness of further struggle at this time had become so embedded in the Whites' front-line units that these units met the slogan, which had been proclaimed by a land assembly that was meeting in Archangel, of "strengthening the front for further struggle" with an entire series of new mutinies and opened up an entire series of free space along the main axes for which there were no troops to fill.

The Red 6th Army command took advantage of this situation, going over to an energetic offensive and, during the week of 8–15 February 1920 all three of the main sectors of the enemy's front were eliminated and the roads to Archangel and Onega opened. The government of the northern region fled from Archangel, abandoning its defenders to the vicissitudes of fate. Upon hearing of the government's flight, power in the city of Murmansk was seized by local workers through an internal uprising on 19 February 1920.

Due to this circumstance, the group of enemy forces still holding out along the Murmansk axis, began to hurriedly fall back to the Finnish border, without waiting for the enemy's detachments from the Onega axis to link up and which were forced to capitulate.

The further advance of the Red forces to the White Sea coast and the Arctic Ocean took place unobstructed; on 21 February 1920 Red forces entered Archangel and occupied the town of Onega on 26 February, and on 13 March they were in Murmansk. Only within the confines of Karelia, in the Ukhta area did small counterrevolutionary forces hold on and formed the core of that rebellious movement which swept Karelia in the autumn of 1921.

The northern counterrevolutionary front, deprived of its sole support in the form of foreign troops, was rapidly eliminated. This serves as the best proof of its slight organic link with that population, the interests of which it sought to represent and defend.

A result of the front's elimination was the return to the Soviet regime of the White Sea and Arctic Ocean coasts, with their two year-round ports and a territory of 640,000 square kilometers and a population of 640,000 people.

In the operational sense, the sides' actions on the secondary northern front do not offer much of interest. The lack of roads in the theater, the presence of enormous and inaccessible spaces, the sparse population, and the harsh climate were all conditions that restricted the armies' operational freedom. On the other hand, events in this theater are of significant tactical interest. The researcher studying operations in forests in winter conditions will find much that is interesting and instructive in the combat episodes of this front, bound by the tundra and primeval harsh forests of the north.





## The Ufa Operation. The Forcing of the Ural Range by the Red Armies. The Pursuit of the White Armies in Siberia

*The Ufa Operation. The Red Eastern Front Command's Plan for Overcoming the Ural Range. The Zlatoust Operation. The Chelyabinsk Operation. The Petropavlovsk Operation. The Pursuit of the White Armies in Siberia and Their Elimination. Events on the Turkestan Front*

The Eastern Front command (comrade Samoilo), having decided to continue to pursue the enemy, as before entrusted the most active and responsible tasks to the Southern Group (comrade Frunze). Following the completion of the Bugul'ma—Belebei operation, it assigned the Southern Group the following tasks: while continuing to pursue the enemy, to capture the Ufa—Sterlitamak area (the town of Sterlitamak had actually been occupied as early as 28 May by the 1st Army's cavalry), to suppress the uprising in the Orenburg and Ural'sk regions and to firmly secure these areas. The 5th Army, which at this time had directed the axis of its movement on Krasnoufimsk,<sup>1</sup> was to render support for the Southern Group by detaching one and a half divisions to the Belaya River and to cross over in the area of the village of Akhlystinov. Such was the general sense of the Eastern Front command's directives 18–19 May. (See Map 5 of the plate section)

The Eastern Front command entrusted the task of capturing Ufa to the Turkestan Army, reinforcing it with one division (24th Rifle) from the 1st Army and intended to outflank with this army's right flank the enemy around Ufa from the southeast, while at the same time getting into his rear communications with cavalry. For the purpose of assisting the Turkestan Army, the 1st Army's left flank was also supposed to manifest activity along the Sterlitamak axis. Thus, according to the operational idea, broad pincers were to envelop the enemy from the north (one and a half divisions from the 5th Army) and south (the Turkestan Army's right flank and the 1st Army's left flank).

The enemy, in turn, had not lost hope of getting the initiative back into his hands. While relying on the natural line of the Belaya River, he was concentrating a powerful shock fist, consisting of six infantry regiments, near the mouth of the Belaya River,

downstream from Ufa. These regiments had been moved up from Yekaterinburg for securing Khanzhin's right flank. They were planning another such concentration behind the Belaya River, upstream from Ufa. It was evidently planned to grasp in their pincers, in turn, the Turkestan Army's flanks with both of these shock groups.

Such were the operational prerequisites of the Ufa operation, in which the 5th and Turkestan Armies, numbering 49,000 infantry and cavalry (rounded out) and 92 guns, took part from the Soviet side, and, on the enemy's side, as before, General Khanzhin's Western Army, numbering 46,000–47,000 infantry and cavalry (rounded out) and 119 guns.

On 25 May the Southern Group's forces reached the line indicated by the Eastern Front command (the 18 May directive) and here, in accordance with this directive, they stood in place for three days. It was only on 28 May that an order was issued for a general assumption of the offensive, the beginning of which was set for 28 May.<sup>2</sup> This temporary delay gave the enemy the opportunity to preempt us in the start of the offensive by its right-flank group and in general gave him the opportunity to recover and regroup.

The Red Army's first successes in the struggle against Kolchak might have subsequently led, according to the experience of preceding operations, to a certain weakening of the troops' energy. The situation demanded taking the victory over Kolchak to his final defeat. This is exactly how comrade Lenin put the question, which is clear from the telegram cited here:

25/V 1919, Moscow, the Kremlin.

Simbirsk, the Eastern Front's revolutionary military council, Gusev,<sup>3</sup> Lashevich, Yurenev.<sup>4</sup>

If we do not take the Urals before winter, then I consider the doom of the revolution to be inevitable; strain all your forces; keep an attentive eye on reinforcements; mobilize completely the front-line area population; keep an eye on political work; telegraph me in code weekly the results; read this telegram to Muralov,<sup>5</sup> Smirnov,<sup>6</sup> Rozengol'ts<sup>7</sup> and all prominent communists and Petrograd workers; confirm receipt; play the closest attention to the mobilization of the Orenburg Cossacks; you are responsible for seeing that the units do not begin to disintegrate and that their spirit remains high. Lenin.

Thus the Red 5th Army's battle with the enemy's right-flank shock group, which had managed to finish regrouping and cross the Belaya River, served as the prologue to the Ufa operation. This battle began on 28 May in the area of the village of Baisarovo and as early as 29 May ended with the Red 5th Army's victory. The enemy's offensive attempts along the Turkestan Army's front, undertaken by him on 28–29 May, were unsuccessful and the 5th Army's victory unleashed the Turkestan Army's left flank and enabled it to begin a successful advance to the line of the Belaya River.

Thus the first period of the Ufa operation was characterized by the enemy's assumption of the offensive along a broad front for the purpose of restoring its operational freedom, while he managed to win some time for himself—ended in a new victory by the Red armies, which was the result of the operational cooperation of

the Turkestan and 5th Armies' internal flanks. This was disrupted in the subsequent course of the operation. As a result of the meeting battle of 28–29 May, the 5th Army ended up echeloned ahead of the Turkestan Army, while the defeated right flank of Khanzhin's army was falling back under its pressure to the southeast, to the crossings over the Belaya River in the area of the city of Ufa.

The 5th Army, which was the enveloping maneuver echelon, could have completed the enemy's encirclement in the Ufa area by continuing its unrelenting pursuit to the southeast. However, in following the directives received, it crossed the Belaya River on 30 May and began to sharply veer to the north—toward the town of Birsk, which it occupied on 7 June. Thus in the subsequent operation around Ufa, the Southern Group had to operate independently, out of direct contact with the 5th Army.

The 5th Army's movement on Birsk sped up the course of events favorable to us along the Red 2nd Army's front. The enemy began to hurriedly fall back before it and it was moving rapidly on Sarapul' and the Izhevsk factory.

On 4 June the Southern Group's Turkestan Army came into close combat contact along the Belaya River with Khanzhin's defeated army. The latter was no longer setting any active goals and was only preparing for a stubborn defense of the Belaya River, having destroyed all crossings over it. As we have mentioned, following an unsuccessful meeting engagement with the 5th Army, the enemy's right-flank group, having lost its communications, had to veer sharply to the southeast, which is why it had a more massive group of forces along his left flank, along the sector of the Belaya River upstream from Ufa. This group took the following final form: two of the VI Corps' divisions were located along both sides of the Samara—Zlatoust railroad for the immediate defense of Ufa; two weak divisions were stretched along a broad front north of Ufa as far as the mouth of the Karmasan River. The most viable units (Kappel's corps), numbering four divisions, were located along a comparatively narrow 40–50 kilometer front approximately as far as Seit-Bashevo station. Further on the 1st Army's front, a screen from the remnants of a brigade from the 6th Infantry Division and several cavalry regiments was on the move.

The Southern Group command aimed, as before, its main attack along the Turkestan Army's right flank to the Arkhangel factory, to envelop the enemy's left flank. From here it was planned to reach the enemy's rear railroad line in the area of Tuvtyumeneva station. Four rifle and three cavalry brigades were assigned to the shock group. But this group's crossing over the Belaya River on the night of 7–8 June in the area of Tyukunovo station was unsuccessful, because the floating bridge that had been laid was wrecked by the swift current. However, this failure was recompensed on the same night by the 25th Rifle Division's successful crossing, on the initiative of local commanders, along the Belaya River below Ufa, near Krasnyi Yar station. The enemy's attempts throughout 8 June to throw our crossed units back were unsuccessful. The army command quickly committed its reserve (the 31st Rifle Division from Dmitrievka station) into the fighting, with which it consolidated its

position along the right bank of the Belaya River and, while developing the success achieved, occupied Ufa on 9 June. The enemy, while resting his right flank on the Ufa River, attempted to hold on to the line of the Belaya River above Ufa, where he managed to delay our advance until 16 June, after which the general retreat of Khanzhin's army to the east began.

The start of the Ufa operation is noteworthy for the enemy command's unsuccessful attempt to once again seize the operational initiative and the failure which struck this attempt, which was due not only to material reasons, but also due to the breakdown of the enemy's morale. This circumstance would subsequently come to be the chief factor, and further operations took place in a situation in which the Red Army command held the initiative in those operations which had as their goal the final defeat of the enemy's materiel and moral strength on the eastern front.

The overall number of prisoners from the time of the beginning of the counter maneuver by comrade Frunze's Southern Group and ending with the Ufa operation, calculated at 25,500 men, speaks to the scale of the moral breakdown of the enemy's armies. Our losses are calculated at 16,000 wounded and killed.

The counterrevolutionary armies' strategic failure did not justify sacrificing for its sake the Siberian armies' last combat-capable reserves. Now only three divisions, which had barely begun to be formed in Omsk and Tomsk, remained at Admiral Kolchak's disposal as strategic reserves. In the economic sense, the loss of the Ural factories meant for the enemy the loss of those orders for supplying the armies that had been quartered there. Finally, with the loss of the Ufa area, the enemy was deprived of the significant food supplies that had been gathered there.

However, the situation in the Orenburg and Ural'sk regions continued to be tense. Here, despite the partial reinforcement of the 4th Army, the superiority of forces continued to lie with the enemy: he disposed of 21,000 infantry and cavalry against the 4th Army's 13,000 infantry and cavalry, which is why he continued to gain local successes over individual groups and launched a powerful attack against one of them near Shipovo station. The Southern Group command had to once again reinforce its right flank, dispatching from the Turkestan Army yet another division (25th) and directing it to the Buzuluk area, after which the Turkestan Army was disbanded on 19 June 1919 and its units distributed between the 5th and 1st Armies.

While the Ufa operation matured and was resolved, the Red 2nd Army was preparing to shift its main forces over the Kama River along the eastern front's central operational axes, while one of the army's divisions (5th Rifle) had already crossed over the Kama River in the Bui area, and the 3rd Army was already approaching the line of this river, pushing back the main mass of the enemy's Siberian Army's forces.

In such a situation the Red Eastern Front's command had to resolve the problem of overcoming the Ural range.

At the same time, major differences arose between the Eastern Front's revolutionary military council, on the one hand, and the commander-in-chief and the RVSR's

representative, on the other, regarding the character of the Eastern Front's subsequent actions. The commander-in-chief insisted on halting the Eastern Front's main forces, in general, along the line of the Belaya River, in order to shift part of its forces to the Southern Front. The chairman<sup>8</sup> of the RVSR supported this insistently. However, the party's Central Committee came out in support of the Eastern Front's revolutionary military council and in this manner predetermined the victory. The chairman of the RVSR resigned, but the Central Committee turned it down. Comrade Vatsetis, the commander-in-chief, resigned and comrade Kamenev was appointed in his place, which happened after we overcame the Urals.

Before the start of the operation to overcome the Ural range,<sup>9</sup> the Soviet armies of the Eastern Front's center and left flank disposed overall of 81,000 infantry and cavalry against the enemy's 70,500 infantry and cavalry, which were described by our Eastern Front command as being of little combat value. The Eastern Front command put on the agenda the question of seizing the most accessible sector of the Ural range, along with the city of Zlatoust, which was the key to the plains of Siberia.

While holding Zlatoust, the enemy relied on the comparatively dense railroad net in this sector (two lines: Omsk—Kurgan—Zlatoust and Omsk—Tyumen'—Yekaterinburg, and, besides this, two lateral railroad lines: Berdyaush—Utkinskii Zavod—Chusovaya and Troitsk—Chelyabinsk—Yekaterinburg—Kushva). This railroad network offered the enemy complete freedom for broad maneuver, which one could foresee.

Before the start of the overall broad operation by the Eastern Front's armies the correlation and distribution of both sides' forces may be sketched in the following manner: as before, the Red 4th Army in the Ural region had to deal with a numerically superior enemy: he disposed of 21,000 infantry and cavalry (of this number, 15,000 were cavalry) against its 13,000 infantry and cavalry; the 1st Army (including the Orenburg group) had approximately 11,000 infantry and cavalry against nearly equal enemy forces; the 5th Army (including the former Turkestan Army), with 29,000 infantry and cavalry along the main axis of attack (the front Zlatoust—Krasnoufimsk), was faced by the repeatedly defeated and very demoralized units of Khanzhin's army, numbering 18,000 infantry and cavalry. Further on, the 2nd Army, numbering 21,600 infantry and cavalry, was pushing back the enemy group facing it, which numbered 14,000 infantry and cavalry. Along the Perm' axis, the enemy disposed of 23,500 infantry and cavalry against the Red 3rd Army's 29,200 infantry and cavalry. The 3rd Army's strength is explained by its flank position and the size and difficulty of its area of operations.

The front command hurried the 2nd Army to advance. Although the latter crossed its main forces to the left bank of the Kama River (only the 7th Rifle Division remained on the right bank of the Kama, in the Izhevsk area) on 20 June; nevertheless by the time of the start of the Zlatoust operation it was echeloned two days' march behind the 5th Army.

Thus the main role was to fall to the 5th Army in the new and decisive operation.

The enemy was obstinately preparing to defend the Zlatoust junction, fully and correctly evaluating its strategic and economic significance. The Zlatoust plateau, with the important strategic junction of Zlatoust, was covered from the west by the inaccessible and wooded Kara-Tau range, which was cut by narrow passages along which ran the Ufa—Zlatoust railroad, which was closer to the 5th Army's right flank, and the Birska—Zlatoust road, which ran from the 5th Army's left flank. The latter was the closest means of reaching Zlatoust. Besides this, the narrow valleys of the Yurezan' and Ai rivers, which were at an angle to the railroad, could also have been employed for troop movements, although with difficulty.

In evaluating these local conditions, the enemy stationed his forces in two equal groups: along the Birska road and the railroad line, with the least combat-capable Ural Corps (1 ½ infantry and three cavalry divisions) along the first, and two infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade (Kappel's corps) along the second. Another 2½ infantry divisions were stationed five days' march behind both of these groups, in the area to the west of Zlatoust, as a reserve.

The rapid denouement of the Zlatoust operation was the result of the 5th Army command's plan, which had calculated its maneuver on the precise appraisal of the element of terrain. Taking into account the flanking axis of the Birska road and the valley of the Yurezan' River in regard to the sole route of retreat of the enemy group, which was located along the Samara—Zlatoust railroad, the army command decided to bring up its shock fist along the two enumerated axes into the rear of the enemy group and completely destroy it. The disposition of troops in the area sharply underlined the operational idea and completely corresponded to the characteristic features of the terrain.

The space to the south of the Samara—Zlatoust railroad was secured by six regiments of the 24th Rifle Division, which were stretched out along a 90-kilometer front. The southern shock group, consisting of one cavalry division and one rifle brigade (the 26th Rifle Division's 3rd Rifle Brigade), was aimed along the line of the Samara—Zlatoust railroad; the southern sector of the front, which lay opposite the Kara-Tau range, was completely free of troops, although along the army's left flank of only 30 kilometers, between the villages of Aidos and Uraz-Bakhty, the northern shock group, consisting of 15 rifle regiments and a lot of light and heavy artillery (27th Rifle Division and two brigades from the 26th Rifle Division), was to deploy. The 35th Rifle Division (two brigades) was echeloned two days' march behind the left flank for maintaining communications with the 2nd Army, according to the front command's instructions.

The northern shock group's offensive was to be carried out by two columns: the 26th Rifle Division was to move along the valley of the Yurezan' River, and the 27th Rifle Division along the Birska road.



On the night of 23–24 June the 26th Rifle Division successfully crossed the Ufa River near the village of Aidos, and a day later, that is, on the night of 24–25 June the 27th Division did the same no less successfully near the village of Uraz-Bakhty.<sup>10</sup> Thus from the very beginning of the operation the 26th Rifle Division was one day's march ahead of the overall front of the army and its neighbor to the left. This lack of contact in space increased even more, because the 27th Rifle Division encountered stubborn resistance by the enemy along the Birsk road and lost a day's worth of time in overcoming it. The 26th Rifle Division, despite the extremely difficult terrain conditions, moving in a single column along the 50-kilometer narrow ravine of the Yurezan' River and often forced to move along the river bed, had already reached the Zlatoust plateau on 1 July, while the 27th Rifle Division was still two day's march behind it.

The 26th Rifle Division reached this plateau in a seriously weakened state, because along the way it had dispatched two of its regiments for operations against the rear of that enemy group which had begun to rapidly fall back along the Samara—Zlatoust railroad on Zlatoust before its third brigade. Thus only four of the 26th Rifle Division's regiments appeared on the Zlatoust plateau. However, their appearance was completely unexpected for the enemy and its first attacks successfully fell upon units of the White's 12th Infantry Division, which had been widely dispersed for rest. However, the latter quickly recovered and gathered toward the village of Nisibash and there nearly surrounded the 26th Rifle Division on 3 July. On 5 July the 27th Rifle Division, in emerging out on the Zlatoust plateau, defeated the Whites' 4th Infantry Division, which had been moved up against it, and was preparing to help the 26th Rifle Division, but the latter managed not only to restore its situation in the area of the village of Nisibash, but itself inflicted a defeat on the Whites' 12th Infantry Division.

Although the enemy was not completely destroyed, he had nevertheless been thrown back to the near approaches to Zlatoust. Following a series of local battles, on 7 July, both sides had established close combat contact along the line Arsha River—Ai River—Mursalimkino station, after which a quiet in combat activities settled in for a while, until the 5th Army command managed to bring up the 35th Rifle Division, which it had left in the form of a security echelon to its left. There was now no need for this, because the 2nd Army occupied Krasnoufimsk on 4 July. On 10 July the 5th Army once again went over to the offensive, this time launching an attack against the center of the enemy line along the shortest route to Zlatoust, and on 13 July it occupied this important strategic junction. Almost simultaneously, that is, on 14 July, units of the 2nd Army occupied another important strategic railroad junction—the city of Yekaterinburg (now the city of Sverdlovsk).<sup>11</sup>

The disposition of enemy forces during the Zlatoust operation excluded the possibility of encircling all of its Western Army (the deep echeloning of reserves), but the encirclement of its southern group (Kappel's corps) might have been

achieved if a hitch had not occurred in arriving at the Zlatoust plateau. This hitch was the result of the uncoordinated nature of the operations of the columns of the 5th Army's northern group, which almost resulted in the local defeat of its right column. The army command, it stands to reason, was unable to spread its influence to all particulars of the operation's realization, which, nevertheless, is an instructive example of skillful maneuvering.

As a result of the Zlatoust operation, Khanzhin's Western Army rapidly fell back on Chelyabinsk, threatening to bare the last railroad communication for Belov's army, which was operating along the Orenburg axis. The morale results were even more significant; Kolchak's war minister defined the condition of his front as one that had become completely demoralized.

The decisive success in the Zlatoust area was quite timely, taking into account the threat to the junction of the Soviet Southern and Eastern fronts on the part of the enemy group from Tsaritsyn and from the Ural region. As early as 4 July the high command was ordering the Eastern Front command to secure its rear along the right bank of the Volga River and the Saratov—Kirsanov railroad. In carrying out these instructions, the Eastern Front command planned to concentrate in the middle of August two rifle divisions and two independent brigades in the Saratov—Atkarsk area.

The collapse of the enemy front reached such a scale that the Eastern Front command was able to resort to such regroupings, while the high command was able to employ its surplus forces on other fronts. The enemy's northern Siberian Army numbered only 6,000 troops, although in June it required provisions for 350,000; the strength of the other armies (Khanzhin's Western and Belov's Southern) was not much better. An attempt to once again move to the front the Czechoslovak Corps, which was in the rear, yielded no result. Its demoralization had become so obvious that it inspired fear among the representatives of the Entente powers. The Kolchak command committed its last reserves into the fight in the form of three not fully formed divisions. On 26 the White command reformed the remnants of its armies into three armies; Gajda's Siberian Army was broken up into the First and Second Armies, with General Diterikhs at their head, and Khanzhin's army was renamed the Third Army.

The White command, having reorganized the command of its armies and having brought up its last strategic reserves in the form of three not fully formed divisions (11th, 12th and 13th Infantry Divisions) from the Omsk area, made a final attempt to seize the initiative from the Red command. It was planned to carry out this attempt in the Chelyabinsk area. The strategic and economic importance of this major railroad junction was very great for both sides. In the case of the Whites, it had significance as the last part of the Yekaterinburg—Chelyabinsk lateral railroad in their hands, as the railroad's Yekaterinburg sector had already been occupied by the Reds. Chelyabinsk was important to the latter as the starting point of the

Trans-Siberian Railroad and, furthermore, with its large railroad shops and coal mines, it was an economically important area for the Reds.

Following the victorious completion of the Zlatoust operation, the 5th Army rapidly developed the pursuit of the enemy along the Chelyabinsk axis and was able to cross the Ural range, while the Eastern Front's right-flank armies (1st and 4th) were echeloned behind and their operations were developing along diverging axes (to the southeast and south) from the 5th Army's operational axis. Thus the 5th Army could not count on operational cooperation with them. The 5th Army was just as isolated in space in regards to its left flank, because the Red 3rd Army, which had merged with the former Red 2nd Army, was developing its operations from the Yekaterinburg area (which was already 140–150 kilometers from Chelyabinsk) along the Tobol'sk operational axis (the front Shadrinsk—Turinsk).

Taking into account such a disposition of the Red forces following the passage of the Ural range, the White command set out to inflict a separate defeat on the Red 5th Army. For this purpose it moved up its strategic reserve (three divisions) to reinforce its Third Army's (Khanzhin's former army) right flank, while gathering along its left flank a shock fist, also consisting of no less than three divisions, from the army itself. It intended to envelop our 5th Army's open flanks from north and south with these two shock fists and, to better ensure the success of this maneuver, it had already even made such a sacrifice as voluntarily giving up the very important Chelyabinsk junction, calculating in this way to force our 5th Army, in the throes of pursuit, to set itself up for an attack by his flank groups.<sup>12</sup>

It seemed as if the initial course of events would justify all of the White command's assumptions. The 5th Army, while pushing aside the enemy's rearguards, occupied the city of Chelyabinsk on 27 July (one of the participants of this operation, comrade Eikhe,<sup>13</sup> puts the capture of Chelyabinsk on 24 July; we are guided here by the official dispatch of the RVSR's Field Staff,<sup>14</sup> which mentions the date of 27 July) and, while pursuing the enemy, moved along a broad front, with the heads of its divisions' columns along one line. Before long, events began to favor the enemy even more. According to a front command directive of 30 July, the Southern Group (4th and 1st Armies) was to throw back the enemy facing them along its left flank to the area of the southern Urals, with the support of the 5th Army's units, while the 5th Army, upon detaching the 24th Rifle Division to support the Southern Group, was to attempt to throw the enemy back to the south of the Trans-Siberian Railroad with its main forces, while capturing as quickly as possible the area of the town of Troitsk, while keeping in mind the subsequent movement to the line of the Tobol River, from Kustanai to Ikovskaya.

The 3rd Army kept its former task of capturing the Shadrinsk and Turinsk areas, with the subsequent task of reaching the Tobol River from Ikovskaya to Tobol'sk. This directive had a positive and negative significance for the forthcoming Chelyabinsk operation. Its positive significance lay in the fact that for its realization the 5th Army

command was supposed to compress the disposition of its forces toward its left flank, which was carried out by it by means of more narrowly slicing the offensive sectors for its left-flank divisions. Thus it encountered the attack by the White Third Army's northern group, which was already raised against it, in a more favorable grouping.

But the detachment of the 24th Rifle Division to assist the Southern Group, which excluded the latter's participation in the operation itself, was quite unfavorable for the 5th Army, and evidently brought about the slicing of the 100-kilometer wide maneuver zone for the 26th Rifle Division, which was now on the 5th Army's right flank. Of course, this greatly weakened the right flank at the moment when the White Third Army's southern group was, in its turn, preparing to attack it. The latter began its offensive on 30 July. Its northern group, while launching an attack to envelop Chelyabinsk from the north, was pushing back the 5th Army's left flank division (35th Rifle), and there was fighting in the area of Dolgoderevskaya station 25 kilometers northwest of Chelyabinsk.

The significance of the offensive was immediately appraised by the 5th Army command, which, in its turn, sought to launch an attack with its central divisions (5th and 27th Rifle) against the left flank of the enemy's northern group. The maneuver's success depended upon the stoutness of the 26th Rifle Division, which in its turn had been attacked by superior enemy forces and which had to carry out the difficult task of securing the central divisions' maneuver from the south, otherwise the entire Chelyabinsk operation would have been thwarted. It selflessly carried out this task during the course of several days, although at times the fighting took place in the very suburbs of Chelyabinsk. The situation became particularly critical on 31 July, when the 5th Army's left flank was forced to fall back to the height of Esaul'skaya station and Kargayats. But as early as 1 August the results of the 5th Army's counter maneuver began to tell and the fighting swayed back and forth. On 2 August we already enjoyed our first major success north of Chelyabinsk, completely destroying several enemy regiments and taking up to 5,000 prisoners. This signified a turning point in the operation, because by this time the efforts of the enemy's southern group against the 26th Rifle Division had exhausted themselves; in the next two days the enemy was only defending and on 5 August he was already in full retreat.<sup>15</sup>

The Chelyabinsk operation ended in complete disaster for the enemy. His losses are testimony to this. Not counting wounded and killed, he lost 15,000 in prisoners alone; his 12th Division ceased to exist completely. In the Chelyabinsk area the 5th Army's units captured, beside this, up to 4,000 loaded rail cars and 100 steam engines. The moral consequences of the Reds' victory were even more significant than the materiel ones. Almost simultaneously with the Chelyabinsk victory, the Red units occupied Troitsk (4 August), which created a rear threat to General Belov's White Southern Army's rear communications. This was already a strategic result of the victorious completion of the Chelyabinsk operation. Belov's White Southern Army was actually forced to begin a withdrawal from the Orenburg axis to the southeast.

The latter circumstance, in connection with the presence of local enemy forces in the Orenburg and Ural'sk regions brought about the formation on 13 August 1919, from the Eastern Front's "Southern Group," of a special Turkestan Front, with the Eastern Front retaining only the 3rd and 5th Armies. The Turkestan Front's task was to establish Soviet power in the Orenburg and Ural'sk regions and to advance into Turkestan. The Eastern Front's armies were entrusted with the task of destroying the enemy's Siberian armies and capturing western Siberia. (See Map 6 of the plate section)

Meanwhile, the demoralization of the White Siberian armies continued in its turn, reflecting in itself the overall picture of the dissolution of Kolchak's rear.

The collapse of Kolchak's front and rear was the natural result of those profound internal social contradictions and upheavals which the Kolchak regime began to experience from the first days of its assumption of power. Thus it will be quite appropriate to tear ourselves away from the account of the course of military events and halt on the phenomena that undermined the state organization of the White Siberian government from within.

The "supreme ruler's" first steps were already marked by a bloody struggle with the working class. On the night of 22–23 December 1918 an uprising of workers broke out in Omsk and its suburbs against the Kolchak regime. The uprising's communist leadership was arrested and as a result of this the uprising unfolded in an uncontrolled manner. The suppression of the uprising was carried out through bloody repressions. About 1,000 workers were killed and executed in Omsk alone.

Along with this, the Siberian peasantry very soon became convinced in practice of the clearly landowner nature of the Kolchak regime. Sparks of discontent with the White Siberian regime—the predecessor of the Kolchak regime—had long been smoldering among the peasantry, particularly among the "new arrivals." Kolchak's policy *vis a vis* the peasantry fanned these sparks into a great fire. The most vital area for the Siberian rebellion was the Yenesei area, where "newcomers" predominated among the peasant population. Thus those remnants of the Red Army detachments, which had been thrown back into the *taiga* and hills by the Czechoslovaks and White Guards in the summer of 1918, found a particular war refuge. Fragments of these detachments were the initial cores around which the forces of local partisans began to coalesce. Uprisings of the Yenesei partisans against the Kolchak regime began at the end of December 1918. At first this movement embraced individual villages and districts and the detachments were small. But they consisted of a select element as regards their political consciousness and combat qualities. The majority of them were front-line soldiers from the World War, experienced hunters of the *taiga* and excellent skiers. The struggle against them was incredibly difficult for the government detachments, which chiefly consisted of young and poorly trained soldiers. Thus these detachments' initial actions were not very successful. The movement spread and took on correct organizational forms. The rebellious detachments already began

to number hundreds of partisans. For example, the Stepnoi Badzhei district alone disposed of 600 well-armed and trained partisans. The main organizational center of the Yenesei uprising was formed in the northern part of the Kansk district.

In January 1919 the entire Yenesei province was covered by a network of partisan detachments. The Trans-Siberian Railroad—the sole artery for supplying the White Siberian armies, was directly threatened. The Entente military command liberally threw Czechoslovak detachments along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, removing them from the front, in order to defend it. The Kolchak government also threw itself energetically into the struggle against the rebels, while the entire weight of its mass punitive policy fell chiefly upon the population. Kolchak himself demanded the “cruellest measures” from his executioners, not only as regards the rebels, but also against the “sympathetic” population. These instructions fully unleashed the members of the Siberian punitive expeditions of various types. Mass repressions against the local population in the form of burning down entire villages, taking hostages, requisitions, and looting finally embittered the peasantry. The movement did not only not fade, but spread even more. The peasant partisan detachments were organizationally unified in a “peasant” army. This army had its own military-revolutionary staff. The staff exercised overall military control and issued informational and intelligence reports. Before long the movement grew out of the Yenesei province and spread to the neighboring districts of the Irkutsk province (the Shitkino front). By the summer of 1919 an independent seat of the partisan movement had arisen in the Altai region.

The local communist organizations immediately took control of this movement. Despite the significant distance between them, the Siberian partisans operated under a common political slogan—the struggle for the Soviet regime. This was a mass movement and the RKP guided it and relied on it. The local Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik organizations, as a result of their preceding appeasement policy, had finally lost their authority and significance among the broad popular masses. They sought to maintain their influence in small circles of the urban intelligentsia and to establish contact with that part of the young Kolchak officer group which itself was not averse to organizing a military coup. The Siberian Committee of the RKP carried out an independent political line, rejecting any cooperation with these political bankrupts. It was concerned with inculcating the planned and revolutionary creativity of the masses; at the same time, it had as its task the complete division of the bankrupt political parties, in the form of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, from the broad popular masses. One may consider that as early as the summer of 1919 the peasant partisan movement had grown into such a force that Kolchak’s government was not in a condition to cope with it.

It turned to the Entente representatives for aid and the latter once again forced the Czechoslovaks to actively support Kolchak. The Czechoslovak detachments, together with the White Guards, once again pushed the Siberian rebel detachments, which had been threatening the Trans-Siberian Railroad into the *taiga*. This move



by the Czechoslovaks was accompanied by the same cruelties as had been the feats of the Siberian punitive detachments. This final success was purchased at the price of the final demoralization of the Czechoslovak Corps. As early as 27 July 1919 the Kolchak government was forced to declare to the Entente representatives the necessity of replacing the Czechoslovaks along the rail line with other foreign forces. Leaving them for another winter in Siberia was recognized as dangerous and unwelcome. The Kolchak government's request to replace the Czechoslovaks coincided with the Entente's wavering in its relations toward the Kolchak government and to Kolchak himself. Military failures at the front and disorder in the rear forced the Entente to once again train its sights on the Socialist Revolutionaries as a force capable, in their opinion, of bringing the Siberian reaction out of the dead-end into which Kolchak had led it. The Socialist Revolutionaries, in their turn, were feeling out the ground with the Entente about its attitude toward a "military coup," which would once again bring a "democratic" regime, which had been quite unceremoniously overthrown under Entente pressure at the end of 1918, to the fore.

These are the internal reasons which in the military sphere found their reflection in the progressive collapse of the combat capability and strength of the White Siberian armies. Following the Chelyabinsk operation, the number of infantry and cavalry among them fell to 50,000, although, as before, their ration strength was enormous—up to 300,000 men. All of Kolchak's appeals to the "haves" among the Siberian population to volunteer fell on deaf ears even there. The Kolchak government was able to gather only 200 volunteers. Thus the White Siberian armies were completing the circle of their development. Having developed from the class detachments of the bourgeoisie and peasant mobilizations, they were once again returning to their class and *kulak* cadres, as the main mass of the peasantry had abandoned them and was moving along a common front with the Red Army.

In such a situation, General Diterikhs, who had entered upon the command of all the armies of the White front, wished for nothing more than to quickly fall behind the Tobol and Ishim rivers, in order, while relying on these lines, to attempt to cover the political center of Siberia—the city of Omsk, which besides that, was a vital center of the Siberian counterrevolution, insofar as it was the regional center of the Siberian Cossacks, who were still supporting Kolchak. An unbroken zone of peasant uprisings lay behind the Omsk area. But the Kolchak government demanded an immediate offensive to preserve its shaky external and internal political situation.<sup>16</sup>

Thus the prerequisites for the last major operation of this period along the Tobol River were the enemy's political requirements, which in this case were at odds with his strategic interests. Quite the opposite, the political and strategic interests of the Soviet government coincided with the drive to eliminate the eastern counterrevolutionary front as quickly as possible, while the strength of the Soviet armies and their internal condition, following the successes achieved, allowed us to assign them broad offensive tasks and to adopt bold decisions.



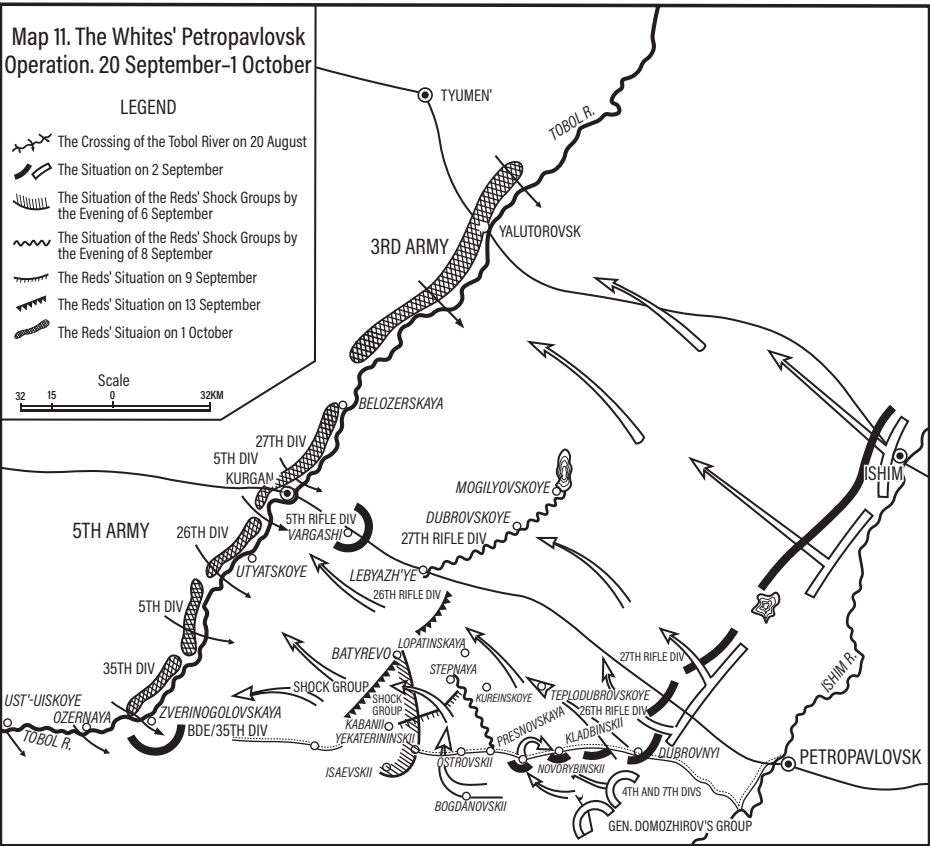
On 15 August 1919 the enemy's armies were once again in close combat contact along the line of the Tobol River. At the same time, the eastern front's Soviet armies were deeply echeloned forward in regard to the Turkestan Front's forces, which at this time were engaged in fighting the Orenburg and Ural'sk Cossacks, approximately along the front Orsk—Lbishchensk. Thus the Eastern Front's flanking 5th Army had to secure its own right flank by detaching a special screen along the Kustanai axis. The 35th Rifle Division was being transferred here from the army's left flank. That sector of the Tobol River which crossed the Trans-Siberian Railroad (Chelyabinsk—Omsk) was acquiring particular significance for the enemy; this is why it was most heavily manned by both sides' forces. On the Soviet side, the 5th Army, numbering 24,000 infantry and cavalry and 84 guns, which deployed on 17 August along the 100-kilometer front Chiskaya—Berezovskaya—Kurgan, was operating here, having along its right flank the road from Troitsk to Petropavlovsk, and on the left the Trans-Siberian Railroad; the enemy had concentrated against it his Third Army, numbering 29,000 infantry and cavalry and 60 guns.

The enemy's forces, both in regard to their internal condition and their numbers, prevented him from counting on the offensive's prolonged success. In the enemy command's plan the role of the shock fist was to be entrusted to a cavalry corps of Siberian Cossacks, numbering up to 7,000 cavalry, which had been raised in a general mobilization. This corps was supposed to operate against the 5th Army's flank, while at the same time the enemy's Petropavlovsk group (Third Army) was to attack it frontally.

However the gathering of the cavalry corps was taking place very slowly, and in the meantime the Red 5th Army had made a fighting crossing over the Tobol and on 20 August was already developing an offensive on Petropavlovsk.<sup>17</sup> The 5th Rifle Division, immediately following the forcing of the Tobol, was supposed, according to the Eastern Front command's directives, to have been pulled back into the reserve and dispatched to the Southern Front. Its place was to be filled by stretching out the two remaining divisions (26th and 27th) to the left. The indicated regrouping of the 5th Army would have weakened its existing forces by an entire third and would have been a favorable prerequisite for the enemy's offensive counter maneuver.<sup>18</sup>

Only the enemy's lack of readiness and moral dissolution delayed the start of this counter maneuver. Its realization began on 1 September around Petropavlovsk itself.

The capture of the enemy's operational orders on 2 September uncovered all of the Whites' plans for the Reds. These consisted of launching an attack along the 5th Army's right flank from the south with a group consisting of two infantry divisions (4th and 7th) and General Domozhirov's<sup>19</sup> cavalry group, consisting of 2,000 cavalry, with the latter arriving in the Reds' rear. Thus the Whites' first attack fell upon the badly extended 26th Rifle Division. It lost a part of the territory it had seized in a series of stubborn battles. The Red command reacted quickly to the rapidly changing situation.



The 5th Army commander's plan consisted of creating a shock group from the 5th Rifle Division, which had once more been committed into the fighting by the army commander, in the area of the villages of Bogdanovskii and Ostrovskii, which was confirmed by the Eastern Front commander, and two of the 35th Division's brigades, with one being shifted by railroad and the other along the road from the Troitsk—Kustania area. The concentration was to be completed on 6 September.

The 26th Rifle Division was to concentrate with the main mass of its forces along the Petropavlovsk road and stubbornly defend; the 27th Rifle Division, having also shifted the center of its group of forces to the right flank, was supposed to energetically counterattack the enemy. Thus the army commander intended to carry out a general regrouping of the army toward its right flank, while at the same time creating a shock group out of the arriving reinforcements.

The operation's realization required time and a certain operational freedom, particularly given the presence of the enemy's mobile cavalry. At the same time, the enemy was seeking to develop the success achieved, and on 5 September fighting unfolded along a broad front, as well as along the 27th Division's sector. The 26th Rifle Division, which was deployed along a broad sector, was in a particularly difficult situation. Some of its units had been encircled and forced to attempt to break out in fighting. The 27th Rifle Division had also been pushed back along its entire sector. The fighting withdrawal of both divisions continued throughout 6 September. By the close of this day units of the shock group (5th Rifle Division, the 35th Rifle Division's 2nd Brigade) had concentrated in the Yekaterininskii—Botareva—Isaevskii area. This group (the 35th Rifle Division's 2nd Brigade was subordinated to the 5th Rifle Division) was ordered to attack the Whites in the flank and rear in the direction of the village of Kureinskoye and Teplodubrovskoye, while occupying the line Novorybinskii—Kladbishchenskii with a strong flank detachment. The 26th Rifle Division was supposed to attack in the direction of Novorybinskii and the 27th Rifle Division in the direction of Teplodubrovskoye.

By means of this bold flanking maneuver the 5th Army command sought to tear the offensive initiative from the enemy's hands. The shock group's offensive, which began on 7 September, developed successfully throughout 7–8 September; by the evening of 8 September the group had reached the front Presnovskaya—Stepnaya. The 26th Rifle Division did not take part in this move, while it was regrouping, but the 27th Division was not only unable to carry out its attack, but was itself thrown back to the front Lebyazh'ye—Dubrovskoye—Mogilyovskoye. Thus the 5th Army command's plan had been thwarted by half, but quite typical was the stubbornness with which the army command sought to develop the pressure of its shock group to save the 27th Rifle Division by continuing it in the same direction. But as early as 9 September, evidently with the entry into the fighting of the remaining forces of the Cossack Cavalry Corps, the situation along the shock group's front changed for the worse. The White cavalry had deeply outflanked its right flank and, while

encircling and destroying individual regiments, forced this flank to fall back toward the village of Kabanii: the 26th and 27th Rifle Divisions had a partial success on this day, which, however, did not interfere with the Whites developing their success during the following days, throwing back the shock group and the 26th Rifle Division. By the evening of 13 September these units were located as follows: the shock group in the Botareva—Presnegor'kovskaya area and the 26th Rifle Division in the area to the west of Lopatinskoye. Only the 27th Rifle Division had managed to maintain its previous position.

The enemy, having thwarted the beginning of the successfully developing offensive by the 5th Army's right flank, and taking full advantage of its superiority in mobility accorded to it by the presence of powerful cavalry, left the Reds' right flank in peace and, upon regrouping toward its right flank, fell once again upon the 5th Army's left flank and pushed it back to the west. The following days were characterized by the 5th Army command's stubborn attempts to seize the initiative, employing for this purpose the newly arrived reinforcements (a brigade from the 3rd Army's 21st Rifle Division). The fighting continued the whole time with mixed success and with frequent shifts in the front line. But all in all, the 5th Army, whose forces had been undermined by the preceding fighting, was gradually weakening before the enemy and falling back to the line of the Tobol River. The 5th Army commander, not wishing to have this water barrier in his immediate rear, pulled his army back behind the Tobol River on 1 October and deployed it along the front Ozernaya—Kurgan. The White Third Army's success was not purchased cheaply. It had become so exhausted by the fighting, which continued without letup the entire month that it was unable to force the Tobol River and halted before it. A temporary pause ensued in both sides' combat operations.

The 5th Army was once again reinforced through local mobilizations behind the Tobol River.<sup>20</sup> By the middle of October its forces had once again grown to 37,000 infantry and cavalry and 135 guns, while the enemy could only oppose to this force 31,000 men and 145 guns. Thus on 14 October the 5th Army once again managed to successfully cross the Tobol River, launching an attack along its right flank to envelop the Whites' communications from the south. The enemy vainly sought to halt the flanking advance by the 5th Army's right flank (35th and 5th Rifle Divisions), seeking to regroup along its left flank and to form up its front facing south. This regrouping was late and the enemy was forced to hurriedly fall back behind the Ishim River. On 29 October the town of Petropavlovsk was finally captured by the Reds. At the same time the Red 3rd Army attacked Omsk from the Ishim area along the Trans-Siberian Railroad. On 14 October Omsk, along with its enormous supplies of various goods, was occupied by the Red 5th Army, which had covered 600 kilometers in 30 days.

The enemy, even before the start of the development of a successful pursuit along the main rail line, had been deprived of his base in southern Siberia. A large part

of Dutov's Southern Army had been pressed to the steppes and forced to capitulate in September by the successful actions of the Red Turkestan Front's forces under comrade Frunze's skillful command. The army's few remnants either scattered or fell back with *ataman* Dutov to the Kokchetav—Akmolinsk area. About 30,000 cavalry and infantry had gathered there, but these forces were so lacking in combat capability that the Eastern Front command, having detached a special Kokchetav group to pursue them, pulled the 3rd Army into the rear for work and entrusted the further pursuit of Kolchak's main forces to the 5th Army alone.

Kolchak's retreating armies broke up into several groups, enveloped by a ring of local partisan detachments. A southern group was rushing along the Barnaul—Kuznetsk—Minusinsk road, while a central group, somewhat more resilient, was moving along the Trans-Siberian Railroad and, finally, a northern group was falling back along the river systems north of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The 5th Army's units, having gone over to a parallel pursuit and getting into the enemy's path of retreat, captured major stores, putting the enemy's retreating columns into complete disarray. On 22 December 1919 the city of Tomsk was occupied; even before this, the remnants of Dutov's forces, which were being energetically pursued by the 5th Army's Kokchetav group turned from Semipalatinsk, as a result of an internal explosion there, and moved on Sergiopol'. Bakich's IV Corps, which of all these remnants had retained some combat capability, held out south of Lake Balkhash until the end of February 1920, after which it was defeated and thrown back into China.

Following the fall of Omsk and Tomsk the dissolution of the White Siberian armies went into high gear. All of Kolchak's allies turned away from him. The Entente's military and diplomatic missions hurriedly abandoned the dying Siberian reaction and sought to get to Vladivostok as soon as possible. The Czechoslovaks, along with the property they had stolen, were hurriedly moving there as well.

About 30,000 Czechoslovak troops were still located in their trains west of Irkutsk in December 1919. Among them was the "supreme ruler"—Kolchak, lost in his train, while part of his government had already managed to reach Irkutsk. The Czechoslovaks prevented Kolchak's forces from using the railroad and to even approach it. Thus they had to move by foot over the Siberian roads. Frosts and mass epidemics completed the destruction of the White Siberian armies at the same time the Red Army continued to launch crushing attacks on them.

For example, the 5th Army's central column preempted the southern group of the remnants of Kolchak's armies around Krasnoyarsk and occupied the city of Krasnoyarsk on 6 January 1920, which brought about the surrender of the greater part of these armies, numbering up to 20,000 men. Only their small remnants continued their journey to the Trans-Baikal, under the command of General Kappel'. In all, the Siberian counterrevolutionary armies lost up to 100,000 men captured in fighting or surrendered during the pursuit. The military rout of Kolchak's armies coincided with their political collapse.

One could say that the official retreat of the Czechoslovaks from the Siberian reaction and the government that headed it preceded this collapse. In November the Czechoslovaks published their appeal to the Entente, in which they laid the entire blame for the murders, robberies and violence perpetrated by them on the shoulders of Kolchak and his ministers. They sought by this statement, which was supposed to become known to the Siberian population, to open an easy path of retreat for themselves through Siberia. The Czechoslovaks' statement would deprive the Kolchak regime of its last support. A local "democratic" regime, which was a step toward a true Soviet regime, had already begun to arise in many places in Siberia. This is what happened, for example, in Yenesei province. The revolutionary uprising in Irkutsk was particularly fatal for the Kolchak regime and for Kolchak himself. There, under the formal leadership of Social Revolutionary and Menshevik organizations, which relied on part of the local garrison and the city administration, as well as on the elemental desire of the masses to revolt, an armed struggle broke out between the garrison's units still on Kolchak's side and the rebels. The local communists, without coming into contact with the appeasers, supported the uprising, insofar as it was directed at crushing the Siberian reaction.

The leadership of the Czechoslovak Corps and the French general Janin, the "commander-in-chief" of all Allied troops in Siberia, who was also hiding among the Czechoslovaks' trains, had to, against their will; look favorably on the uprising that had just begun. The fact of the matter is that the rearguards of the Allied forces, which were hurriedly leaving Siberia, had already begun to directly feel the Reds' mighty blows as soon as the last obstacle separating them from the Reds, in the form of the completely demoralized White Siberian units, collapsed. The White Poles were the first to feel a crushing blow around Taiga station. The 27th Division almost completely destroyed a 4,000-strong Polish detachment which was attempting to get into battle against it, because it had mistaken it for a local partisan detachment. The impression made by this defeat on the enemy was so great that 8,000 Polish legionnaires unquestioningly laid down their arms.

Due to this circumstance, the Czechoslovaks and the Entente command agreed to a compromise, which was more acceptable to them, with the local appeasement regime in Irkutsk, which had organized itself into the so-called "Political Center." Their next step was the desire to strengthen the "Political Center's" position among the masses. They indirectly facilitated the victory of the "Political Center's" supporters in Irkutsk, preventing the Whites from using the forbidden part of the railroad and maintaining a friendly neutrality toward the rebels. The latter firmly established themselves in Irkutsk on 5 January 1920.

Part of the Kolchak government ran off, while part was arrested. Only the head of the Siberian reaction, Kolchak, remained with his prime minister, Pepelyayev.<sup>21</sup> They were approaching Irkutsk in their train among the Czechoslovak trains that were clogging the railroad. The "Political Center," from the very start of its activity,

had attempted to justify the promissory note of confidence given to it by the Czechoslovaks and the Entente. It sought to get the 5th Army to halt its offensive through its representatives and sketched out the formation of its own “democratic” regime in Eastern Siberia. On 15 January 1920 the Czechoslovaks, with Janin’s approval, turned over Kolchak and Pepelyayev to the “Political Center” in order to consolidate mutual relations.<sup>22</sup> They were confined to the local prison and the “Political Center” began an investigation into their case. The “Political Center’s” appeasement position in no way satisfied the revolutionary masses. It goes without saying that all of its proposals made to the Red 5th Army were also rejected.

Meanwhile, the situation in the suburbs of Irkutsk itself was becoming dangerous for the revolution. General Kappel’s group, which was the most viable of the remnants of Kolchak’s armies, was approaching the city along the old Moscow road. Its core consisted of the most fierce and stubborn enemies of the Soviet regime. Despite the deprivations and epidemics that had devastated its ranks, it still numbered 4,000–5,000 troops. The “Political Center,” under pressure from this threat and the pressure of the revolutionary masses, was forced to dissolve itself on 21 January 1920 and turned over all power to a “military-revolutionary committee,” which this time included four communists and one Left Socialist Revolutionary. The military-revolutionary committee manifested great activity in organizing a defense against Kappel’s forces and in establishing direct communications with the Red 5th Army. The military-revolutionary committee was able to get the Czechoslovak forces to leave Irkutsk and to leave, although still under their own guard, the Russian gold supply that had been seized by them at one time in Kazan’.

In the meantime, the investigating commission had concluded its work. It confirmed the execution by firing squad of 18 people from among Kolchak’s associates, including Kolchak and Pepelyayev. The military-revolutionary committee considered it possible, in the event of a direct threat to Irkutsk, to execute only Kolchak and Pepelyayev. This threat soon arose. On 6 February 1920 Kappel’s group, which was now commanded by General Voitsekhovskii, following Kappel’s death, sought to launch an attack on Irkutsk. The attack was beaten off, but the uncertainty surrounding further events forced the revolutionary-military committee on the night of 6–7 February 1920, after coordinating this matter beforehand by telegraph with the 5th Army’s revolutionary-military council, to carry out the sentence regarding Kolchak and Pepelyayev. Kappel’s former group, which had been repulsed from Irkutsk, headed for the Trans-Baikal by bypassing the city from the north. The days of Irkutsk’s difficult trials had passed. On 7 March 1920 the Red 5th Army’s troops entered Irkutsk.

In March 1920, in accordance with negotiations with the Czechoslovaks and representatives from the Entente powers, a buffer government arose—the Far Eastern Republic,<sup>23</sup> which continued the struggle against the remnants of the



counterrevolutionary armed forces within the confines of Eastern Siberia. This struggle is not covered in our work.

The capitulation of a significant part of Dutov's Southern Army and the collapse of armed resistance by the Orenburg Cossacks was fatally reflected on the enemy's state of affairs in the Ural region and made the Turkestan Front's task easier. Its forces pursued the enemy in two groups: the 4th Army moved along the Lbishchensk—Gur'yev road; the 1st Army moved through Turkestan and then along the Askabad<sup>24</sup>—Poltoratsk—Krasnovodsk railroad; the 4th Army occupied Gur'yev on 5 January 1920 and the greater part of the Ural Cossack army surrendered there. Its pitiful remnants, following an exhausting campaign around the Caspian Sea, surrendered to the Soviet fleet in Fort Aleksandrovs. Three months later, on 6 February 1920, the 1st Army's successful operations to eliminate the anti-Soviet detachments in the Trans-Caspian region concluded with the occupation of Krasnovodsk.



## The Spring and Summer Campaign of 1919 on the Southern Front

*The Distribution of Both Sides' Forces along the Southern Front at the Beginning of February 1919. Measures by the Red Southern Front Command to Improve the Initial Deployment of its Armies. The Beginning of the Struggle for the Donets Basin. The Spring Period of the 1919 Campaign in the Donets Basin. The Red 10th Army's Offensive Tasks and Their Realization. The Suppression of the Vyoshenskaya Uprising. The General Offensive by the "Armed Forces of South Russia" and the Beginning of the Withdrawal by the Southern Front's Red Armies. Conclusions. The Beginning of the Summer Campaign of 1919 on the Southern Front. The Development of the White Armies' Offensive Along the Flank Operational Axes. The Withdrawal by the Southern Front's Red Armies to the Borders of the RSFSR. Both Sides' Situation on the Southern Front in the Middle of July 1919. The Red Command's Plan for an Offensive by the Southern Front's Armies. The General Distribution of the Red Forces Before the Start of Decisive Operations on the Southern Front. The Sides' Operations in Ukraine in the Early Autumn of 1919. The Withdrawal of the 12th Army's Southern Group. The Beginning of Mamontov's Raid and its Goals. The Assumption of the Offensive on the Southern Front. The Immediate Results of this Offensive. The Continuation of Mamontov's Raid*

We left the armies of both enemies along the southern front at the moment of the denouement of the struggle for the Donets Basin. We will remind the reader that in its desire to launch a decisive attack against the Don Army north of the Don River, the Red command, by means of its preliminary orders, shifted the center of gravity of the Red Southern Front's group of forces to the Tsaritsyn and Voronezh axes.

By 9 February 1919 the overall disposition of both sides' forces on the southern front was as follows. As a result of the indecisive battles that began in the Donbas from 27 January between Kozhevnikov's group and the Volunteer Army's division under the command of General Mai-Mayevskii, Kozhevnikov's group occupied the front: excluding Popasnaya—Lugansk, while further on its front ran in the general direction of the Voronezh—Rostov-on-Don railroad, resting against it halfway between Kantemirovskaya station and Millerovo station. Here the 8th Army's right

flank abutted the left flank of Kozhevnikov's group. The army's front ran on further through Kashary (Verkhnyaya Ol'khovka) as far as the area excluding *stanitsa* Ust-Medveditskaya. The 9th Army occupied the front Ust'-Medveditskaya—Kremenskaya (inclusively); the 10th Army, which was developing, as the result of prior instructions, an offensive with part of its forces along the Tsaritsyn—Povorino railroad toward the 9th Army, occupied the Ilovlya—Kotluban'—Tsaritsyn area. The 13th Rifle Division (8th Army) had been pulled into the front reserve to the area of Talovaya station and the 14th Rifle Division (9th Army) had been shifted to Krasnyi Yar.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, the 2nd Partisan Division, which had been transferred from Ukraine and which was designated for lengthening the right flank of Kozhevnikov's group, was stationed in the Kupyansk—Svatovo area. The 3rd Brigade of the Ukrainian Front's 1st Trans-Dnepr Division was headed here from the Yekaterinoslav area. This brigade was under Makhno's command and was a purely partisan unit. It was only operationally subordinated to the Southern Front and operated according to its orders.

Against these Red forces the Whites were stationed as follows: In the Donets Basin, Mai-Mayevskii's division was in close combat contact with Kozhevnikov's group along the front Popasnaya—excluding Lugansk—Krasnovka. Further on the Whites' front was formed by rearguards of the dissolving Don Army falling back behind the Chir River. It is not possible to establish exactly these rearguards' line in light of the line's constant rolling back to the south. (See Map 7 of the plate section)

The hitch in the Donbas, the 8th Army's independent arrival along the Millerovo axis, (instead of moving into the depth of the Don region), without taking into account boundary lines, which was brought about by an incorrect evaluation of the strategic situation, finally revealed to the Red command the true situation and forced comrade Gittis,<sup>2</sup> the commander of the Southern Front,<sup>3</sup> to forgo the unrealistic plan to encircle the enemy in the Don steppes and evaluate too late, unfortunately, the significance of the Rostov axis and the Donets Basin as a vital political and economic area for the proletarian revolution.

Beginning on 10 February and through 6 March the commander-in-chief's and Southern Front commander's efforts were directed at improving the deployment of the Southern Front's forces by shifting the center of gravity of their employment to the Donbas area, toward efforts to seize the latter with the forces already there, with the assistance of units from the Ukrainian Front. But the theater's railroad net's development was primarily north to south. The Southern Front's regrouping to its right flank would require lines running along the front (lateral), and of these there was only one, which was now in the deep rear, namely, the Tsaritsyn—Povorino—Liski—Kupyansk line. Besides this, the railroads had been heavily damaged by the enemy.<sup>4</sup> Therefore any regrouping had to be carried out on foot and, as long as it continued, to feed the closest units into the struggle for the Donbas in packets.

This is why the struggle for the Donets Basin became so extremely drawn out, with both sides' local successes alternating with their local failures. The enemy was

in approximately the same conditions; he was slowly shifting his Kuban'—Volunteer Army from the North Caucasus to the Donbas and Don region.

The first orders by Gittis had as their object the gradual reorientation of the movement of the Southern Front's armies from the southeastern axis to a southern one, and through a partial regrouping to reinforce Kozhevnikov's group and to coordinate its actions with those of Makhno's brigade. Having thus achieved a partial strengthening of his right flank (Kozhevnikov's group), Gittis made his first task in the Donbas the seizure of its rail junction stations. This was the sense of Gittis' directive of 9 February, with a brigade from the 13th Rifle Division to be subordinated to Kozhevnikov. In accordance with the same directive, the axis of the 8th Army's movement was to be directed toward Likhaya station (deviating to the southwest), which was sanction for the 8th Army commander's independent decision, which was carried out by him without regard for boundary lines; the 9th Army was to turn due south along both banks of the Don along the front Nizhne-Chirskaya—Kalach; the 10th Army received orders to attack toward the Velikoknyazheskaya area, having as the axis of its offensive the Tsaritsyn—Velikoknyazheskaya railroad.

Commander-in-chief Vatsetis found such a disposition of forces to be cordon-like and not expressive of a shock attack along the main operational axes. Such axes, in Vatsetis' opinion, were Kantemirovka—Rostov, Tsaritsyn—Likaya and Tsaritsyn—Velikoknyazheskaya. Shock fists along these axes could be created by means of the overall reduction of the Southern Front's line by reassigning sectors for the armies' offensive.<sup>5</sup>

Gittis, under the influence of these instructions, lengthened the 9th Army's front by 200 kilometers in a 13 February directive. By this lengthening of his center, he would strengthen his group of forces along the flanks. The Voronezh—Rostov-on-Don railroad would pass from Kozhevnikov's group to the 8th Army. This would reduce the sector of Kozhevnikov's group by 50 kilometers. The 8th Army, instead of 100 kilometers, would now have an offensive sector of only 50–60 kilometers (Likhaya—the intersection by the Zverevo—Tsaritsyn railroad—Donets River); all of the 10th Army's sector along the right bank of the Don River would go to the 9th Army. The 8th Army and Kozhevnikov's group were supposed to jointly defeat the enemy in the Millerovo area. The 9th Army was supposed to form a shock group along its right flank in the area of Morozovskaya station in order to support the 8th Army. The fulfillment of these tasks on the ground was supposed to have been expressed in the arrival of Kozhevnikov's group by 20 February at the front Pervozvanovka—Grachinskii (a day's march to the southeast of Lugansk), and the 8th Army at the front Kochetkov—Dubovyi. But the enemy in the Donbas continued to grow stronger through the unceasing arrival of trains from the North Caucasus.<sup>6</sup> He also set himself the task of consolidating his position in the Donbas. Thus the realization of the above-related orders by Gittis led to the start of the first meeting battles of the Kuban'-Volunteer Army with the Red armies of the Southern

Front. In this collision, each side was to launch an attack along opposing flanks. Thus the Reds enjoyed considerable success in the Millerovo area. Having begun their offensive on 13 February, by 17 February they had captured the area of the Krasnovka, Millerovo and Ol'khovaya stations.

At the same time, the Whites pressed hard against the right flank of Kozhevnikov's group along the front Dekanskaya—Popasnaya, outflanking it from the west. During this maneuver, they themselves came under attack by Onishchenko's partisan division, which had been moved by the Ukrainian Front in the direction of Konstantinovka station. The Whites, having lost Konstantinovka station, began to fall back, while the right flank of Kozhevnikov's group, which had been lengthened by Onishchenko's division, reached the front Pervozvanovka—Debal'tsevo on 23 February. The sides' subsequent successes were balanced out along the front from Pervozvanovka to Millerovo. The front line, as the result of a series of local collisions, varied insignificantly to one side or another. The Reds were not in a state to develop a subsequent offensive with their available forces. The Whites were only able to delay their further advance through their counterattacks, but were unable to significantly move the Red front.

While the new stage of the 1919 campaign began to gradually take shape, beginning with the Southern Front's right flank, combat collisions were already embracing the 8th Army's front, while the Southern Front's left flank was only overcoming space and was battling the elements and not the enemy's forces. By 28 February the 9th Army was only reaching the line of the Chir River. One should not be surprised at the slowness of its movement. Typhus epidemics were laying waste to the army's ranks. The first signs of the spring thaw had appeared. Soon the complete lack of roads would be a fact, while at the same time the rear services and supply wagons were already beginning to fall behind the army. Matters were no better in the 10th Army. By 23 February it had reached the line of the Aksai River, with the main mass of its forces in the area of *stanitsa* Gniloaksaiskaya.

The campaign's subsequent course is characterized by the growing efforts of the Southern Front command to firmly secure the Donets Basin. In this regard, the Southern Front command was under constant pressure from the high command. The high command demanded the further increase in Red forces in the Donets Basin. Thus in the beginning of March (4–8 March), Gittis, having reinforced Kozhevnikov's group with the entire 13th Rifle Division, which was concentrated along the group's left flank (from the Belovodsk area), decided to launch an attack along the left flank of Kozhevnikov's group and with the main mass of the 8th Army's forces against the enemy's units located along the left bank of the Donets River, in the angle formed by the river and the Voronezh—Rostov-on-Don railroad. The attack met with success. The Volunteer Army's forward elements, which were occupying the Kalitvenskaya—Glubokaya—Krasnovka area, were thrown back to the right bank of the Donets River. They were unable to develop the success.

The breaking up of the ice on the Donets River and then the overflowing of its banks created a solid water obstacle between both enemies. By the beginning of the breaking up of the ice along the Donets the 9th Army had begun to arrive at its banks. The army's left-flank units reached the lower Donets. The 16th Rifle Division, which was moving in the center, occupied Konstantinovskaya and Ust'-Bystryanskaya *stanitsas*, crossed over to the western bank before the ice began to break up and intended to move on Novocherkassk. But this movement was not supported by its neighbors. The 14th Division (left-flank) could in no way catch up to its army and was still in the Tsymlya area; moreover, the 16th Division was experiencing a great shortage of rifle rounds. All of these reasons forced the 16th Division to fall back to the left bank of the Donets River. Further along, the 10th Army was echeloned behind. By 10 March its vanguards, having occupied Kotel'nikov station, were approaching the line of the Sal River.

Thus the operation to capture the Donbas was not completed before the start of the spring thaw and the breaking up of the ice along the rivers, which was the result of mistakes made by the front in deploying its main forces. This circumstance played into the hands of the enemy, who, covering itself by the line of the overflowing Donets, could concentrate his attention on putting the Don Army in order. The center of gravity of its operational efforts was being shifted to the Donets Basin, while only a weak screen was to be left behind for covering the Donets River. The enemy's subsequent actions (all the way to May), both along the banks of the Donets and in the Donbas, had the character of an active defense. The enemy, taking advantage of his superiority in cavalry, eliminated without any great difficulty the disjointed and uncoordinated attempts by the Reds in space and time to go over to the offensive, while rapidly appearing along the flanks of those Red shock groups that were thrusting forward. Besides this, the Red forces' cordon disposition gave the enemy the opportunity to resort to a system of short attacks which gradually undermined the Red forces' combat capability. The overflowing of the Donets and Don rivers also sharply worsened the Reds' strategic situation. Their army's already poor operational communications were disrupted to a significant degree.<sup>7</sup> The situation of Kozhevnikov's group, which was isolated on the right bank of the Donets, was a cause for concern. It was already holding on with difficulty along the 200-kilometer bulge-shaped front Yuzovka—Dekonskaya—Popasnaya—Pervozvanovka—Donets River.

In such a situation, Gittis' subsequent efforts boiled down to the desire to reinforce the situation of Kozhevnikov's group, which at that time was renamed the 13th Army. For this, Gittis decided to transfer the entire 8th Army to the right bank of the Donets, concentrating it in the Vesolozhorsk—Lugansk area.

From here this army was to attack the enemy along the right bank of the Donets. The Ukrainian Front was to once again reinforce the 13th Army with part of its forces until the regrouping was carried out. The 9th Division was to be dispatched



to the 13th Army. The 8th Army's shift to the right bank of the Donets required the further stretching of the 9th Army's line to the right. These decisions by Gittis, which were adopted by him on 11 March, were met by the high command without sympathy. It feared the great loss of time. Vatsetis preferred a frontal offensive by the Southern Front's center over the overflowing Donets. He demanded the final defeat of the Whites no later than 25 March. Gittis considered it impossible to force the Donets during its flood stage. He left his initial plan in force, but in order to satisfy the commander-in-chief's wishes, if only in part, on 17 March Gittis demanded particularly energetic operations from the 13th Army. The latter, which at the time was carrying out the difficult transition from a partisan to a regular organization,<sup>8</sup> and exhausted by the preceding and uninterrupted fighting, which had told on its internal condition, strained its very last efforts, while carrying out a series of attacks throughout the entire remaining part of March. The struggle here came down to a series of local fights. Individual locales switched hands. This struggle finally undermined the army's strength. Symptoms of dissolution appeared in it. The proximity of Makhno's partisans had a demoralizing effect on its young units.

At the same time, the regrouping of the 8th Army stretched out. Gittis counted on completing it in eight days, but it required an entire 18 days. At the same time, the army's 12th Rifle Division was running late with its relief at *stanitsa* Kamenskaya and was supposed to arrive later. But as early as 28 March a large part of the 8th Army was on the right bank of the Donets. The Reds were now in a more favorable situation. They disposed of the forces of the 8th and 13th Armies, numbering 26,000 infantry and 3,300 cavalry; the 12th Rifle Division (10,000 infantry and 200 cavalry) was supposed to join these forces before long. Makhno's partisans comprised a force of 10,000 infantry and cavalry. Thus the Reds could deploy overall 40,000–50,000 infantry and cavalry in the Donbas.

The Whites were stationed in two groups against these Red forces: General Mai-Mayevskii's units (6,000 infantry and 14,000 cavalry) were located in the southern part of the Donets Basin, while General Pokrovskii's group (12,000 infantry and 7,500 cavalry) were operating southeast of Lugansk, for a total of 39,500 infantry and cavalry.<sup>9</sup> Further along the line of the Donets River, 14,000 White infantry and cavalry were deployed opposite the Red 9th Army (22,500 infantry and cavalry).

Taking advantage of his slight numerical superiority, Gittis decided to launch his main attack against Mai-Mayevskii's group. A small screen of 7,500 infantry and 600 cavalry (1st Moscow Worker's Division, the 41st Rifle Division and a brigade from the 42nd Rifle Division) would remain against Pokrovskii. The 13th Army was supposed to attack Mai-Mayevskii from the front, while the remaining part of the 13th Army (8,000 infantry and 1,900 cavalry) and Makhno's partisans were supposed to attack him in the flank and rear from the area of Rutchenkov station. The operation's success was based on a calculation of the Red screen's firmness against Pokrovskii's group and the 12th Rifle Division's timely arrival to Lugansk.<sup>10</sup> But the



enemy thwarted this plan. Pokrovskii's group itself attacked the Red screen along the Lugansk axis. On 27–28 March the Red screen's forward units were thrown out of Pervozvanovka and Kartushino *stanitsas*. On 29 March the enemy smashed the 41st Rifle Division with superior forces and threw it back on Lugansk. The 8th Army began to consecutively turn its units to aid the screen. The enemy defeated them in detail and on 2 April threw the 8th Army back on Lugansk. Here it relied on the 12th Rifle Division's trains that had begun to arrive. The 13th Army and Makhno's partisans were left to their own devices. They achieved a few local successes, but lost them after Mai-Mayevskii, having rid himself of the threat of the 8th Army, turned on them with his cavalry.

The failure of this offensive was reflected very heavily on the situation of the Red Southern Front, because it coincided in time with the beginning of a Cossack uprising in the rear, in the area of Vyoshenskaya and Kazanskaya *stanitsas*. This uprising was raised by that group of Cossacks that had expressed obedience to the Soviet regime at the end of 1918 and which had been sent home with their weapons in entire regiments, which, of course, was a big mistake. Now the Cossacks had risen up under Socialist Revolutionary slogans. The uprising spread like an oil slick in all directions from these *stanitsas*. It sharply limited the Southern Front's operational opportunities. We had to successively detach up to 14,000 infantry and cavalry from the 8th and 9th Armies to fight against the uprising.

Nevertheless, Gittis stubbornly sought to carry out his assigned mission. Now he decided to bring in the 9th Army as the focus of the struggle for the Donets Basin. By lengthening the 14th Rifle Division's front from the mouth of the Donets River as far as *stanitsa* Kamenskaya, two of the army's divisions (16th and 23rd Rifle) were supposed to concentrate in the area of Gundorovskaya and Novo-Bozhedarovka *stanitsas*. The 8th Army's 12th Rifle Division was moving up to the Mityakinskaya area. These three divisions were to jointly attack the Volunteer Army's right flank, while the 8th Army attacked it frontally.

This time the plan was thwarted by the 9th Army commander, Vsevolodov,<sup>11</sup> who had long planned to betray us. Thus he did not concentrate the 23rd Rifle Division in the assigned area, but in the area of *stanitsa* Ust'-Belokalitvenskaya, 100 kilometers from the 8th Army. On 12 April the 23rd Division crossed the Donets and captured Repnaya station, but was surrounded by the enemy on three sides and thrown back to the left bank of the Donets with heavy losses. Almost simultaneously the 16th Rifle Division set about forcing the Donets, with the task of capturing *stanitsa* Kamenskaya. It carried out this assignment on 10 April, occupying a bridgehead along the right bank of the Donets and, having entrenched, successfully held it throughout the following 4–5 weeks. A certain tactical success was achieved through the actions of the 16th Rifle Division. Given the presence of good will, the 9th Army command would have been able to develop subsequent

active operations from the Kamenskaya bridgehead. But again the command did not do this and the 9th Army's operations finally died out by 19 April.

Due to these reasons, the 8th Army's offensive, which was undertaken on 13 April, also led to insignificant results. Only by 26 April did it reach a line ten kilometers south of Pervozvanovka station and 35 kilometers southeast of Lugansk. The 8th Army was attacked along this front by the enemy's shock group consisting of Shkuro's cavalry corps. The latter shook the 8th Army's front with a series of consecutive attacks and forced it to fall back. During this retreat the Whites managed on 5 May 1919 to break into Lugansk. Gittis attempted to help the 8th Army through an attack by the 9th Army's flank toward Zverevo and Likhaya, developing it from the Kamenskaya bridgehead. By 30 April the enemy had beaten off this attack and on 13 May was attempting to cross over to the left bank of the Donets between Lugansk and Kamenskaya in the area of Grachevskii farm, but in its turn was taken in the flank and rear by the 16th Rifle Division, which was striving to cut the enemy off from the crossings over the Donets River.<sup>12</sup>

The maneuver, undertaken on the initiative of the 16th Rifle Division, concluded with a success. By 14 May the enemy, fearing for his communications, had quickly fallen back to the right bank of the Donets River. Thus the first half of May was characterized by a series of attempts by the enemy to seize the initiative and to shift from an active defense to a broad offensive. The correlation of forces that had developed by this time fully justified such a decision. Throughout the preceding period of the campaign, the Red Southern Front was gradually losing its numerical superiority over the enemy. For example, if on 28 March the correlation of forces of both enemies on the southern front, along the most important sector of the fighting along the 13th, 8th and 9th Armies' sectors, was expressed in the Reds' nearly half again superiority; that is, the Reds disposed of 56,000 infantry and cavalry against 41,000 White infantry and cavalry, then as early as 20 April this correlation of forces had changed in the opposite direction, namely that the Whites disposed of 77,300 infantry and cavalry against the 54,000 infantry and cavalry of the entire Red Southern Front, and by the beginning of May, through a series of mobilizations and strengthened formations they had raised these forces to 100,000 infantry and cavalry.<sup>13</sup> The Red command, using the forces and opportunities at hand, undertook all measures to strengthen the Southern Front. But the exhaustion of major strategic reserves within the country was reflected in the character of reinforcements, which arrived in small packets.<sup>14</sup>

However, a significant part of these reinforcements was swallowed up by the struggle against the Vyoshenskaya uprising. There were other reasons that bled away these reinforcements in plugging holes instead of forming a mighty fist out of them. These reasons consisted of the major devastation of the front's ranks by typhus epidemics and the demoralization of some troop units. The process of demoralization most powerfully struck the 13th Army. It consisted primarily of

former partisan units. It had borne the lion's share of the fighting for the Donbas. All of these reasons finally undermined the army's internal strength. It was already not capable of combat from mid-April and was a passive observer of the events taking place along the 8th Army's sector.

In this situation, the Southern Front command placed great hopes on the Red 10th Army. The latter was finishing off the demoralized units of the Don Army and by 29 April had already reached the line of the Manych River, having strongly consolidated *stanitsa* Torgovaya. The Southern Front command now decided to develop this army's success. Gittis, in a 30 April directive, ordered the 10th Army to launch an attack against a sector of the Rostov-on-Don—Tikhoretskaya railroad, thus cutting off the Don region's communications with the North Caucasus. Gittis was evidently counting on drawing away the enemy's forces and attention by this maneuver from the Donets Basin. In carrying out this directive, the Red 10th Army continued its offensive. On 6 May its patrols appeared at stations lying 40 kilometers east of Rostov-on-Don. On the other hand, the high command was demanding the development of energetic operations in the Donets Basin. Here the 8th Army, following its loss of Lugansk, was deploying along the front Gorodishche—Rodakovo station—Vesyologorsk. Gittis strengthened this army with a brigade from the 7th Rifle Division, which had just been subordinated to him, and decided to carry out the commander-in-chief's directive in the following manner. The 13th Army was to develop an attack along its left flank in the direction of Lugansk, while tying down the enemy through attacks along his entire front. The 8th Army was supposed to develop a powerful attack together with units of the Ukrainian 2nd Army (Makhno's partisans) against the left flank and rear of the Volunteer Army along the front excluding Yeleonovka—excluding Gorodishche, in the general direction of Kuteinikovo station.

The offensive began on 14 May. At first the Reds pushed the Whites back; on 15 May Lugansk fell once again into the Reds' hands, while Makhno's partisans seized Kuteinikovo station, thus getting deeply into the Whites' rear; but the Southern Front lacked the forces to develop further successes. Nor was the Ukrainian Front able to help. By 1 May 1919 it had already detached to the Southern Front up to 11,000 infantry and cavalry from its own forces. Now the main mass of these forces, numbering 20,000–40,000 infantry and cavalry, had been turned sharply to the southwest, toward East Galicia and Bessarabia. Thus the connecting link between both fronts remained in the charge of the Southern Front and Makhno's partisans.

By this time the Ukrainian Front had taken on a nearly partisan countenance. Its regular units were drowning and dissolving in a sea of partisan detachments surrounding it from all sides. Muffled processes of internal dissolution were taking place all the time in the partisan mass. This was the consequence of several reasons, including the absence of a hard political core in many detachments. The *kulak* element, which overflowed the ranks of such detachments, strove for its own political

formation and to enter the arena of struggle as an independent force. A number of defections from the Red Army began by its accidental fellow-travelers. In the beginning of May 1919, *ataman* Grigor'yev, at the head of his detachment (15,000 men) came out openly against the Soviet regime under Socialist Revolutionary slogans. His bands spread about Ukraine like a broad wave, threatening Odessa and Nikolayev. They disorganized and ate away at the rear areas of the Ukrainian 2nd Army. Although before long Grigor'yev's forces were dispersed in space under the influence of the deepening of the process of their internal dissolution, they nevertheless diverted significant forces from the Ukrainian Front against it.

Grigor'yev's mutiny also had an influence on Makhno's detachments. The latter was still playing a double game with the Soviet regime. On 15 May he appealed to his units: "to not open the front due to the Bolsheviks' quarrel with Grigor'yev," and moved them to Kuteinikovo, but already all of his actions began to take on the aspect of preparations for an uprising. He renamed his detachment the 1st Rebel Division and carried out elections of the command element, while he and his immediate assistants came to command the division. Thus a new danger began to grow in the Southern Front's rear and even along the line of its combat contact with the enemy. At the same time, the Cossack uprising, which from the end of March had been eating away at the Red 9th Army's rear, had not yet been eliminated.

Now the contours of the area in the grip of the uprising could be clearly discerned. It occupied a territory of more than 10,000 square kilometers, from Ust'-Medveditskaya to the town of Boguchar. The rebels' forces rose to 15,000 men and several machine guns. We have already shown that the struggle against the uprising swallowed up to 14,000 infantry and cavalry from the Southern Front. In April Antonovich's expeditionary division (6,569 infantry and 1,171 cavalry) from the 8th Army and Volynskii's expeditionary division (4,661 infantry, 1,426 cavalry and 71 guns) from the 9th Army were operating against the rebels. However, the suppression of the uprising went slowly. Both divisions broke up into small groups along the entire 400-kilometer perimeter of the uprising, without invading its vital centers. The action of these groups went somewhat more successfully when comrade Khvesin was placed in command of the forces operating against the rebels. During the week of 24 May–1 June, he was able to achieve significant successes, but they were already too late, due to the overall change in the situation along the southern front.

In summing up, we must admit that the Southern Front's May operations, the essence of which came down to an enveloping maneuver by the front's mutually extremely distant wings (the right wing was the 2nd Ukrainian, 13th and 8th Armies, while the left wing was the 10th Army), linked by an extremely extended center in the form of the weak 9th Army, were beyond the strength of the Southern Front's Red armies and untimely according to the situation.

We halted our account of these operations at that moment when the maneuver by the front's left wing—the 10th Army—had begun to successfully develop in the



direction of Tikhoretskaya and when the offensive operation by the right wing in the Donbas, following initial successes, began to die out due to a shortage of forces. For the same reason, the 10th Army's offensive took on more of the character of a powerful demonstration. However, concerned for the fate of Rostov-on-Don and Novocherkassk, the enemy undertook a regrouping of his units, transferring General Pokrovskii's corps from the Donbas to the 10th Army's sector. By 2–3 May the concentration of the Whites' forces against the 10th Army was being completed. Their forces were organized into three groups: General Pokrovskii's group, consisting of the 1st Kuban' and 2nd Terek Divisions and Don units, was concentrating in the Bataisk area; General Kutepov's<sup>15</sup> group, which had been reinforced by Kuban' units, was west of Torgovaya and General Ulagai's<sup>16</sup> II Cavalry Corps was in the Divnoye area. General Kutepov's group was to launch the main attack.

The breakthrough of the Red 9th Army's center finally undermined the Southern Front's forces. This breakthrough coincided in time with the conclusion of the enemy's counter maneuver in the Donets Basin. On 24 May<sup>17</sup> large enemy forces (predominantly cavalry) crossed the Donets River near Dubovoi farm at the boundary between the 23rd and 16th Divisions and, spreading to the north in the direction of *stanitsa* Glubokaya and to the east in the direction of *stanitsa* Kalitvenskaya, got into the rear of the 16th and 23rd Divisions. The efforts of these divisions to close the front and throw back the enemy who had broken through were not successful. On 29 May the Whites were already approaching Millerovo station, having penetrated 75 kilometers into the Reds' rear and finally cutting the 9th Army into two parts. The immediate objective of the Whites' breakthrough group was the immediate link-up with the Vyoshenskaya rebels. The 16th Division, which was on the 9th Army's left flank, was falling back to the northwest in the 8th Army's area (the area of *stanitsa* Mityakinskaya), while the other two divisions (23rd and 14th), which were to the east of the breakthrough, were falling back in the general direction of the northeast and north, skirting around the area of the uprising from the east. These divisions, surrounded by the rebels and not led by the army, sought to break out on their own. The 9th Army, as such, had temporarily ceased to exist. At the same time, the Whites continued to develop their success in the Donbas. They broke through along the boundary of the 8th and 13th Armies and were now enveloping the 13th Army along both flanks and pushing it back from the front. From 27–31 May this army was still stubbornly defending, but was then forced to begin a retreat to the north.

The Red 10th Army ended up in a no less difficult situation. By 7 May the enemy had pressed it beyond the line of the Manych River. Stubborn fighting continued along the banks of the Manych until 13 May, while General Kutepov's group had twice managed to break through across the Manych south of Velikoknyazheskaya. The enemy, having become convinced of the lack of success of these disorganized attempts, on 13 May set about with a new regrouping slated to finish on 18 May.



The enemy's cavalry units moved south along the Manych to carry out operations to outflank the Red forces concentrated in the Velikoknyazheskaya area. But even before the completion of this regrouping, Ulagai's cavalry corps defeated the 10th Army's steppe group in the Priyutnaya—Remontnaya area and was approaching *stanitsa* Grabbevszkaya. On 17 May the 10th Army's cavalry, under Dumenko's<sup>18</sup> command, suffered a decisive defeat around *stanitsa* Grabbevszkaya. The 10th Army's communications were under attack by Ulagai's cavalry. This forced the 10th Army on 21 May to end combat activities in the Velikoknyazheskaya area against General Vrangeli's cavalry group, which had crossed over in this area, and to begin a hurried withdrawal.

Given the situation, directives from the high command and the Southern Front command on 31 May, assigning defensive tasks to the Southern Front's armies, were too late. These armies' forces had already been decisively undermined by their overstraining in May and the assignment of unrealizable tasks to them. Now the inertia of their withdrawal only continued to increase. Time was necessary in order to put them in order, to organize and reinforce them and make them once again combat capable.

This time was found not before the strength of the enemy's attacks, in their turn, began to dissolve in space. This phenomenon set in only when both sides began to approach the borders of the RSFSR.

One of the immediate results of the failure of the Southern Front's armies was the end of the Ukrainian Front command's independent existence. On 4 June 1919 the Ukrainian 2nd Army was renamed the 14th Army and subordinated to the Southern Front command. The Ukrainian 1st Army, which was located along the front Korosten'—Rybnitsa, and the Ukrainian 3rd Army, which was standing along the Dnestr River from Rybnitsa to the river's mouth, were organized into a single 12th Army, which was included in the Western Front.

An extremely significant slice of the 1919 campaign along this front concluded with the general withdrawal of the Southern Front's Red armies. This slice was rich with events of not only military, but of political content. The latter were the chief reason for the failures of the first period of the 1919 campaign in the south. The Ukrainian, and partly the Don, countryside underwent that same process of class differentiation significantly later, that the Russian countryside underwent as early as 1918. The Soviet regime, in its embrace of the countryside, did not follow in the wake of the thunderous advance (in Ukraine) of the military front line to the south. Thus, as opposed to the eastern front, significant layers of the peasantry were the objective ally of the bourgeois—landowner bloc. To be sure, they sort of fought both sides:<sup>19</sup> both against the Soviets and against Denikin, objectively facilitating the latter's military successes. Long and difficult months of the subsequent civil war, the school of which the Ukrainian countryside passed through completely, were needed before the entire main mass of the Ukrainian peasantry rose up against the general-landowner

counterrevolution. Meanwhile the natural force of the petite-bourgeois peasants flowed into the front's rear, overwhelming some of its troop units. From this we have the beginning of the demoralization of the front's armies. The Whites did not suffer from this at the beginning of the campaign. Their front relied on well-to-do Cossack areas along a significant length; the Cossack areas were the most vital for the Whites, namely right there where their front's immediate rear was located.

Thus the chief political reasons for our Red armies' failures come down to two: the presence in the rear of the Red front of unfavorable areas in the political-economic sense and to the lateness of the process of class differentiation in the Ukrainian countryside. Another reason may be added to these two basic ones—the Soviet regime's weak grip on the areas it passed through and its weak influence on the peasantry, particularly its most impoverished part. How these reasons were reflected in the purely military sphere and what significance they had for the military front can be seen from the preceding narrative.

These reasons are supplemented by reasons of a purely military nature.

The latter include: 1) the unfavorable correlation of forces on the southern front, which throughout May was expressed in the figures of 73,000 Red infantry and cavalry against 100,000 White infantry and cavalry; 2) the initial underestimation of the significance of the Donets Basin, which resulted in the concentration of the main mass of forces along the eastern operational axes and the slow correction of the initial deployment, and; 3) the desire to resolve the front's mission by attacking throughout all of May, when the situation demanded in a timely fashion a shift to the defensive and perhaps even a partial shortening of the front. Finally, one should not forget that the enemy was obliged for his success to a significant degree to his predominance in cavalry as part of his armed forces, as well as to the well developed railroad net in the area of the Donets Basin occupied by the Whites.

These circumstances made it easier for the Whites to carry out regroupings. They had the opportunity to concentrate powerful attack fists along various sectors of the Reds' extended and not very mobile front.

This mainly explains the success of Mai-Mayevskii's defense of the Donbas before the final concentration of all of the Volunteer Army's forces.

Throughout June the Whites' operations, which resembled a pursuit of the retreating Red armies, developed along three axes: the eastern, along routes running through Tsaritsyn; the central, along routes running through Voronezh and Khar'kov, and; the western, running from the Crimea and the lower Dnepr into the depths of Ukraine. Politically, the most important were the central axes. They led along the shortest route to the depth of Soviet Russia and to its heart—red Moscow. The seizure of red Moscow represented for the White high command the main political goal of its campaign. The eastern-Tsaritsyn axis was strategically important before the defeat of Kolchak's eastern White armies. By developing an attack along this axis, one could have extended a hand to the White eastern armies. But the Whites'

strategic success in the south coincided in time with the start of the collapse of their eastern front under the blows of the Reds. Thus the predominant strategic significance of the eastern axis was already becoming less powerful for the Whites in southern Russia. The question of the choice of each of these, or several of them, for the primary concentration of their forces arose somewhat later for the command of the “Armed Forces of South Russia”, when it, during the course of subsequent events, had to set about working out a plan for its new operation. Meanwhile, it was developing the pursuit of the Reds along all of the above-named axes.

The enemy’s offensive was developing particularly successfully against the Red 9th Army. Having penetrated deeply along its sector into the Reds’ overall front line, the Whites were developing a number of flanking attacks against the 8th and 10th Armies’ internal flanks, forcing the latter to speed up their withdrawal. For example, the enemy, having dispatched the II Don Corps along the Likhaya—Tsaritsyn railroad line, while threatening the Red 10th Army’s right flank, aided the successful advance of General Vrangeli’s Caucasus Army. The Red 10th Army, while being threatened from both blanks, was already hurriedly falling back on Tsaritsyn. The 9th Army was already falling behind the Buzuluk River in the last third of June. Only on 23 June, as this army was falling behind the Tersa and Yelan’ rivers, did the commander of the 9th Army, Vsevolodov, decide that the time had arrived to complete his treason and he defected to the Whites.

At the same time, the Southern Front’s right-flank armies were already along the line Volchansk—Valuiki—Pavlovsk, under enemy pressure, and an immediate danger began to threaten the political and economic center of Soviet Ukraine—the city of Khar’kov. An attempt to form a special Khar’kov fortified area ended in failure. On 25 June Khar’kov had to be yielded to the Whites. At the same time, along the Southern Front’s left flank, the enemy was approaching the city of Tsaritsyn, which fell into its hands on 30 June. Throughout all this time the Southern Front command attempted only once to halt the Whites’ advance through a flank attack by the 14th Army and part of the 12th Army, which had been assigned the mission of throwing the enemy back to the east behind the line of the Belgorod—Khar’kov—Pavograd—Sinelnikovo—Melitopol’ railroad. This attempt ended in failure and by the beginning of July the Whites’ front stretched along an enormous convex bulge, gently sloping to the north, from the village of Promyslovoye<sup>20</sup> along the shore of the Caspian Sea, through Zimnyaya Stavka—Tsaritsyn along the Volga River, approaching Kamyshin, where the 10th Red Army was falling back. Further on, the Whites’ front turned toward Balashov, Borisoglebsk, Korotoyak, Ostrogzhsk (all of these locales were somewhat north of the Whites’ front line) and Korochna, ran by Khotmyzhsk and Graivoron toward Konstantinograd, Yekaterinoslav and Aleksandrov, passing somewhat to the east of these three cities, then on the town of Orekhov and dipping toward the Sea of Azov somewhat west of the town of Nogaik.

The enemy was operating with several shock fists along this entire broad front. The enemy had 9,300 infantry, 14,600 cavalry and 63 guns along the Tsaritsyn—Saratov axis along the front Tsaritsyn—Dobrynka (200 kilometers). The enemy deployed the main mass of his forces, namely 46,000 infantry, 34,800 cavalry and 135 guns, along the Voronezh and Khar'kov axes along the front excluding Yelan'—Balashov—Borisoglebsk—Bobrov—Korocho—Graivoron, with an overall length of 520 kilometers. Finally, the enemy had only 2,750 infantry, 2,050 cavalry and ten guns against Ukraine along a 300-kilometer front from Graivoron to the Sea of Azov.

Throughout the first half of the summer campaign of 1919 the enemy achieved a number of goals important to him. He had pushed the Reds out of the Donets Basin and established himself there; he had occupied the entire Don region, which secured him a large bridgehead for new formations. Finally, he had established himself in Tsaritsyn, which would have enabled him to restore operational communications with the eastern front's White armies if the latter had managed to recover from their defeat and once again move to the banks of the Volga River. In hoping for such an opportunity for them, the commander of the White Caucasus Army, General Vrangl', particularly insisted on the development of the main attack along the Saratov axis, so that upon linking up with the eastern front's White armies, they could move upon Moscow. Quite the opposite, General Sidorin,<sup>21</sup> the commander of the Don Army, proposed a temporary halt for consolidating the rear, with even the possible sacrifice of the Khar'kov area.

Following some hesitation, General Denikin, the commander of the "Armed Forces of South Russia," halted on the following plan of action. We would direct Vrangl's Caucasus Army<sup>22</sup> against Saratov, and from there on Penza, Arzamas and Nizhnii-Novgorod. From Nizhnii-Novgorod, Vrangl' was to strive to reach Moscow through Vladimir. The Don Army was supposed to attack Moscow directly along two axes: Voronezh—Kozlov—Ryazan' and Novyi Oskol—Yelets—Volovo—Kashira. Mai-Mayevskii's Volunteer Army was also given the mission of developing the offensive on Moscow, having as its main axis Kursk, Oryol and Tula. In order to secure himself from the west, Mai-Mayevskii was to advance to the line of the Desna and Dnepr rivers in the Ukrainian theater and to occupy the city of Kiev. At the same time, the Volunteer Army's 3rd Corps, which was operating in the Crimea, was supposed to reach the lower Dnepr from the city of Aleksandrovsk to the river's mouth, with the idea of subsequently occupying the cities of Kherson and Nikolayev. The Black Sea Fleet was ordered to blockade Odessa (Denikin's directive of 3 July, issued by him in Tsaritsyn).

As we can see, this plan was distinguished by its extremely broad scope. The actual correlation of the forces of the revolution and counterrevolution in the country deprived it of any kind of political base. Given the absence of the latter, the fulfillment of the plan would lead to the dispersion of General Denikin's shock fists in space. This

is exactly what happened, because in carrying out this plan Mai-Mayevskii enabled an even greater scope in space, spreading his offensive almost throughout all of right-bank Ukraine. The campaign on Moscow would lead the “Armed Forces of South Russia” into direct contact with the armed forces of the Ukrainian counterrevolution and those of the border states (Poland and Romania). This circumstance would only have complicated their strategic situation. General Denikin’s hard and unbending policy as regards the nationalities question (“a unified and indivisible Russia”) would exclude any possibility of their coordinated operations and, quite the opposite, brought about an armed conflict between them. Nor could Denikin count on the further significant growth of his forces from internal sources. The southern counterrevolution was odious for the broad popular masses of Russia and Ukraine. The White eastern armies were experiencing the same fate and thus could not count on restoring their combat power. Thus the plan for a march on Moscow, which was issued by General Denikin on 3 July 1919 as a goal for his armies, did not correspond to the conditions of either the Whites’ external or internal situation and was beyond their strength.

However, if we dig deeper into an analysis of the political reasons that compelled General Denikin to reject Sidorin’s proposals, then we will see that Denikin was facing a dilemma; either move to take Moscow for the bourgeois-landlord bloc and Entente capitalists, who had advanced him and who were supporting him, or admit that he was a political and military bankrupt in their eyes and to cede his place to someone else. It made no sense to reestablish the entire old system, with its centralism, oppression of the borderlands and suppression of the national minorities, without controlling Moscow. The reestablishment of powerful Cossack border areas was only a step to final goals of Denikin’s rule as a political system, and not an end in itself. At the same time, it was exactly the latter that General Sidorin’s proposal had in mind. The ideas of Cossack independence from the center, the eloquent expression of which was *ataman* Krasnov in 1918, were reborn in this proposal. Denikin’s rejection of Sidorin’s proposals defined that fault line which had already been noted and which within half a year would turn into a chasm between the powerful bourgeoisie and great power, petite-bourgeois and autonomist lines of the southern counterrevolution (Ukraine and the Cossacks).

The capture of Moscow did in no way correspond to the interests of the Cossack autonomists. The Kuban’, where the current of autonomy had prodded the Allies at the Paris conference to study a proposal for an independent Kuban’ state had, as early as the summer of 1919, in the person of its representatives, declared its unwillingness to capture Moscow in any form, and only wanted to defend its region. This means that Denikin’s task was becoming more difficult. He was forced to move to capture Moscow by the circuitous route of the preliminary political conquest of the Kuban’. This could be realized by defeating the Kuban’ *Rada*. But the latter was the single institution possessing weight in the eyes of the Cossacks and which held them at the front through its authority. Any blow by Denikin

against the opposition *Rada* would be at the same time a blow against his military power. The struggle against the Kuban' *Rada* constituted the main content of the government of the "Armed Forces of South Russia's" policy throughout nearly the entire campaign of 1919. Thus against the background of increasing military successes, mutual internal contradictions appeared between the moving forces of the southern counterrevolution and began to become exacerbated. This internal struggle of the different counterrevolutionary currents, at that moment when the White southern armies had reached the boundaries of the RSFSR and entered into its confines, had become complicated by their sharp conflict with the peasantry and the national minorities in those territories influenced by the "Armed Forces of South Russia." All of this, taken together, created a completely new qualitative situation on the southern front, the first signs of which had come together at the moment of the greatest successes by the White southern front.

The fulfillment of General Denikin's offensive plan began after his issuance of the "Moscow directive." In this regard, a most difficult situation had arisen for the Red 12th Army on the Ukrainian right bank. The latter was the object of operations by the "Armed Forces of South Russia" from the southeast and for the remnants of the Ukrainian Directory's forces and the Poles from the west. Before long the Red 12th Army had to fight along two opposing fronts. The Ukrainian Directory's forces were particularly active along the Vinnitsa axis, where their numbers reached 7,000–8,000 infantry and cavalry. The Volunteer Army was seeking to penetrate into right-bank Ukraine along three axes: along the Black Sea on Kherson and Nikolayev, and then along the Yekaterinoslav and Poltava axes. The enemy held himself more passively along the central operational axes leading into the depth of Great Russia. But along the Kamyshin—Saratov axis the enemy was striving to push back the Red 10th Army through a flanking maneuver and to reach the Avilovo—Kamyshin sector.

As did the shakiness along the eastern front, so did the continuing retreat of the Southern Front's Red forces attract the attention of the party, the revolutionary masses of the population and the high command. The party gave up its best forces to reinforce the Southern Front's combat power. The southern proletariat carried out particularly outstanding work. For example, the Khar'kov proletariat put forward 15 of its age classes for defending the cause of the proletarian revolution. The Khar'kov communists turned over nine-tenths of their forces to the front. Some communist cells along the front zone yielded up to 80% of their forces. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge was observed everywhere among the working masses of Ukraine. The influx of these highly conscious, in the political sense, reinforcements was reflected, first of all, in the sudden change in the morale of the Southern Front's armies. Besides this, the high command undertook a series of energetic measures to increase the strength of the Southern Front's armies. The already evident favorable turning point in the campaign on the eastern front enabled us to do this. The



overall strength of the reinforcements transferred to the Southern Front between 1 May and 1 July reached the impressive figure of 60,000 men.<sup>23</sup>

By 15 July 1919 the situation and correlation of forces of both sides on the southern front was as follows:

The Red 14th Army (53,000 infantry and cavalry and 116 guns) was deployed along the front Kherson—Rakitino (640 kilometers). The enemy's forces facing it along this front numbered 24,600 infantry and cavalry and 67 guns. Despite the nearly two-fold superiority in forces over the enemy, this army's situation cannot be called stable, due to the banditry which was undermining its rear areas, and because of its extremely long front.

The Red 13th Army (17,600 infantry and cavalry and 84 guns) occupied the front Rakitino—Stanovoye (170 kilometers). It had been badly worn out and exhausted by the previous fighting. The enemy facing it disposed of 13,050 infantry and cavalry and 48 guns.

The Red 8th Army (25,000 infantry and cavalry and 157 guns) was holding along the front Stanovoye—Novokhopyorsk (220 kilometers), facing the enemy's 15,610 infantry and cavalry and 67 guns.

The Red 9th Army (16,000 infantry and cavalry and 132 guns) along the front Novokhopyorsk—Yelan' (158 kilometers) was covering the important Rtishchevo axis (the road to Penza). Here the enemy enjoyed a numerical superiority, deploying against it 25,000 infantry and cavalry and 53 guns.

The Red 10th Army (26,000 infantry and cavalry and 132 guns) occupied the front Yelan'—Kamyshin (145 kilometers), faced by the enemy's 18,350 infantry and cavalry and 68 guns).

The Red Southern Front's reserves and those of the high command consisted of the following divisions: 7th Rifle (6,000 infantry, but without wagons and horses) in the rear of the 13th Army in the area north of Kursk; 32nd Rifle (5,000 infantry), which was concentrated in the area of Mordovo and Gryazi stations; 56th Rifle (up to 12,000 infantry), concentrated in the Kirsanov—Atkarsk area. Besides this, the garrisons of the Kursk, Voronezh, Tambov, Rtishchevo—Atkarsk and Kamyshin fortified areas, the strength of which reached 11,000 infantry, could be reserves for the Southern Front. The enemy's reserves in the front area numbered 24,000 infantry and cavalry, with 34,500 infantry and cavalry in the deep rear.

Thus as early as the middle of July the Red Southern Front enjoyed a numerical superiority over the enemy of more than 20,000 troops (171,600 infantry and cavalry against the Whites' 151,900 infantry and cavalry).

Upon the completion of the concentration of all forces dispatched from the Eastern Front to the Southern Front, which was expected in the middle of August 1919, the Red Southern Front was to go over to a general offensive.

However, it was not through these circumstances alone that one can explain that combat resilience which the Southern Front's Red armies acquired once again along



the borders of the RSFSR. Now the rear areas of both fronts presented a picture completely opposite of that which prevailed in May. The White front rested its rear on those areas vital to it, where agrarian relations were characterized by the presence of large landowner holdings alongside small peasant farms. The average size of a private land holding in the Voronezh—Kursk area was 113.2 *desyatins*,<sup>24</sup> while the average peasant allotment was 7.6 *desyatins*. Besides this, as early as the preceding year these areas had undergone a split in the countryside's united front, which determined the sovietization of the peasantry's middle and poor layers. The turbulent petite-bourgeois element now lay behind the White front. Denikin's policy regarding the agrarian question, around which were concentrated the immediate interests of this element, could not bring calm to it and only inflamed it more. This policy ran far to the right of the corresponding policy of the Cossack governments. If the Kuban' government was trying to reach an agreement even so far as the elimination of private land holdings (although this had not been formulated by law), then Denikin's agrarian legislation could not satisfy even the most modest wishes of the peasantry.

While recognizing the right of private land holdings and the redemption of the landlords' land in favor of the peasantry for a seven-year period, Denikin conditioned this last concession with such a mass of exceptions that actually reduced all of this extremely skimpy agrarian reform to nothing. Thus Denikin and his associates could do nothing but be the helpless spectators to a growing peasant movement which was now turned directly against them.

The plan for the Red Southern Front's offensive did not come about immediately. Commander-in-chief Vatsetis planned to launch the main attack along the Khar'kov axis with the forces of the 14th, 13th and 8th Red Armies. The 9th and 10th Armies, while attacking between the Volga and the Don, were to launch a supporting attack. The commander of the Southern Front, Yegor'yev,<sup>25</sup> who had replaced Gittis, proposed concentrating a shock fist in the Novokhopyorsk—Kamyshin area and to launch the main attack with it in the direction of the lower Khopyor and the lower Don rivers, leaving only a screen along the Khar'kov axis, while energetically demonstrating with the 14th Army along the front Chaplino—Lozovaya.

S. S. Kamenev, the former commander of the Eastern Front, who had replaced commander-in-chief Vatsetis, ordered on 23 July (directive no. 1116/sh) that the main attack be developed by the Southern Front's left flank in the direction of the Don region, with the mission of defeating Denikin's forces. The 9th and 10th Armies were to form the shock group under the overall command of the former commander of the Red 2nd Army, V. I. Shorin, who had been transferred from the Eastern Front.

The shock group's reserve was to be the 25th and 28th Rifle Divisions, which were being transferred from the Eastern Front. The Southern Front command was to reinforce Shorin's shock group with its reserves and the 56th Rifle Division. The 13th and 8th Armies formed Selivachyov's<sup>26</sup> group and were supposed to launch a

supporting attack along the Khar'kov axis. The overall assumption of the offensive was set for mid-August upon the final concentration of all of the shock group's units. For the time being, the Southern Front's mission was an active defense.

The enemy's actions on the southern front, before the Red armies' assumption of a decisive offensive, were characterized by the manifestation of increased activity along the flank operational axes and a lull in the center. For example, on 28 July the enemy captured the city of Kamyshin along the Saratov axis, pushing back the Red 10th Army to the front Borzenkovo—Bannoye. Units of the "Armed Forces of South Russia," in developing their attacks in the direction of Ukraine, by 1 August had reached the front Poltava—Yekaterinoslav—Nikopol—Aleshki.

The counter maneuver by our armies served as the beginning of that decisive struggle along the southern front that did not cease from this moment until the final political and military collapse of the "Armed Forces of South Russia." But before beginning an examination of the events that prepared this collapse, let us cast our gaze upon the overall disposition and strength of the RSFSR's armed forces at this moment.

Before the beginning of the decisive struggle in south Russia, all of the republic's armed forces were grouped into three fronts and one independent army.

- 1) The Western Front, with the 12th Army, numbered about 140,000 infantry and cavalry and 797 guns;
- 2) The Southern Front (counting reserves and units being transferred from the Eastern Front), numbered 171,600 infantry and cavalry and more than 611 guns;
- 3) The Eastern Front, numbering about 125,000 infantry and cavalry and 445 guns;
- 4) The 6th Independent Army, numbering about 14,000 infantry and cavalry and 136 guns.

In all, there were about 450,600 infantry and cavalry and more than 1,544 guns at the fronts.

Only auxiliary and reserve units and units from some divisions, numbering 14,400 infantry and cavalry, 74 guns and 186 machine guns, were undergoing formation in the internal districts, and; finally, auxiliary branches of the service and special designation troops numbered about 180,000 infantry and 763 machine guns.

The comparatively large strength of the rear and special designation forces can be explained by the seriousness and variety of the tasks which the Soviet regime was supposed to resolve in the rear area.

The subsequent period of both sides' campaign on the southern front consisted of the following local operations: actions in Ukraine, operations along the central operational axes and, finally, operations in the space between the Volga and Don rivers (the operational area of the 9th and 10th Armies' shock group).

We will now examine both sides' operations in Ukraine in the early autumn of 1919. (See Map 8 of the plate section)

Operations in Ukraine against the Red forces consisted of active operations by the Volunteer Army, Petlyura's forces and Polish divisions, which were seeking to capture the political center of Kiev from various sides. This put in a difficult situation the Red 12th Army, which had to operate along three fronts. The 14th Army initially secured the 12th Army against the "Armed Forces of South Russia" in the east. Makhno's anarchist-bandit gangs, which were equally hostile to both sides, were active closer to the Black Sea coast. The front of the 12th Army's main forces was turned to the west, from whence the threat was arising from Haller's Polish divisions and the forces of the Ukrainian Directory along the Vinnitsa axis.

The 12th Army's three rifle divisions operated against all of these enemy forces, while the situation of the 45th Rifle Division was especially difficult. It occupied a front of more than 200 kilometers from Vinnitsa through Popelyukhi station as far as the village of Mayaki, with a force of about 5,000 infantry. Bands, under the command of an entire series of different *atamans*, were active in the Vinnitsa, Zvenigorodka, Kazatin and Kremenchug areas, were disturbing this division along the right flank and rear. An uprising of German colonists was threatening the division's left flank. The 45th Rifle Division, which was forced to detach part of its forces (1,000 infantry and seven guns) for fighting these bands, occupied its entire front with only individual outposts, numbering up to 50 men each, at a distance of 3–4 kilometers from each other.

The 47th Rifle Division was securing the Odessa area and the Black Sea coastline, while the 58th Rifle Division (formed from the former Ukrainian 2nd Army), located along the shore of the Black Sea, was in direct combat contact, on the one hand, with units from the Volunteer Army (the III Corps, which was emerging from the Crimea), and with Makhno's bands on the other.

Thus the 12th Army was wedged between the Russian and foreign White armies, while at the same time having a number of local uprisings within its area.

The Volunteer Army command began its active operations to invade Ukraine earlier, before the regrouping and concentration of all of the Red southern armies' forces was completed for their general counter maneuver, which secured the success of the Whites' offensive. The Volunteer Army was developing its success along three axes: from Poltava to Kiev, from Yekaterinoslav into the depth of the Ukrainian right bank to Yelisavetgrad, Znamenka and Nikolayev, and along the Black Sea coast to Kherson and Odessa. The offensive developed successfully along all of these axes. As early as 18 August the Whites' front in Ukraine ran from a point excluding Ryl'sk through Lubny and Pomoshchnaya to Nikolayev. The latter was occupied by the enemy on 18 August, while the 58th Rifle Division fell back on Voznesensk. As a result of two of its brigades going over to Makhno, the remaining units of the 58th Rifle Division turned toward Golta.

Simultaneously, Petlyura's units were developing their offensive toward Kiev and Odessa, while approaching Vinnitsa and Vapnyarka, while Polish units were moving on Zhitomir. The high command, in its drive to secure south Ukraine as far as possible, did not want to voluntarily give up the Kherson and Odessa areas. It took the risk of leaving the 12th Army's three divisions there, even if the link-up of Denikin's and Petlyura's forces in the Uman'—Yelisavetgrad area should follow. The subsequent course of events preempted these decisions by the high command. The 12th Army's units were pushed back from two sides. In the east the enemy broke through the 14th Army's lines and was moving along the most direct path from Poltava to Kiev, which his units entered on 31 August. The evening before, that is, on 30 August, Petlyura's units had already entered Kiev. They had rushed there from Vinnitsa following the breakthrough of the 45th Rifle Division's front in this area. In Kiev not only did both enemy sides not link up, but an armed collision nearly occurred between them. On the basis of a local agreement between their leaders, they dispersed, having established a demarcation line between each other, while Kiev remained in the hands of the Volunteer Army. Almost simultaneously with Kiev, Odessa was occupied by the Volunteer Army, with the assistance of an amphibious landing from British ships and from troops attacking along the shore from Nikolayev.

Due to these reasons, the remnants of the 12th Army's three divisions ended up in nearly complete strategic encirclement in the Golta area. This group's withdrawal along the Zhitomir axis, under the overall leadership of comrade Yakir,<sup>27</sup> linked up with the 12th Army's remaining units around Zhitomir on 19 September, following a 20-day march, marks one of the glorious pages in the history of the Red Army.

Only a narrow corridor between Birzula and Golta to the north remained open at the disposal of this group. Yakir's group moved into this corridor, headed for Uman'. Here the remnants of the 45th Rifle Division joined the group. Yakir's units headed from Uman' to Khristinovka and Skvira. Near Popel'nya station they cut the Kazatin—Kiev railroad within the demarcation zone which had been established between the Ukrainians and Denikin's forces. Here Yakir's group got in contact for the first time with the 12th Army's 44th Rifle Division. This division had abandoned Zhitomir under pressure from the Poles and was located 15 kilometers to the north of the city. Having agreed on joint action, Yakir's group and the 44th Rifle Division attacked Zhitomir from the north and south on 19 September, threw out the Poles and linked up in the city.

The temporary quiet spell along the southern theater's central sector was the result, on the one hand, of the preparations for our counter maneuver, and on the other, the swallowing up of the enemy's forces in space. As a result, his intentions now pursued the limited goal of thwarting our coming counter maneuver. During his summer offensive, the enemy had conquered an enormous territory, which included the entire Don region, almost all of Ukraine, and the space along both banks of the Volga River as far as Kamyshin. The Whites were already encountering along the

boundaries of this territory stubborn resistance from Southern Front's Red units, which were preparing to go over to the offensive.

In expectation of this offensive, General Denikin decided to thwart it through the actions of his own strategic cavalry, because he had no free forces for a larger operation. For this purpose, he decided to move to the north the Caucasus Army, headed by General Vrangeli, to remove General Konovalov's<sup>28</sup> cavalry corps from Vrangeli's sector, thus shortening the Don Army's front, and to unite it with General Mamontov's cavalry corps (about 9,000 cavalry and infantry and 12 guns), which was being formed in *stanitsa* Uryupinskaya. This cavalry mass was to be directed to attack the flank and rear of the Southern Front's central group of armies (13th and 8th) in the direction of Tambov, with the subsequent mission of raiding our Southern Front's rear.

The slowness of the advance by Vrangeli's army hindered the timely removal of Konovalov's corps from its front and Mamontov was forced to head out on his sortie (raid) without it. On 10 August Mamontov broke through along the boundary of the Red 8th and 9th Armies' internal flanks in the Novokhoporskiy area and streamed directly toward Tambov, which was one of the Southern Front's bases. The Tambov axis was all the more dangerous because the headquarters of the Southern Front was near there, in the town of Kozlov.

The first unfavorable result of Mamontov's breakthrough along a 50-kilometer front for us was the disruption of operational communications between Shorin's and Selivachyov's groups, the diversion of part of Shorin's group's reserves to it, and the cutting of communications between the group and the Southern Front headquarters. On 18 August Mamontov took Tambov and from there turned toward Kozlov, thus penetrating deeply into our armies' rear, which is why he subsequently was unable to directly influence the course of their combat operations. Thus Shorin and Selivachyov began their offensive at the appointed time, that is, 15 August. By this time the situation of Selivachyov's group (13th and 8th Armies) had changed little in comparison to that which we noted for 15 July, namely that its front began near Akhtyrka and ran somewhat north of the towns of Graivoron, Korocha, Alekseyevka, and Korotoyak, embracing further on Liski, Talovaya and Novokhoporskiy.

The situation was different along the front of Shorin's group. Its front looked like a re-entrant angle, with its apex near Balashov. The 9th Army occupied the northern side of this angle, from Novokhoporskiy to Yelan'; the 10th Army was located along the northeastern part of this angle, along the line Borzenkovo—Krasnyi Yar—Kamenka. Thus Shorin's group, which was to launch the main attack, was echeloned behind (about 150 kilometers) in relation to its supporting group. Besides this, Shorin's group was supposed to straighten out its front by moving the 9th Army's flank forward. All of this had to negatively tell upon the rapidity of the development of further actions by the shock group. Actually, as the course of subsequent events showed, the successes achieved by the group were of purely

local significance. It was only on 21 August that it was able to unleash the 9th Army's left flank and it began to advance.

The plan for the actions of Shorin's shock group was condemned during its time. It was pointed out that the main reason for its lack of success was the choice of the main attack axis along the line of the greatest political resistance. Of course, this reason is still significant. But this factor would have been significantly weakened if the group command had moved the center of gravity of its attack not to the 10th Army's sector (the Tsaritsyn axis), but to the 9th Army's right flank, aiming it approximately along the front Pavlovsk—Boguchar. Then complete coordination in space would have been achieved between the auxiliary and main attacks. The latter would not have run along the line of the greatest political resistance and, finally, Mamontov's breakthrough would have encountered great difficulties for its realization. As far as we know, the high command, in the person of S. S. Kamenev, was in no way trying to nail Shorin down to precisely the Tsaritsyn axis. It's more likely that the gravitational force of a geographical object told here, without taking into account other opportunities, as sometimes happens in military operations. Besides, we will not forget that Mamontov's raid swallowed up part of the forces of Shorin's group, which could not but tell on the scope of its maneuver and the pace of its development. The 56th Rifle Division initially went off to fight Mamontov, then the 21st Rifle Division, which was initially being dispatched from the Eastern Front to Shorin's group, then turned there, and finally a major combat entity like Budyonnyi's<sup>29</sup> cavalry corps had to be taken from Shorin's group and thrown into the fighting against Mamontov. The idea of launching the main attack with Shorin's group was prompted by that grouping of Red forces on the southern front which S. S. Kamenev found upon taking up the post of commander-in-chief. It achieved its greatest strength precisely along the Red Southern Front's left flank. Politics demanded the swiftest assumption of the offensive and the high command had to configure its plan to the existing group of forces. It is well known how difficult for us were all the railroad transfers inevitable in major regroupings, given the catastrophic condition of railroad transport during the civil war years.

On 28 August the 10th Army had a major success. Budyonnyi's cavalry corps routed Sutulov's<sup>30</sup> Don cavalry in the area of *stanitsa* Kamennochernovskaya. On 31 August the 9th Army was already arriving at the front Aleksikovo—Yaryzhenskaya and Budyonnyi's cavalry launched yet another powerful attack against the enemy in the *stanitsa* Serebryakovo—Zelenovskaya area. However, in spite of these successes, Shorin's group nevertheless remained behind Selivachyov's group. The latter was developing its main attack along the 8th Army's sector, launching it to bypass Khar'kov from the east, in the general direction of Kupyansk. The 8th Army's offensive pulled part of the 13th Army's left flank after it. On 24 August the town of Korocha was occupied by units of the 13th Army and the enemy was thrown back on Belgorod. At this time the 8th Army's front was advancing to the

line Nikolayevka—Burluk. By 1 September Selivachyov's group had arrived with the 8th Army to the front Volchansk—Kupyansk—Podgornaya, which presented a direct threat to the city of Khar'kov. Meanwhile, Mamontov continued his raid in the rear of the Southern Front.

In carrying out his raid, Mamontov heavily destroyed the railroads and ruthlessly dealt with political and Soviet organizations, while at the same time not ignoring methods of crude demagoguery, that is, by distributing stolen property to the population, thinking to bring it over to his side through this.

In conclusion, we consider it necessary to halt on the extreme rapidity of the reestablishment of its forces, following severe defeats, which the Red Army manifested during Denikin's summer offensive. The armies which suffered a cruel defeat at the end of May and the beginning of June were already putting up active resistance to the enemy within 2–3 weeks (at the end of May the 8th Army was retreating in disorder to the north and at the end of June was already inflicting on the enemy a number of local but highly demoralizing defeats in the Ostrogzhsk area). The party organizations, which were being fed whole into the units, and the local mobilizations of unions and volunteers from the local population, quickly restored the army's losses and combat capability. The entire period under examination by us in this chapter was characterized by an entire series of tactically interesting breakouts from encirclement by individual units of the Red Army. The armies' very retreat was often carried out without the necessary operational coordination of the armies and individual sectors of the front. The desire to hang on to territory, the timidity of operational thinking, the tendency to cover all axes equally, and fighting of local significance, which did not flow from operational directives precisely uniting the troops' tactical actions, continued to characterize the actions of entire sectors of the front. On the other hand, political work met the challenge during this period. In the days of the most severe trials, the main mass of the Red Army did not know defeatist attitudes.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the trials of the summer campaign showed that the Red Army was also able to create on the southern front stable command-political cadres, which ensured the significant resilience of the Red Army's organizational formations, despite the scope of its defeats.



## The Oryol Operation

*The Whites' Counter Maneuver Against Selivachyov's Group. The Continuation of the Struggle Against Mamontov's Raid. The Correlation of the Sides' Forces Before the Beginning of the Oryol Operation. The Opening of the Oryol Operation; its Development. The Reds' Plan for a Counter Maneuver. The Formation of the Southern and Southeastern Fronts. The Struggle on the Don. The 14th Army's Operations. The Oryol Operation's Crisis*

The Red 8th Army's deep wedge into the White front along the Kupyansk axis forced the Whites to halt their operations in Ukraine. While limiting itself to an active defense against the 14th Army, the Volunteer Army command set about organizing a maneuver against Selivachyov's group. While holding its offensive from the front, the command was creating shock groups along the Belgorod and Biryuch axes for an attack against the 8th Army's flanks and rear.

Shkuro's cavalry corps (transferred from the Kiev axis) and the newly formed units from the Khar'kov area (units of the 31st and Kornilov Divisions) were used to form the Belgorod maneuver group, while the Biryuch group was being created from two Don divisions and a single brigade. The enemy was actively defending against the 9th Army along the front Pavlovsk—*stanitsa* Podgornaya, thus supporting its maneuver from the right.

From 5 September the results of the Whites' regrouping began to tell. In developing their attack from Belgorod to the northeast on Rzhava, and from Varvarovka to the Kaltiva River (40 kilometers to the southeast of the town of Biryuch) to the northwest on Biryuch and Novyi Oskol, the Whites forced the forward units of the 8th Army to begin to fall back on a line running north of Korocha, Novyi Oskol and Alekseyevka.

The fact that the group immediately surged ahead, without bothering to sufficiently broaden the wedge of its penetration, greatly aided the success of the Whites' counter maneuver against Selivachyov's group. The 8th Army was thrust forward like a narrow and long tongue, which rendered its flanks extremely vulnerable. The chasing after territory undoubtedly played a role here.

The 14th Army, which had been pushed back by the enemy beforehand behind the Seim River, sought to help Selivachyov's group through active operations by its right flank. The army once again crossed the Seim River and by 13 September had

taken the front Borzna—Bakhmach, but was forced to once again fall back due to the lack of resilience along the Kursk axis.

Only now did all the unfavorable consequences of the absence of operational coordination between Shorin's and Selivachyov's group become apparent. The enemy got the opportunity to eliminate Selivachyov's maneuver, by taking advantage of the spatial gap between it and Shorin's group. The disruption of the lines of communication in the front's rear by Mamontov's raid negatively told on the absence of close coordination between both groups. As a result of the break in communications between Shorin's group and the Southern Front's headquarters, the group was temporarily controlled directly by the commander-in-chief.

The commander-in-chief, in attaching as before decisive significance to Shorin's group, ordered the Southern Front command to direct the group's right flank west of Lugansk, without weakening Shorin's group by detaching from it units for fighting Mamontov's raid, while along the remainder of the front it was to behave actively in order to hinder the enemy from carrying out transfers to his left flank. This order testifies to the fact that the high command continued to consider Shorin's group the main attack and was unwilling to view it as a source for supplying the troops fighting against Mamontov's corps (comrade Lashevich's group). There evidently already existed a difference of opinion in principle on this question between the commander-in-chief and the chairman of the RVSR. The latter was evidently striving to shift the center of gravity of the Southern Front's efforts to the Oryol—Kursk axis, and to reinforce Lashevich's group at the expense of the units along the Don sector. This can be seen from the commander-in-chief's telegram no. 4195/op of 6 September 1919 to the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council.<sup>1</sup> In this telegram, the commander-in-chief points out that Lashevich disposed of 10,470 infantry 500 cavalry and 12 guns for fighting Mamontov. On 2 September Lashevich was sent another 3,000 infantry and nine guns. Moreover, the 21st Rifle Division, which was arriving from the Eastern Front, was concentrating as a reserve in Tula. Aside from these forces, Lashevich could also employ the Tula garrison, numbering 1,000 infantry and two guns (the 5th Latvian and Railroad Regiments) for fighting Mamontov. Further on, the commander-in-chief shifted to the most important part of his telegram, while taking issue with the proposed shift of the Red 9th Army's movement due west and the dispatch of Budyonnyi's cavalry corps to the Voronezh—Kursk axis. In the commander-in-chief's opinion, the adoption of such a decision was equivalent to a radical change in the initial plan. The commander-in-chief believed that the shift of our efforts to the Voronezh—Kursk axis, which was not now the main one, meant subordinating oneself to the enemy's initiative. In the commander-in-chief's opinion, combat conditions were becoming more favorable for the enemy along the Southern Front's western operational axes. Here the enemy disposed of a more developed railroad network; here he had some kind of reserves in his rear. The transfer of enemy reserves to the east would

encounter great difficulties due both to the outline of the railroad network and to the absence there of the enemy's free reserves. Recognizing the idea of a defense to be fatal, the commander-in-chief pointed out that they should strictly adhere to the existing plan to launch an attack along the Don and Kuban' as personnel sources for the enemy. We have halted in such detail on the contents of this telegram because it has great significance. It is the key to understanding all subsequent regroupings on the southern front.

The Whites, having become convinced of the numerical superiority of Shorin's group and lacking the opportunity of halting its successes along their front, began to fall back in an orderly fashion to the line of the Khopyor and Don rivers, resting their right flank on the Tsaritsyn fortified area. By covering themselves with these rivers as a tactical barrier, and resting on the Tsaritsyn area, they regrouped their forces, creating in the Kachalinskaya—Kotluban' station area a powerful maneuver group made up of three Kuban' corps and the 6th Infantry Division. On 9 September 1919 this group fell primarily upon the 10th Army, causing heavy losses, which halted the offensive drive of Shorin's entire group. By this time the latter had already been significantly weakened by the dispatch of forces from it for fighting Mamontov's raid, which the telegram cited by us above clearly illustrates.

The change in the overall situation in favor of the Whites impelled their command to strive to develop the partial success achieved against Selivachyov's group. This decision was the start of the general battle by both enemies along the boundaries of the RSFSR, the chief part of which was the Oryol operation. But before examining how this new phase of the campaign unfolded on the southern front and which was its crisis, it is necessary to draw up briefly the results of Mamontov's ongoing raid.

Mamontov, having luckily for him, broken with the 56th Rifle Division, which had been sent against him from the Kirsanov area, and having taken, as we have already mentioned, Tambov on 18 August and Kozlov on 22 August, from whence the Southern Front's headquarters was forced to move to Oryol, moved due west, detaching a small flank detachment against the town of Rannenburg. Mamontov's successful operations demanded the unification of the command for the fight against him in a single person. On 27 August 1919 the command of all operations against Mamontov was entrusted to comrade Lashevich, a member of the Southern Front's revolutionary military council. Attempts to block Mamontov's path were unsuccessful as infantry units were almost exclusively involved in fighting him. Thus Mamontov managed to preempt the Red units in Lebedyan', after which he moved on Yelets and occupied it.

Signs of demoralization began to be observed among the Cossacks the further Mamontov's corps moved on, which was caused by mass marauding. The population was hostile to the corps and the horses' strength was gradually melting away. This forced Mamontov to turn to auxiliary formations from the local population (the Tula Infantry Division). Simultaneously, the Reds' strength grew and their ring

was becoming more solid. Thus Mamontov decided to end his raid. On 4 September he moved from Yelets in three columns to the south and southeast. On 6 September he broke by this maneuver through the Red units that had encircled him in a half ring and began to move south. In an attempt to prevent Mamontov from linking up with his main forces, the Red command adopted measures to remove new and significant forces from the front to be employed against him.

For this, aside from the units that had been dispatched to fight the White cavalry, including brigades from the 3rd Rifle Division (from the 8th Army) and the 21st Rifle Division, which was moving from the Eastern Front to reinforce Shorin's group, it was ordered to detach the 37th Rifle Division from the 10th Army and the 22nd Rifle Division from the 9th Army. The command did not hurry to transfer the 37th Rifle Division, having in mind the reinforcement of the 9th Army's right flank with it, while the 22nd Rifle Division was held up in its army until the end of the struggle against Mironov's<sup>2</sup> uprising. The latter, a former Cossack colonel, had fought on the side of the Soviet regime from the first days of the October revolution, but being opposed to Soviet policy along the Don, decided to embark with his Don Corps, which he was forming at the time in Saransk (Penza province), to launch a struggle on two fronts: against Denikin and against the Bolsheviks. On 23 August, on the pretext that the government was interfering with the formation of his corps, he brought into the uprising a part of the politically uninformed Cossacks and with a detachment of 5,000 men (of these, only 2,000 were armed and 1,000 with horses), two guns and ten machine guns, headed for the front line in the hope that the 9th Army's 23rd Rifle Division, which he had commanded earlier, would accept him. Units were taken from the Eastern Front's 1st and 4th Armies, and units from the reserve army in Kazan' and the Samara fortified area to eliminate Mironov's uprising. However, there was no need of their assistance. Mironov's detachment ran into Budyonny's cavalry corps and was scattered.

Following the elimination of Mironov's uprising, Budyonny's cavalry corps continued its movement to the Novokhopyorsk area. At this time Mamontov was heading directly for Voronezh. On 7 September Mamontov occupied the town of Usman' and throughout 8–12 September vainly sought to take Voronezh, but he was unable to overcome the resistance of the Red units that had arrived to save the city. Upon calling off the fight for Voronezh and having fallen back to the north, Mamontov maneuvered in the area of the city during the course of a week, and in the immediate vicinity of the front line, feeling for a weak place in the Red front in order to link up with his main forces. All information pointed to a group of White cavalry forces to the southeast of Voronezh, to where the Reds' main forces were also congregating, having weakened the axis to the southwest of this locale.

During Mamontov's maneuvering, a powerful offensive by Shkuro's corps was detected from Staryi Oskol to the north and northeast. On 17 September Shkuro's group was already 50 kilometers southwest of Voronezh; Mamontov quickly turned

around to meet Shkuro and on 19 September the link-up of Shkuro's and Mamontov's cavalry took place near the village of Osadchino. Mamontov was unable to thwart the Reds' offensive, although he was able to significantly weaken the offensive's results chiefly as regards the actions of Shkuro's group. Major forces from this group (more than two rifle divisions), instead of operations according to their designation, had been distracted to the fight against Mamontov. This circumstance chiefly facilitated the development of a new offensive by the White armies along the central operational axes and made it easier for them to carry out this offensive. Mamontov's success, however, was purchased at the price of a decline in his cavalry's combat capability, due to its internal demoralization and to the exhaustion of its horse park.

The significance of large cavalry masses in the conditions of the civil war was correctly taken into account by the Red command from the example of Mamontov's raid. This raid finally solidified the decision to create large masses of Red cavalry, which played a decisive role in the Red Army's subsequent operations (the "Proletarians to your horses!" campaign).

Such was the overall operational background against which the White armies' final major offensive operation along the southern front unfolded.

Before the start of the decisive struggle in south Russia, General Denikin had managed to bring the strength of his forces up to 99,450 infantry, 53,800 cavalry and 560 guns (these forces were far from being qualitatively equal). The White command had achieved such an increase in its forces by pouring into its army the forcible mobilized population and captured Red Army soldiers. But service in the White armies was equally hateful to both the local population and the Red Army troops.

The overall disposition of the enemy's forces by the start of the Oryol operation was as follows: it had 15 infantry and 26 cavalry divisions (58,650 infantry and 48,200 cavalry, 431 guns and 1,727 machine guns) along a front of about 1,065 kilometers, and in the immediate rear, in the area of Khar'kov and Belgorod, there were two infantry and one cavalry divisions (15,300 infantry and 600 cavalry) which had not finished forming; and, finally, the strength of the new formations in the deep rear had reached 25,500 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. By this time the Southern Front's Red armies had been raised to a strength of 113,439 infantry, 27,328 cavalry, 774 guns, and 3,763 machine guns and occupied a front from the Dnepr River to the Volga River. On the whole, the numerical and technical superiority was on the side of the Red armies, but along the central sector and the sectors of the front immediately adjacent to it, where the decisive fighting unfolded, the enemy managed to concentrate relatively large forces, namely: against the Reds' 55,630 infantry, 1,820 cavalry and 412 guns (14th, 13th and 8th Armies), the Whites had 45,200 infantry, 13,900 cavalry and about 200 guns. (See Map 9 of the plate section)

The armies of the Red Southern Front occupied the following line: by 5 September the 14th Army's main forces were stationed along the line of the Desna and Seim rivers from Chernigov, through Pliski, as far as Glukhov, comprising the right flank of the

Southern Front's armies (on 6 September the high command once again transferred the 12th Army to the Western Front); the 13th Army, which had experienced the greatest amount of combat exertion in the latest fighting, stood on the approaches to the city of Kursk, having the Seim River in its immediate rear and occupying a front from Kursk to a point excluding Saryi Oskol; the 8th Army had preserved its forward position along the right bank of the Don River approximately along the front Saryi Oskol—Valuiki (including both locales)—Pavlovsk; as before, the 9th Army was echeloned behind the 8th Army, having reached the line of the Khopyor River from Nikol'skaya to Ust'-Medveditskaya. The enemy was already falling back before it behind the Don River, delaying its advance only through rearguard actions.

The enemy's shock group, numbering 25,900 infantry, 5,600 cavalry, 421 machine guns, 90 guns, four armored cars, nine tanks, and ten armored trains, concentrated against these forces along the front Saryi Oskol—Rzhava—Oboyan'—Sudzha—Sumy. The Rzhava—Oboyan' sector was most heavily occupied by the enemy, where 9,600 infantry 700 cavalry and 32 guns were concentrated along a 12-kilometer front, which accounted for 800 infantry per kilometer of front, a hitherto unknown density on the civil war's fronts.

Such a disposition of enemy group of forces pointed to his intention to initially make a tactical breakthrough of the Southern Front's center, in order to subsequently develop it to the scale of a strategic breakthrough through subsequent supporting attacks by his flank groups.

While stubbornly struggling to maintain the initiative in its own hands, the Southern Front command on 9 September ordered its 14th and 13th Armies to reach the front Vorozhba—Sumy. In its turn, three days later, that is, on 12 September, the White command issued orders to go over to a general offensive along the entire front, "from the Volga to the Romanian border." In carrying out this plan, over the next few days the enemy fell with his shock group on the 13th Army and, upon breaking through its center, arrived at the city of Kursk.

In order to oppose this maneuver, the Red command sought to develop an offensive against the base of the enemy's invasion wedge with the front's flank armies, that is, the 14th Army and Shorin's group, which received orders to capture the town of Boguchar as soon as possible. The former's offensive began to develop successfully and on 13 September it captured the front Borzna—Bakhmach,<sup>3</sup> but Shorin's group was tied down by stubborn fighting and unsuccessful operations in the Tsaritsyn area, which constricted its operational freedom. Besides this, the 13th Army received orders to concentrate shock fists in the area of Nizhnedevitsk and Marmyzhin and to operate through them along axes according to the situation.<sup>4</sup>

By 20 September the Whites' offensive had spread along the entire front of the Southern Front's right flank—14th Army—and central armies—13th and 8th. Having defeated units of the 14th Army, the Whites were striving to push it beyond the Desna River, in order to secure the left flank of its Oryol group. Having taken



Kursk, the enemy developed his operations against the 8th Army, thus broadening his strategic breakthrough to the east as well. In order to inflict a decisive defeat on the 8th Army, the Whites dispatched Shkuro's corps to Voronezh, near which he, as we saw earlier, linked up with Mamontov's corps.

As a result of stubborn fighting, three of the Southern Front's armies (14th, 13th and 8th) were defeated by the enemy and were falling back to the north, while Budyonnyi's cavalry corps was dispatched to secure the boundary between the 8th and 9th Armies.

The fall of Kursk and the lack of resilience in Selivachyov's group attracted the attention of our high command to the Oryol—Kursk axis. Initially, the high command evidently intended to eliminate the enemy's local successes along the Oryol axis and to secure the resilience of the internal flanks of Shorin's and Selivachyov's groups with Budyonnyi's cavalry corps. The gradual formulation of the plan for the Oryol operation, involving the shift of the center of gravity of our efforts to the Oryol—Kursk—Khar'kov axis, is evident from the high command's subsequent dealing with the Southern Front command and the commander-in-chief's orders. As early as 24 September, the commander-in-chief's telegram no. 4514/op,<sup>5</sup> addressed to the commander of the Southern Front, indicates the beginning of some kind of new regrouping. This telegram contains instructions for the concentration of some kind of new units, still at the commander-in-chief's disposal, in the Navlya—Dmitriev area. These units proved to be the Latvian Rifle Division, Pavlov's<sup>6</sup> brigade and a brigade of Red Cossacks, for an overall total of 10,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry and 80 guns. Before long, the high command had evidently formed the definite decision of employing Budyonnyi's cavalry corps along the Voronezh axis. The Southern Front commander, who had evidently already been informed of this decision, reported to the commander-in-chief, in note no. 10216 of 27 September,<sup>7</sup> that it, "in general, is deciding to move the cavalry corps against Mamontov," who was still facing the 8th Army's front.

The commander-in-chief's telegram no. 4615/op, of 30 September, addressed to Shorin, was evidently directly linked to this report. This telegram directly states that it was necessary to free up the cavalry corps as soon as possible for a new mission, while another brief attack was necessary to the southeast, so that the 9th Army could quickly reach the Don.<sup>8</sup> On that same day, that is, 30 September, Shorin's group, on the commander-in-chief's order no. 4637/op,<sup>9</sup> was to be removed from the Southern Front, forming a separate Southeastern Front. From now on the Southern Front became the high command's new focus. And it was along this front that the Oryol—Kursk axis became the object of particular concern for the high command and the Southern Front command. However, the latter's attention was divided between the 13th and 8th Armies.

At this time the 8th Army was in a very difficult situation. The wedging of Shkuro's and Mamontov's united corps between the internal flanks of both fronts



in the Voronezh area threatened to turn its left flank; at the same time, the enemy was planning an attack with significant forces of infantry from Korotoyak along its right flank. Southern Front commander Yegor'yev, in a cable conversation with the commander-in-chief on 6 October, formulated the cavalry corps' task in the following manner: "To end this cavalry nightmare as quickly as possible and to enable the 9th Army to firmly consolidate along the Don." The commander-in-chief expressed his agreement with the command's decision, stating that "While pressuring Mamontov, and then Shkuro, Budyonnyi will render significant support to the 8th Army."<sup>10</sup>

This conversation is also quite important for an understanding of the Southern Front's operational concept, which was also adopted by the high command. In this concept we see the already clearly defined Voronezh focus, which most worried the Southern Front commander and commander-in-chief with its "cavalry nightmare." The cavalry corps was dispatched to scatter this nightmare, but there was no talk yet of the linkage of its operations with the units along the Oryol axis and its subsequent tasks. This is testimony to the fact that, as a whole, the plan of the operation, regarding the coordination of all of its individual parts, had not yet been fully formulated at our highest command levels. At the same time, one may draw a conclusion from the existing version in our military-historical literature that the plan for the Oryol operation immediately expressed itself in finished form as a double envelopment of the enemy's group operating along the Oryol axis.<sup>11</sup> The result of the above-cited conversation was the commander-in-chief's directive no. 4780/op of 7 October,<sup>12</sup> addressed to the commander of the Southern Front, according to which Budyonnyi's corps was to be subordinated to him with the mission of continuing to pursue and defeat Mamantov and Shkuro's cavalry. The Southern Front command, in its order no. 632/op, formulated this task in the following manner: "Mamontov and Shkuro have linked up in Voronezh and are operating on Gryazi—seek them out and defeat them." Simultaneously, all of the 8th Army's cavalry units were to be subordinated to Budyonnyi's cavalry corps.<sup>13</sup>

While the plan for our decisive counter maneuver along the Oryol axis was being drawn up, the enemy continued to win his last successes along it: the 14th Army's right flank was forced back behind the Desna River, while part of the Volunteer Army's units were already trying to occupy the city of Chernigov, and on 6 October they entered the city of Voronezh. The arrival of the Red 9th Army (18,630 infantry, 2,766 cavalry and 165 guns), before which the numerically stronger Don Army was gradually falling back for the purpose of straightening out its front with Vrangeli's Caucasus Army along the Tsaritsyn axis, was not reflected on the success of the Whites' advance along the Oryol axis.

However, the appearance of the 9th Army along the line of the Don River nevertheless exerted an indirect and, moreover unfavorable influence on the course of the Oryol operation for the White command. It consisted in the fact that General Denikin, for the purpose of securing the Volunteer Army's right flank for

its subsequent movement to the north, ordered the commander of the Don Army to clear the territory of the Don area of Red forces in the Novokhoporsk area.<sup>14</sup> The Don Army organized its repeat crossing of the Don River in three groups: along the Talovaya axis, in the area of *stanitsa* Kazanskaya, and in the area of *stanitsa* Kletskaya. The spaces between these shock groups were to be occupied by a weak chain of observation outposts.

The start of operations on the Don front began with a new raid by Mamontov's cavalry, which had been dispatched to Liski station and which on 1 October occupied Talovaya station, disrupting the communications of the 9th Army's headquarters with its right-flank units and creating a threat to the Novokhoporsk area. Budyonny's cavalry corps, the 9th Army's cavalry group, the 21st Rifle Division, and the 22nd Railroad Brigade, as well as local formations of various types, were thrown into the fight against the raiding cavalry. While avoiding a collision with them, Mamontov on 3 October turned to the northwest, approaching Voronezh; he was pursued by Budyonny's cavalry corps, which had reached the Bobrov area. However, the Don Army's shock groups, taking advantage of the weakening of the 9th Army's front as a result of the diversion of significant forces toward its right flank in order to combat Mamontov's new raid, successfully crossed the Don River during 5–10 October and pushed the 9th Army back along its entire front, while threatening its left-flank divisions, which were still holding along the Don. Following a series of battles, this army's command was forced to begin a withdrawal to the front of the mouth of the Ikorets River—Buturlinovka—Uspenskaya—Kumylzhanskaya—Archedinskaya, while waiting for a more favorable moment to go over to a general offensive.

Having pressed the 9th Army back to the east, the enemy, having linked up Shkuro's and Mamontov's cavalry corps in Voronezh, began to develop his active operations in the space between the 8th and 9th Armies' internal flanks. The 8th Army, threatened by the enemy's cavalry corps, which were operating in the direction of Gryazi from the Nizhnedevitsk area, and the III Don Corps from the Bobrov area, which was operating toward Mordovo station, fell back to the line of the Ikorets River from Tulinovo station to its mouth.

The 8th Army did not have communications with the headquarters of the Southern Front for several days. The army commander took the decision independently to retreat on 4 October. He reported that the reasons for the withdrawal were the outflanking of his army from, both flanks, the absence of communications and bullets and the overall weakening of the army in the fighting.<sup>15</sup>

Particularly noticeable was the enemy's advance along the Oryol axis along the Kursk—Oryol—Tula—Moscow railroad. But this advance had been purchased at the cost of regroupings along the front, because General Denikin no longer had any free reserves for supporting the further scope of his operation.

It was just during the Oryol operation that the peasant movement in the rear of Denikin's front metastasized to the size of a real peasant war, which shook all the

internal braces of the White rear and at times even threatened Denikin's headquarters. In the fight against Denikin the peasantry proceeded under the leadership not only of the proletariat, but under the slogans of the anarchists and the Socialist Revolutionary ideology of the Greens. The struggle with the landlord, against which the peasantry arose, conditioned the growth of Makhno's influence. Makhno occupied Yekaterinoslav for an entire month and from time to time his detachments even threatened Taganrog, where Denikin's headquarters was located. Along the Black Sea coast the Greens' peasant movement, which arose under the slogans of a third, independent "democratic" force, achieved such a scope that Entente diplomacy, in the person of the British supreme commissar, sought to ease Denikin's situation by conducting peace negotiations with the Greens without him.

By this time relations with the Kuban' Cossacks had reached their greatest level of exacerbation. Formally, the *Rada* had been pacified by the execution of several of its deputies. But in order to maintain those pacified in subjugation, the actual military occupation of the Kuban' had to be resorted to.

Finally, Denikin's national policy yielded its fruits in the autumn of 1919. Chechnya and Dagestan rose up against the government of the "Government of the Armed Forces of South Russia." Although the leadership of the mountain tribes attempted to ascribe a national-chauvinist character to the uprising and to prop it up with Pan-Islamic slogans, it only managed to achieve this in part. Economic reasons, which conditioned the breadth of the movement, also conditioned its revolutionary character. The red banner arose behind the green banner and in an entire series of areas the mountaineers began to put forth definite Bolshevik slogans, in their national interpretation.

Thus in the White camp, despite a number of recent military successes, the struggle of the peasantry and the national minorities burst forth against the "Government of the Armed Forces of South Russia."

The struggle against the spreading peasant insurrections distracted significant White forces. Aside from the reserves, several of the best front-line units were dispatched to the fight against Makhno; the forces of the Terek Cossacks were tied down in fighting the Dagestan uprising, and; Vrangel's Caucasus Army had to rest its rear upon the unsteady Kuban'.

The immediate result of this internal political situation for the military front was that the military front was deprived of the possibility of counting on the flow of reinforcements from the rear and, as we have mentioned, had to gather them up, thus baring individual sectors. That free reserve, which was represented to a certain degree by the Don Army, which had fallen behind the Don, was once again committed by Denikin into the fighting along its previous axis, and thus he could do nothing to feed his subsequent offensive except to weaken that screen which he had left against the Red 14th Army, after it had been pushed back by him to the right bank of the Desna.

If we look at the disposition of both sides' forces along the Oryol axis as it had developed by 8 October, then we get the following picture. (See Map 10 of the plate section)

The Whites' front ran like a convex half-bulge from Voronezh along the line Zemlyansk—excluding Petrovskoye—Livny—excluding Gryaznoye—Yeropkino station—excluding Kromy—Bogoroditskoye—excluding Sevsk. Along this front the White forces were deployed in the following manner. Shkuro's and Mamontov's cavalry corps, numbering up to 11,000 cavalymen, were operating in the Voronezh area and to the southeast. An enemy infantry division, numbering 4,900 infantry and 400 cavalry (the number of guns and machine guns is unknown) was operating along the 125-kilometer front excluding Zemlyansk—Livny—excluding Gryaznoye. Thus the enemy had 39 infantry and three cavalymen per kilometer of front along this sector of the front.<sup>16</sup> The Kornilov Division, numbering 4,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, was developing its offensive along the 100-kilometer front excluding Gryaznoye—Yeropkino—excluding Kromy—excluding Bogoroditskoye, which comes to 40 infantry and three horsemen per kilometer of front. The 3rd Infantry Division, numbering 6,400 infantry, 300 cavalry and 20 guns, was deployed along the sector excluding Bogoroditskoye—excluding Sevsk and for another 50 kilometers to the southwest, for an overall front of 150 kilometers, which comes to 43 infantry, two cavalymen and one-eighth of a gun per kilometer of front. These three divisions were part of General Kutepov's I Army Corps; Kutepov disposed of 2,500 infantry in new formations in his reserve south of Kursk. Further on, against the 14th Army for 150 kilometers along the line of the Desna River from the left flank of Drozdovskii's Division<sup>17</sup> to Borzna, General Yuzefovich's<sup>18</sup> V Cavalry Corps, numbering 4,000 cavalry, which amounted to 27 cavalymen per kilometer of front.<sup>19</sup>

Against these enemy forces, the Reds, who flanked them along the front line already mentioned, deployed the following: the Red 13th Army (a composite division, the 55th Division, a brigade from the 3rd Division, a brigade from the 9th Division, the 42nd Division), numbering 16,000 infantry, 2,200 cavalry, 369 machine guns, and 129 guns, which amounts to 64 infantry, nine cavalymen,<sup>20</sup> two machine guns, and one-half of a gun<sup>21</sup> per kilometer of front, was facing the 1st Infantry Division and part of the Kornilov Division along the 250-kilometer sector excluding Kromy—Khotetovo—Gryaznoye—excluding Livny—Petrovskoye.

But in the immediate rear behind these forces, the commander-in-chief's reserve had already concentrated in the Karachev—Glinka—Navlya—Samovo—Gorodishche area in the form of the Latvian Rifle Division, Pavlov's brigade, and Primakov's cavalry brigade, with an overall strength of 10,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry and 80 guns.<sup>22</sup> The commitment of this reserve into the fighting along the 13th Army's sector would raise the personnel and equipment strength per kilometer of front to 104 infantry, 15 cavalry and five-sixths of a gun.<sup>23</sup> Thus we would have a more than two-to-one superiority in forces over the enemy. The main part of the

14th Army's forces (the 41st Rifle Division's 3rd Brigade, the 57th Rifle Division, and two brigades from the 41st Rifle Division's 2nd Brigade) had been concentrated against Drozdovskii's Division along the 100-kilometer Bogoroditskoye—Sevsk axis, which came to about 10,000 infantry and 40 guns, which came to 100 infantry per kilometer of front and two-fifths of a gun; that is, here the Reds disposed of a more than twofold superiority of force, which could have been significantly increased if the commander-in-chief's reserve had been committed into the fighting along the 14th Army's sector. The 46th Rifle Division, with several cavalry units, was stretched along the right bank of the Desna River against Yuzefovich's corps.

However, the Red 13th and 14th Armies' opportunities for further reinforcement had not been exhausted by only the commander-in-chief's reserve. The Estonian Rifle Division was approaching along the Oryol axis and was supposed to enter the fighting shortly. The 45th Rifle Division was being transferred from Vyaz'ma to Bryansk (however, it arrived late and arrived only when the pursuit of the enemy had begun). The enemy could have thrown onto the scales of military fortune that small reserve which he disposed of to the south of Kursk, as well as units taken from other sectors of the front.

Thus the correlation of forces along the Oryol axis was obviously not shaping up in the enemy's favor. Nevertheless this circumstance did not tell sufficiently decisively on the course of events before the committal of the commander-in-chief's reserve into the fighting, which should be explained by the Red forces' cordon disposition, the worn-out state of their combat units, due to the series of preceding uninterrupted battles and, finally, the great mixing of their units. The enemy was in approximately the same situation. There remained not a trace of his shock group of forces along the Rzhava—Oboyan' sector, with which he began his Oryol operation. Both fronts resembled porous cordons which were exerting their last efforts—one to hold the territory occupied, and the other to seize it.

A further step toward the final formulation of the plan for the Oryol operation is the commander-in-chief's telegram no. 1247/op of 8 October,<sup>24</sup> addressed to the commander of the Southern Front, in which the possibility of beginning the planned operation along the Oryol axis, without awaiting the arrival of all of the shock group's forces, was pointed out. The telegram concluded with the following phrase: "Think over this entire operation, while chiefly and precisely formulating its tasks." On the following day, that is, on 9 October, the commander-in-chief, in telegram no. 4830/op,<sup>25</sup> transferred his reserve along the Oryol axis—the Latvian Division and units attached to it—to the commander of the Southern Front, and in telegram no. 4828/op<sup>26</sup> he laid out the following outline for employing these units; "It is desirable," the commander-in-chief wrote, "to dispatch the shock group northwest of the line Kromy—Dmitrovsk along a front of no more than 20 kilometers. The overall axis of the attack is toward the Kursk railroad between Malo-Arkhangel'sk and Fatezh. The troops in the area of Kromy and Dmitrovsk are to remain in the areas and are

to be in no way replaced by the shock group, but are to take part in the attack along with it.” Quite typical were the commander-in-chief’s instructions regarding the 13th Army’s left flank: Svechnikov’s<sup>27</sup> brigade and the 55th Rifle Division. The Southern Front commander, the duties of which Yegro’yev temporarily continued to carry out, planned to dispatch these units to the southeast, but the commander-in-chief decided to draw these units toward the focus of the Oryol fighting, while proposing to direct them to attack to the southwest.

This was how the concept of the operation along the Oryol axis was planned.<sup>28</sup> It was expressed, on the one hand, in a double envelopment of the enemy’s group along the Oryol axis by the shock group—the Latvian Division and units attached to it—and, on the other hand, by the 13th Army’s left flank. This means that within the confines of the overall battle, on 9 October its two local sectors—the Voronezh and Oryol sectors—had been clearly determined, but the high command evidently considered each of them completely self-sufficient and independent of the other. The commander of the Southern Front, whose directive no. 10726/op of 9 October<sup>29</sup> is essentially the relaying of the above-cited directive by the commander-in-chief, evidently also evaluated these sectors this way. The Southern Front commander subordinated the shock group to the 13th Army, ordering that it be deployed along the Turinovo—Molodovoye sector, and for it to go over to a decisive offensive against the above-cited sector of the railroad. The 13th Army’s left flank—Svechnikov’s brigade and the 55th Rifle Division—was to defeat the enemy attacking on Oryol. Thus the 55th Rifle Division was supposed to attack to the southwest. The 14th Army received the following assignment: to carry out its previous mission along its right flank, to restore the situation in the area of Khutor Mikhailovskii and, upon reinforcing its left flank with a single brigade, to launch an attack with it on Dmitrovsk. Thus the launching of the main attack would fall to the lot of the 13th Army, while the 14th Army’s left flank would launch a supporting attack. The 86th Rifle Regiment, armed security, and units of the Estonian Division, which had begun its concentration, were to remain north of Oryol. However, this directive was not carried out exactly. The 13th Army’s left flank—Svechnikov’s brigade and the 55th Rifle Division—as is evident from the conversation between the commander-in-chief and the Southern Front commander on 10 October<sup>30</sup>—was forced to shift due south because two new enemy regiments had appeared along the Kromy road and its offensive took on not an enveloping but a frontal direction.

The offensive by the 13th Army’s shock group and its left flank encountered great enemy resistance and developed extremely slowly. As early as 10 October the Southern Front commander, in his directive no. 10801/op,<sup>31</sup> emphasized the entire significance of the activity of the 14th Army’s left flank. On 12 October the Southern Front commander, in his directive no. 10852/op,<sup>32</sup> while pointing out the beginning of the movement by the enemy’s cavalry from Voronezh to the north and northeast, once again repeated the mission for Budenny’s cavalry corps to defeat this cavalry,



while at the same time presenting to him the additional task of aiding the 8th Army. The latter had received orders to go over to a decisive offensive for the purpose of reaching the line of the Don River as far as Yandovitse. Thus this directive set, for the time being, limited and local goals to both of the Southern Front's left-flank groups. On 15 October the Southern Front commander subordinated the 13th Army's shock group (Latvian Division and attached units) to the commander of the 14th Army. In directive no. 10419/op,<sup>33</sup> the Southern Front commander demanded energetic actions to eliminate the enemy in the Dmitrovsk area, as the enemy, having occupied it, threatened the shock group's rear, and an energetic advance by the 14th Army's central divisions to the southeast for the purpose of securing the shock group's right flank. The Southern Front commander ordered the dispatch of the latter on Yeropkino, which would create for it conditions for a purely frontal offensive.

From the correlation of forces referred to above it is not difficult to espy the advantages of this and the other plan for employing the commander-in-chief's reserve. The commander-in-chief's directive no. 4828/op of 9 October and the Southern Front commander's directive no. 10419/op of 15 October would essentially lead to a head-on collision by the Latvian Division and Pavlov's brigade with the enemy's Drozdovskii and Kornilov Divisions.

The difference lay in the fact that the commander-in-chief's directive would strike deeper into the enemy's rear, while the Southern Front commander's directive (directed toward Yeropkino), simply sought to place a medical plaster under the tip of the enemy's invasion wedge. Under the conditions that had come about, the transfer of the commander-in-chief's reserve to the 13th Army was inexpedient; life itself added an amendment to this decision within a few days, forcing us to transfer the commander-in-chief's reserve, which had been transformed into the shock group, to the 14th Army. Exaggerated fears for the Tula axis evidently influenced the initial decision. An attack through Kromy would have led, as we have already mentioned, to a series of frontal collisions, which would have radically altered the commander-in-chief's idea for cutting off the enemy wedge. An attack in the direction of that same Fatezh or Kursk, but through Sevsk, that is, across the internal flanks of the enemy's 3rd Infantry Division and Yuzefovich's cavalry corps, would be closer to the goal.

The operations of the shock group, which had been committed before its concentration, led to stubborn meeting battles in which the enemy had an advantage.

This advantage was the consequence of that enemy regrouping, which he was forced to carry out under the influence of pressure by the Reds, discovered along the Kromy axis and the commitment into the fighting of his last reserves from the Kursk area, and evidently, from the Kiev area as well. Thanks to this regrouping, the enemy's forces operating along the sector excluding Kromy—excluding Sevsk (the 3rd Infantry Division), rose from 6,400 infantry and 300 cavalry to 8,000 infantry and 1,800 cavalry, that is, an addition of 1,600 infantry and 1,500 cavalry (the latter



evidently came from Yuzefovich's corps). The cavalry screen against the 14th Army, in the form of Yuzefovich's cavalry corps, was reinforced by infantry units, while the strength of the enemy's infantry and cavalry units along the sector excluding Sevsk—excluding Sosnitsa, with an overall length of 150 kilometers, was 3,500 infantry and 1,500 cavalry (23 infantry and ten cavalryman per kilometer of front). The meeting engagements along the front excluding Oryol—Sevsk were evidently the maneuvering of an active screen. However, in this fighting the enemy achieved a number of local territorial successes, seizing Kromy, Dmitriev, Dmitrovsk, and Sevsk. The enemy was developing his main attack, judging by the regrouping of his forces, along the Yelets—Novosil'—Oryol sector (including both extreme locales), having an overall length of 150 kilometers. Here the enemy had reinforced by 1,000 infantry and 200 cavalry the Kornilov Division, which was operating along the Oryol axis, thanks to which he managed to capture the city of Oryol on 13 October, and had quite significantly reinforced (by 5,100 infantry) the 1st Infantry Division, both by castling units along the front (the 4th Kornilov Infantry Regiment) from the neighboring Kornilov Division's sector, and by transferring them from the rear. Thanks to these measures, the 1st Infantry Division's strength rose from 4,900 infantry and 400 cavalry to 9,000 infantry and 500 cavalry (the personnel density of one kilometer of front reached 60 infantry and three cavalrymen, rounded out, that is, nearly half again more than with what this division began the operation). The relative strengthening of the division enabled it to win an area of space approximately 50 kilometers in depth, advancing as far as the southern outskirts of Yelets, inclusively, and occupying the town of Novosil'. But the pace of the development of Denikin's operation halted with these territorial achievements; his reserves had already been fully committed into the fighting and the inertia of movement was in and of itself insufficient, because it was not only being swallowed up by space, but also delayed by the resistance of the Red units.

The 14th Army's support of the shock group's maneuver was initially expressed in the offensive by two of this army's divisions (41st and 57th Rifle) on Sevsk and Dmitrovsk.<sup>34</sup> This offensive developed very slowly. However, the Latvian Division managed to occupy Kromy on 16 October, but could advance no further as a consequence of a lack of resilience in Pavlov's brigade, which was operating to the north of it. It was only on 17 October that the Estonian Division, which had completed its concentration and which had also been transferred to the 14th Army, went over to the offensive on Oryol and on 20 October, along with the 13th Army's right flank (9th Rifle Division), occupied it.

The shock group's assumption of the offensive, along with units from the 13th and 14th Armies, led to a stubborn struggle for the initiative over several days. The front line of both sides did not change significantly and the result of this struggle, which was overall successful for the Reds, was in no way expressed in territorial achievements, but in that in the final analysis they managed to retain the initiative

in their hands. Indeed, if we draw on a map the front line, as it existed on 21 October, then we will see only very insignificant changes in comparison with the Volunteer Army's achievements in space pointed out by us earlier. Now, as before, its front ran somewhat south of Yelets, with its right flank resting on the Don, taking in the village of Korotkoye, Prechistenskoye, Turovka, and Sobakino, bypassing the city of Oryol from the south, along the near approaches of which the 2nd Kornilov Regiment was continuing to stubbornly hold; further on the Whites' front line ran like a gently sloping bulge toward Chuvardino, bypassing Kromy from the east, then Dmitrovsk—Lobanovo—Sevsk, and then reaching the line of the White front pointed out earlier by us.

How the Southern Front command saw approximately its immediate tasks at this time can be judged from its directive no. 10938/op of 15 October.<sup>35</sup> This directive attached decisive significance to the 14th Army's actions. The Southern Front commander wrote that the elimination of the enemy in the Oryol and Novosil' areas depended on the rapidity and decisiveness of the actions of this army's shock group, and the securing of the town of Livny by units of the 13th Army, which due to the offensive by Budenny's cavalry corps on Voronezh and the 8th Army's offensive to the line of the Don, was supposed to cement the front's overall situation and enable it to develop subsequent operations.

Thus we still do not see in this directive an expression of the idea of the mutual linking of the Voronezh and Oryol sectors of the fighting.

While both sides were fighting for each inch of space against each other in stubborn fighting along the Oryol axis, major events in the Voronezh area had matured and concluded in victory, namely that it was on 19 October that the Volunteer Army's Don cavalry had its first collision with Budenny's cavalry corps, which ended in favor of the Red cavalry. The enemy was seeking to carry out a regrouping for launching a decisive attack against the cavalry corps, but it was at this time that partisan activities in the Whites' deep rear had their effect and forced them to detach part of their forces for eliminating these detachments, while at the same time the critical moment in the general engagement, favorable for Red arms, had arrived.

In its subsequent directive no. 11144/op of 20 October, the Southern Front command, to which the 12th Army had once again been subordinated on 16 October, planned a concentric offensive by all its armies, with the exception of the 12th. The latter, which was along the Southern Front's western sector against the Poles, relieved with its units, on orders from the Southern Front command, on 23 October the 14th Army's 46th Rifle Division, which was also shifted to the Sevsk—Dmitriev axis against the Volunteer Army's flank. Thus the 12th Army, by dispatching part of its forces, also aided the success of the operations along the Oryol axis. The 14th Army was supposed to break the enemy's resistance in the Dmitriev area and to decisively attack in the direction of Fatezh and Kursk. The 13th Army, along with the newly subordinated Estonian Division, was to energetically attack along the

front Shchigry—Kastornaya. The 8th Army was given the task of again reaching the line of the Don River. Budyonnyi's cavalry corps was to, upon capturing Voronezh, launch an attack in the general direction of Kursk for the purpose of cutting off the enemy's units operating to the north of the Voronezh—Kursk railroad; the cavalry corps was given the immediate task of capturing the railroad junctions of Kastornaya and Marmyzhin.<sup>36</sup> The 8th Army was ordered to immediately occupy the line of the Don as far as Yandovitse. Thus, according to this directive, one may consider the idea of the coordination of our units along the Oryol and Voronezh axes to have been established only from 20 October. Actually, this coordination was established even later.

The 14th Army's offensive, following the capture of the city of Oryol, continued to encounter over the course of seven days stubborn resistance by the enemy, who managed once again to capture the towns of Kromy and Sevsk, and to occupy Donskaya station along the 13th Army's extreme left flank and began to spread toward Lipetsk, Lebedyan' and Yelets; but these tactical successes were no longer capable of influencing the overall change in the course of events in favor of the enemy.

In his directive of 27 October, the commander-in-chief proposed to the Southern Front command to continue the energetic offensive from Dmitrovsk and Oryol for the purpose of completely defeating the enemy's group along the Oryol axis. This offensive was to be supported by an energetic attack by the 8th Army from the east, with a cavalry mass concentrated along its right flank. The latter was given the task of destroying the enemy group operating along the Yelets axis, followed by an attack into the rear of the enemy's Oryol group. Budyonnyi's cavalry group launched a second powerful attack against the enemy's cavalry in the Usman'—Sobakino area and on 24 October once again occupied Voronezh. Following its reinforcement by another cavalry division and a rifle brigade, Budyonnyi's cavalry corps received a task from the Southern Front commander, in directive no. 46/op of 27 October, changing the task contained in directive no. 1144/op of 20 October, upon crossing the Don to immediately direct a cavalry mass in the direction of Zemlyansk and Livny and, in conjunction with the 13th Army's left flank, to destroy the enemy in the Yelets—Livny area.<sup>37</sup> This directive meant the diversion of the cavalry corps from Kastornaya, which it had reached after the overall shift of the entire enemy front to the south, had become apparent.

The development of the success by Budyonnyi's cavalry and the 46th Division's successful actions around Sevsk and Dmitriev threatened the base of the enemy's invasion wedge at the same time that its head was tied down in stubborn frontal fighting with the Latvian Division. These actions forced the enemy, who had suffered significant losses in the fight with the shock group, to finally give up the initiative in the Oryol area and to begin a slow withdrawal, while putting up stubborn resistance in places. Following his second abandonment of the town of Kromy, the enemy

attempted to organize resistance along the front excluding Dmitrovsk—Yeropkino. The 14th Army broke through his front on 3 November with a shock group made up of two Latvian brigades and Primakov's 1,700-strong composite cavalry division was thrown into this breach.

The successful raid on the town of Fatezh, which Primakov's cavalry captured on 5 November, caused a major panic in the enemy rear which aided the 14th Army's subsequent offensive. On 13 November Primakov's cavalry carried out a secondary successful raid against the railroad junction of L'gov, located in the enemy rear.

At the same time that the 14th Army's successful offensive was developing, on 9 November Budyonnyi's cavalry appeared in the area of Kastornaya station, after which the enemy began to rapidly fall back along the 13th Army's front as well as to retreat along the 8th Army's front. The enemy's failure along the main Oryol axis could not be made up by the Don Army's successes along a secondary axis, where it had completely carried out the missions assigned to it, having occupied Novokhopyorsk and Povorino. By 1 November the 9th Army had fallen back along the Balashov axis to the front Gribankova—Kardail—Lekhtyukhino, while holding along the line Ryabov—Archedinskaya.

The significance of the Southeastern Front's actions during the Oryol operation was expressed in the fact that it distracted significant White forces to itself, by which means it aided to a certain degree the favorable outcome of the 14th Army's operation and that of Budyonnyi's cavalry corps.

Thus one should consider 24–26 October the days of the final shift in military fortune in favor of the Reds along the Oryol axis. Two factors define this event: the defeat of the Whites' cavalry by the cavalry army around Voronezh and the success of the Red 14th Army along the Sevsk axis, where the commitment of the 46th Rifle Division into the fighting exerted a decisive influence. According to the apt expression by one of the participants in these events, the division, under conditions of the complete exhaustion of the Whites' operational reserves, was that small but precious tactical unit which sharply accelerated the outcome of the month-long struggle along the Oryol axis. This was an attrition struggle along the front where the sides' main forces collided (the Dmitrovsk—Oryol area), and we should assign the decisive role in it to the 14th Army.

The army's attack forced the army to rapidly fall back before the 13th Army. The cavalry corps launched a fatal blow in the Voronezh area against the Whites' strategic cavalry, from which it was unable to recover until almost the end of the campaign. But we will not exaggerate the significance of this victory. Its echoes, which were separated by nearly 200 kilometers from the Oryol axis, could not affect it so quickly and immediately influence the beginning of the enemy's general retreat.

But the moral significance of the victory won was great to the highest degree and was the consequence of the increased attention paid to the southern front by the party and the Soviet regime.

As early as April 1919 they thought that we were close to victory in the south. The end of June was already bringing forth a danger from the south. In the first days of October the matter was becoming thus that the southern front was the main front.

Aside from all the other reasons which we spoke about in other parts of the chapter, the following phenomena were characteristic of the party's life in the summer of 1919: on the one hand, the majority of the party's best forces had been transferred to the Change to eastern front, while on the other, the party, based on the extended experience of the civil war, had to restructure its ranks.

During the development of Denikin's success, the chief questions for the party were not only its strictest and consistent militarization, but also its purging.

7,889 people remained in the entire Petrograd party organization in August 1919. Nevertheless, during the re-registering of its members, 2,450 were excluded. But as early as the end of 22 August 7,829 membership requests had been received from workers in nine districts, with 6,861 admitted. These figures defined the party's line at the time: one the one hand, to cleanse itself of accumulated rubbish and, on the other, to strengthen itself with workers from the workshop.

*Pravda*, the party's central organ, wrote on 12 September 1919 that despite the loss of many of its workers by Moscow's districts, "at the present time the question of purging the party's ranks and reinforcing it by means of excluding undesirable elements from it remains paramount... We must quickly rid ourselves of this ballast." On 2 October *Pravda* noted the conduct of party weeks, that is, the acceptance of new members from the working class after they had thrown all the "ballast" overboard throughout Russia. In Moscow the party week yielded very impressive results, for by 19 October in the Presnya district alone, according to our information, 900 workers had joined the party, with up to 350 in the Sokol'niki district, etc.

Only this restructuring could ensure the final success of the military victory. An entire series of other measures unfolded on this basis. The report by the RKP's Central Committee for the period of 15 September through 15 October 1919 appeared in the press at the end of October 1919. The Central Committee declared that its main work and that of the entire party during the month under review was military work. The committee's 26 September plenum, taking into account the threatening situation on the southern front, voted to shift the maximum number of communists and sympathizers working in local Soviet establishments to military work, with the exception of those from the military, food and transportation commissariats.

The committee attested that the Petrograd workers, as always, had been the first to respond to its call for a new mobilization. Petrograd sent more than 300 responsible workers and carried out a subsequent mobilization on the basis of one man out of 15 from civilian collectives and one out of ten from military ones. However, with Yudenich's offensive, the dispatch of mobilized workers from Petrograd to the south ended. Moscow took a bit longer, but as early as

15 October it had yielded over 600 communists, and the mobilization was not yet over.

In the provinces, the Vologda committee voted to depart in full for the southern front, while in Samara they dispatched by name seven of the best workers, and then carried out an additional mobilization; Nizhnii Novgorod, which had dispatched an entire group of responsible workers not long before this, yielded up another 25 men. In Vladimir, besides the party mobilization, which yielded about 400 soldiers, 25% of the responsible workers of the unions were mobilized.

While lacking a final tally, the Central Committee believed that party organizations had given 2,000 of the most responsible workers to the front and declared such a result to be quite sufficient.

One should note the special type of mobilizations which the unions and factory committees carried out from the first third of September 1919 through the VTsSPS's military-supply bureau. This was the creation of procurement detachments of workers, on a bonus basis, while the party's central organ, *Pravda*, wrote in a special article, which was dedicated to these detachments' tasks: "Now the matter is in the hands of the working masses. The workers must dispatch procurement detachments made up of the best comrades... Our responsibility is to defeat the White Guards, not only along the external front, but along the internal grain front as well."

The political line for the gathering of the harvest was outlined by the party's Central Committee as early as the end of August 1919. This was "the conduct of the grain requisition so that all of the procurement organizations establish the correct attitude toward the countryside, mainly toward the middle peasantry."

There were other such measures to be added to these, such as the "Front Week" and the more and more developing *subbotniks*,<sup>38</sup> which had an enormous propaganda value. All of these measures together yielded an inevitable result—the strengthening and restoration of the front. As early as 4 October 1919, *News of the Moscow Council* wrote that in order to repulse the danger from Denikin, "we are adding to the troops' previous efforts by putting forth new detachments of workers capable of creating a turning point in the attitudes of the retreating units."

The Communist Party leadership did not limit itself to organizational-political measures in the rear. The party took into its hands more decisively the control over the Southern Front. Trotskii's noisy but useless trips along the Southern Front were halted. Trotskii was recalled by the Central Committee to Moscow. Stalin was sent to prepare the Southern Front's victory. "The new military workers demanded that Trotskii not interfere in the Southern Front's affairs. Trotskii withdrew from direct participation in the Southern Front's affairs. Operations on the southern front, all the way to our taking of Rostov-on-Don and Odessa were conducted without Trotskii."<sup>39</sup>

Stressing once more that the political reasons for the failure of the operation undertaken by Denikin flowed from the very essence of his state and military system, we will halt here for a military description of his actions. Denikin's strategy, which



was deprived of any kind of political underpinnings and support by the time of the Oryol operation, began to manifest all of the features of military adventurism. His actions were like those of a frenetic gambler, striving to break the bank by taking a chance, while not having a penny to his name.

However, in examining his operational creativity, we must note his skillful concentration of a shock fist along the decisive axis. But this was followed by a series of mistakes. Among these we must add the beginning of operations along diverging axes—the Oryol and Novokhopyorsk axes—the stubborn desire to break through to Oryol, despite the completely apparent unfavorable correlation of forces, which can only be explained by an underestimation of the growing combat power of the Red armies and, finally, the absence of a sufficient securing against the 14th Army. The latter mistake proved to be the most fatal for Denikin.

We have already described the intense work by the party and Soviet society for the struggle against Denikin.

In comparison with this elemental movement, the uptick in the plotting work of the counterrevolutionary underground in the Red rear was insignificant.

The greatest, relatively speaking, manifestation of this work was in Moscow. Here the detailed knowledge by the White command of the combat composition of the Red armies and their operational intentions had been organized by a group of plotters. Engineer Shchepkin,<sup>40</sup> who worked in connection with the “National Center,” headed this organization. Shchepkin was in touch with General Stogov<sup>41</sup> and Colonel Stupin,<sup>42</sup> who occupied responsible posts in the Red Army’s central administration. Communications were established between the Petrograd and Moscow plotters. The latter was more developed in the organizational sense. Two organizations existed in Moscow: a political one, with a primarily Kadet coloration, and a military-technical one, which Stupin headed. General Stogov was forming the cadres of two divisions for an armed uprising, but the plotters were desperately short of weapons and people. The object of the uprising was to isolate Moscow from the outside world by damaging all of the major rail routes. The plots were uncovered and the guilty were arrested and suffered punishment. At the same time, part of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and anarchists sought to fight against the Soviet regime through individual terror. They managed to set off an explosion at a party meeting on Leont’yev Lane, where several well-known party workers were killed and wounded. But all of the counterrevolution’s attempts suffered a complete defeat.

Aside from failures at the front, the White armies suffered a series of powerful attacks from Makhno’s partisan detachments, which shook their strategic situation to a significant degree. By 20 October 1919 Makhno’s forces had reached 28,000 infantry and cavalry, with 50 guns and 200 machine guns, which represented quite a powerful organizational core, divided into four corps. Makhno’s “army,” thanks to the infantry’s movement on carts, was quite mobile. At first the chief theater of



its operations was Yekaterinslav province and part of Kherson province, then his bands began to threaten the Volunteer Army's rear, particularly when an unfavorable turn in the operation was taking place. Makhno's forces threatened Denikin's very headquarters in Taganrog, occupying Berdyansk and Mariupol'. The White command had to dispatch significant forces (Shkuro's corps) to fight Makhno's bands, thus weakening the front.

The loss of the decisive battle by the "Armed Forces of South Russia" finally unleashed those forces which had been undermining their rear from within. At the same time, all of Denikin's disagreements with the Cossacks came to the fore and from this time the Kuban' opposition not only raised its head, but entered into a decisive struggle against Denikin.

## The Pursuit of the Enemy and the Caucasus Front's Operation

*The Pursuit by the Southern Front's Red Armies of the White Armies' Southern Front. The Don-Manych Operation. The Struggle in the North Caucasus. The Evacuation of Novorossiisk. The Birth of the Crimean Front*

Against the background of the overall situation, the Volunteer Army's moral disintegration continued. This disintegration found its expression, if only in the fact that following the Oryol operation the number of its actual troops fell to 3,000–4,000,<sup>1</sup> while its remaining forces represented enormous rear establishments which had been corrupted to the highest degree by speculation of all sorts.

It was in this situation and condition that the "Armed Forces of South Russia" continued with ever increasing speed to roll back to the borders of the Don region and the Crimea. It was the Red command's task to energetically pursue these forces and prevent them from recovering and putting themselves in order. The Volunteer Army's main forces, which were being threatened by the deep wedge of Budyonnyi's cavalry between them and the Don Army, fell back rapidly to the south and southeast, breaking contact with its group along the Ukrainian right bank. Makhno's "army," which was running rampant in the area of Yekaterinoslav province, did much to split up the Volunteer Army into two completely isolated groups in space. (See Map 11 of the plate section)

The Soviet command pursued the goal of occupying the Donets Basin as quickly as possible and to completely split the Volunteer Army from the Cossack regions, which is why it dispatched the 13th and 8th Armies and Budyonnyi's cavalry army into the Don region, placing on the 12th Army responsibility for operations along the Kiev axis and the 14th Army for operations along the left bank of the Dnepr in the direction of Poltava and Khar'kov. The Southeastern Front's 9th Army was to develop its pursuit along the Liski—Millerovo railroad for the purpose of reaching Novocherkassk and Rostov-on-Don. The same front's 10th Army, operating between the Volga and Don, was supposed to capture Tsaritsyn and then develop the pursuit of the enemy along the Tsaritsyn—Tikhoretskaya railroad.

Vrangel', the new commander of the Volunteer Army, in his turn, was already intriguing among the higher command element for the purpose of ousting Denikin and selecting him in his place.<sup>2</sup> But the Volunteer Army's weakness had evidently deprived Vrangel' of the opportunity of expressing his intentions. Losses in the fighting and from disease had so weakened the Volunteer Army that it had to be reformed into a corps. In striving to escape into the Crimea, Vrangel' was holding his left flank along the Khar'kov axis far forward, while rapidly pulling back and weakening his right flank.

Evidently in connection with Vrangel's intentions, from the beginning of December the enemy began to once again put up stubborn resistance to the Red 13th and 14th Armies along their paths of advance toward Khar'kov. On 5 December the 14th Army was arriving at the line of the Vorskla River, having captured Akhtyrka and thus threatening the Khar'kov area from the northwest. The 13th Army, whose right-flank division (the Estonian Rifle Division) was moving along the Kursk—Khar'kov railroad and was located 25 kilometers north of Belgorod, was threatening this area directly from the north. Finally, a threat was developing to the Khar'kov area from the east on the part of the 8th Army, which had captured the town of Pavlovsk, on the Don, with units of its 40th Rifle Division. The cavalry army<sup>3</sup> was moving on Valuiki. On 6 December the 14th Army forced the Vorskla River. This army's right-flank division, the 41st Rifle Division, captured Kirilovka station and was headed toward Valki; the 46th Rifle Division, which was attacking in the center, was moving on the village of Lyutovka, seizing Graivoron with its left flank. The left-flank Latvian Rifle Division was advancing in stubborn fighting on Tomarovka, maintaining communications to the left with the 13th Army's Estonian Rifle Division. During this time the Estonian Rifle Division was engaged in stubborn fighting to capture Sazhnoye station, which it ended up capturing. The 3rd Rifle Division was attacking to the left of the Estonian Division, from the Novyi Oskol area; the 42nd Rifle Division was moving even further toward the east and the 9th Rifle Division, which occupied the village of Vesoloye, was attacking along the army's left flank. The 8th Army's right-flank 12th Rifle Division occupied the town of Biryuch, while the army's remaining divisions were heading toward the line of the Don River.

The enemy, while maneuvering with his cavalry, was attempting to break the Red ring which had formed around the Khar'kov area. While actively defending against the 14th Army and the 13th Army's center and right flank, he directed an attack by Mamontov's recovered corps against the boundary between the 13th and 9th Armies. This corps initially turned the right flank of the 12th Rifle Division from the north in the Biryuch area and threw it back to the east. Widening its breakthrough, it then turned the left flank and rear of the 9th Rifle Division in the L'vovka area,<sup>4</sup> while part of the cavalry army's forces came under attack as well. But the latter's main mass, in turn, attacked Mamontov's cavalry. One of the enemy's

divisions (10th Cavalry) was routed and the enemy's maneuver suffered a complete defeat; his cavalry rushed to Valuiki, with the cavalry army pursuing closely on its heels. On 7 December, on the same day the Estonian Division captured the city of Belgorod, the 13th Army's center and left flank, together with the 8th Army's right flank, renewed their offensive. But at a time when the enemy had already begun to weaken under the blows of the 13th, 8th and cavalry armies' internal flanks, he continued to stubbornly hold out in the sector between the Khar'kov—Kursk and Khar'kov—Poltava railroads. Here he gave up each step only after stubborn fighting.

During 7 December the 14th Army occupied Murafa, Nikitovka and Matveyevka<sup>5</sup> and, during an attack during the night of 7–8 December, captured Bogodukhov, while its central 46th Rifle Division (comrade Eideman) arrived in the Lyutovka area. On this day the Latvian Rifle Division's left flank took part, jointly with the Estonian Division, in the capture of Belgorod and advanced as far as Toplinka. During the following days the Reds' ring around Khar'kov continued to squeeze tighter. On 9 December units of the 46th Rifle Division occupied the small town of Zologov. By this time the Latvian Division's left wing had reached the village of Vesylaya Lopan'. The previous evening, that is, on 8 December, the cavalry army occupied Valuiki and was developing the pursuit toward Kupyansk, while units of the 13th Army occupied Volchansk. On 9 December the 14th Army's right-flank 41st Rifle Division advanced considerably, occupying the town of Valki; the half-ring around Khar'kov threatened to close altogether, because the 14th Army was moving Primakov's cavalry group into the rear of Khar'kov toward Merefa station. However, the enemy still continued to hold on along the near approaches to Khar'kov throughout 10 December, with the city falling into the Reds' hands only on 11 December. As a result of the ten-day struggle, the enemy was nevertheless unable to hold onto the Khar'kov area. The average speed of advance of the Red divisions during these days was ten kilometers per day. But as an example worthy of our attention, we can note the organization of the Khar'kov area by the Whites. The defensive perimeter had been moved in front of a major proletarian center. A defense along the immediate approaches threatened the Whites with an internal explosion and, thus not being able to hold this external line, they quite sensibly gave up the idea of defending along the immediate approaches to the city.

The peculiar nature of General Vrangl's maneuver and, it's possible, his secret aims, was noticed by the Don command and, at its request, Denikin sharply changed the direction of the Volunteer Corps' withdrawal, shifting its main forces on Rostov by a dangerous flank march and leaving only Slashchyov's<sup>6</sup> group of 3,500 infantry and cavalry and 32 guns to cover the Crimean axis. Vrangl's preparations to oust Denikin, which the latter had uncovered, brought about the subordination of the Volunteer Corps to the Don command and Vrangl's dismissal from his responsibilities.

The Southern Front's right-flank army (12th), in its turn, initially encountered stubborn enemy resistance along the approaches to Kiev, along the front

Osetr—Kozelets. The Southeastern Front's right flank (9th Army) was also falling behind in its pursuit. However, as early as the middle of December, the line of the pursuing Red front had begun to rapidly even out. On 16 December the 12th Army's regiments entered Kiev. On this day the Southern Front command issued new tasks to its armies in a directive, the fulfillment of which was supposed to split the "Armed Forces of South Russia" into three separate groups in space. The 12th Army's center of gravity was to be shifted to the right bank of the Dnepr. While developing the offensive along the Odessa axis, it was supposed to reach as far as Kremenchug with its left flank. The 14th Army was to be aimed at Lozovaya and Berdyansk in order to cut off the enemy's group operating along the Dnepr's right bank from the Donets Basin. The 13th Army's mission was to capture the Donets Basin together with Budyonnyi's cavalry army, for which it was to attack toward Slaviansk, Yuzovo and Novo-Nikolayevskaya.

Budyonnyi's shock group, which included his army and two rifle divisions (9th and 12th), employing all its available transport, was supposed to rapidly move into the Donets Basin and cut off the Volunteer Corps' path of retreat into the Don region. The 8th Army was to reach the Lugansk area.

The formation of Budyonnyi's shock group and the assignments of tasks to it were quite timely, if we recall that at this time the Volunteer Corps was changing the axis of its retreat from the Crimean axis to the Novocherkassk one and thus was exposing itself to flank attacks from Budyonnyi's group. In covering the Volunteer Corps' flank march, the Whites launched a meeting offensive against Budyonnyi's group from the Bakhmut area with a shock group consisting of three cavalry corps and two infantry divisions, but they were defeated by comrade Budyonnyi and streamed back to the south in disorder. However, they managed to win time for carrying out the Volunteer Corps' flank march-maneuver and it managed to link up with the Don Army. Budyonnyi's group was only able to attack the tail of this group and defeat its Markov Division in the Alekseyevo—Leonovo area.

The Southern Front's Red armies had already reached the front Kremenchug—Verknye-Dneprovsk—Yekaterinoslav—Sinel'nikovo—Ilovaiskaya—Pervozvanovka—Kamenskaya on 1 January, which signified the cleansing of the Donets Basin of the enemy. The pursuit by the Southeastern Front's armies developed less rapidly due to the enemy's great resilience and the conditions of space. However, on the evening of 2 January the 10th Army captured Tsaritsyn and began to continue the offensive in the general direction of Velikoknyazheskaya.

Following the Volunteer Corps' link-up with the Don Army, the enemy began to rapidly fall back before the Southern Front's armies. The latter took up pursuing the enemy in railroad cars, in this way returning to the operational methods of the time of the rail war. For example, an infantry battalion (13th Army), which had been dispatched after the enemy along the railroad, occupied the city of Mariupol' on 4 January 1920; on 6 January 1920 Budyonnyi's cavalry seized the city of Taganrog

and, on 8 January 1920 there followed the fall of the city of Rostov. On 10 January the Southeastern Front's 10th Army was moving to the line of the Manych River.

As a result of the Red Army's arrival at the shore of the Sea of Azov, the "Armed Forces of South Russia" finally broke up into three separate groups in space. The largest of these, consisting of the Don Army, the remnants of the Kuban' Army and the Volunteer Corps, had been thrown against the left bank of the Don and in its subsequent operations sought to once again rely on the North Caucasus; Slashchyov's weak group had fallen back into the Crimea; it was pursued by the no less weak 46th Rifle Division, which had been exhausted by the previous fighting and was strung out along a broad front (Kherson—Genichesk). An underestimation of the significance of the Crimean axis was undoubtedly a mistake on the part of the Red command, because it enabled Slashchyov's detachment to hold out in the Crimean isthmuses and to transform the Crimea into a new base for the southern counterrevolution. Finally, the Volunteer Army's right-flank group, under the command of General Shilling,<sup>7</sup> was falling back in the direction of Odessa.

The elimination of these groups required a change in the operational axes of both Red fronts' armies. The former names of the fronts no longer corresponded geographically to their new operational axes; in the beginning of January 1920 the Southern Front was renamed the Southwestern Front, and on 18 January 1920 the Southeastern Front was renamed the Caucasus Front. Taking into account the specific weight of all three enemy groups, the high command attached the greatest significance to its North Caucasus group. Thus the task of the Caucasus Front's Red armies was considered more important and the front was accordingly reinforced at the expense of the Southwestern Front. The 8th Army and Budyonny's cavalry army were subordinated to the Caucasus Front command. Besides this, it was planned to transfer a number of individual divisions (3rd, 4th, 9th, Latvian, and Estonian) from the Southwestern Front to the Caucasus Front.

The Southwestern Front command directed its right-flank 12th Army predominantly to the west, assigning it the task of reaching the front of the Ptich' and Ubort' rivers—Olevsk—Novograd-Volynsk—Lyubar—Sinyava station—Zhmerinka—Rakhny. Thus the army's main task was to serve as a screen against the Polish forces. This circumstance was foreseen by the command, which instructed the army that in the event of difficulties with the Poles to be ready to go over to the offensive toward Rovno and Dubno. In light of this possibility, it was necessary to station the 7th Rifle Division, which was being transferred to the army from the front reserve, in the Kiev—Kazatin—Zhitomir area.

The 14th Army received orders to launch its main attack against Odessa, operating along both banks of the Dnepr. The 13th Army (3rd and 46th Rifle Divisions and Primakov's cavalry group), received orders to capture the Crimea.

The Caucasus Front command made its immediate task the elimination of the enemy forces that had halted opposite the city of Rostov, on the left bank of the

Don. While leaving the 10th Army's task (the arrival at Tikhoretskaya) in place, it was bringing up the 9th Army, which had ended up echeloned behind the 8th Army in the *stanitsa* Razdorskaya—Konstantinovskaya area and was concentrating the 1st Cavalry Army, along with attached rifle divisions, in the area of Rostov.

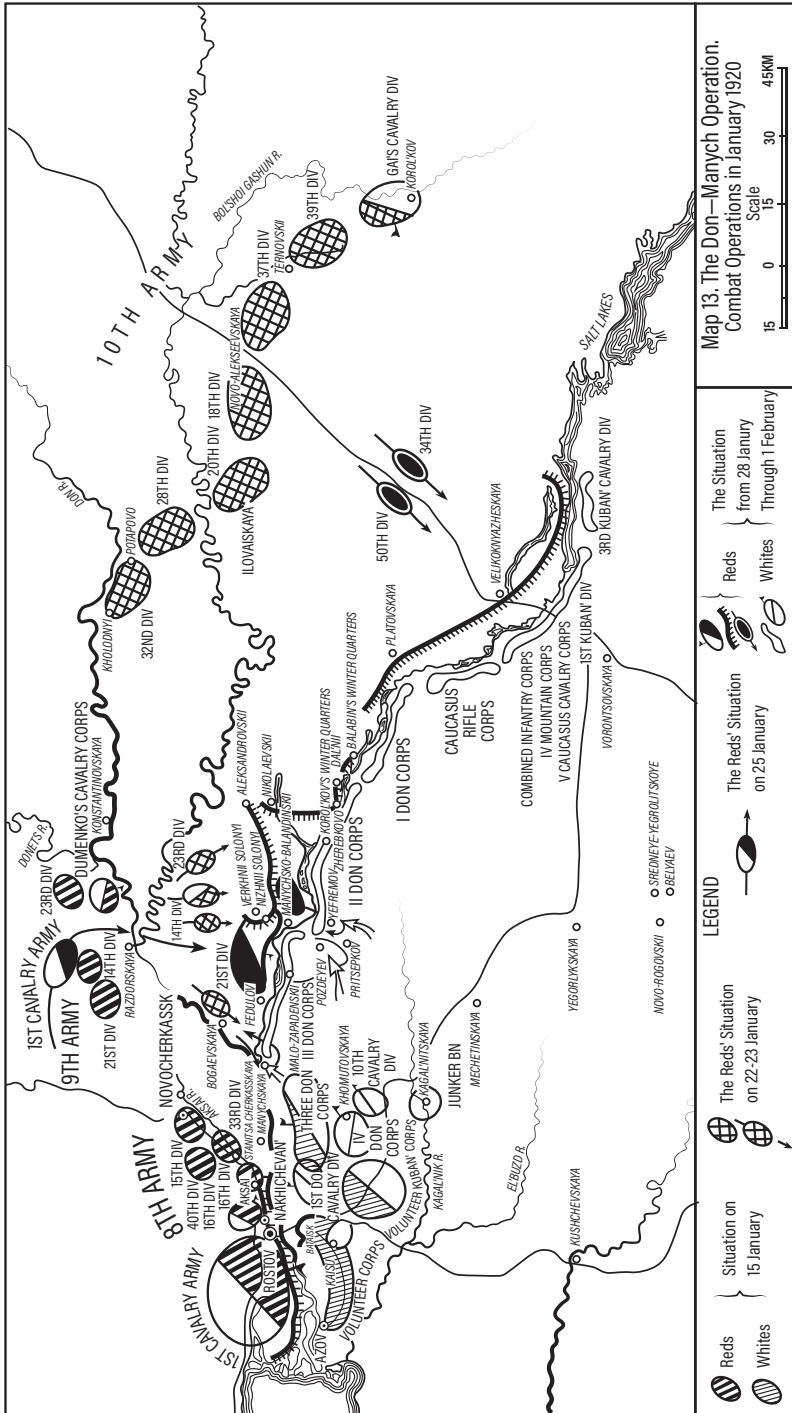
The enemy was located behind the Don River in the following manner. The Volunteer Corps had occupied the front Azov—Bataisk, resting its flank on the heavily fortified town of Bataisk. The Don cavalry (three cavalry corps) was located in the area of *stanitsa* Ol'ginskaya. There were three Kuban' cavalry corps in reserve south of Bataisk. The enemy's overall strength may be approximately defined as 24,000 troops, of which 11,000 were cavalry. On 15 January 1920 the 1st Cavalry Army, consisting of 9,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry (the 9th and 12th Rifle Divisions), was deployed against these forces in the Rostov area.

Besides this, the 8th Army (40th, 15th, 16th, and 33rd Rifle Divisions, and the 16th Cavalry Division), the strength of which was 11,000 infantry, 2,022 and 168 light and heavy guns,<sup>8</sup> was stationed along the front Rostov-on-Don—Novocherkassk—Aksai.

In 1920 the Don froze only on 15 January. The area occupied by the Volunteer Army represented an open and low-lying plain, cut by swamps, lakes and creeks, which strengthened the enemy's position and did not hinder his fire actions. The cavalry army did not dispose of any kind of mobile bridging park. Proceeding from these conditions, the cavalry army command proposed to the front command to refrain from a frontal attack on Bataisk by cavalry crossing the Don from Rostov, but to undertake a deep turning movement against the enemy position. However, the front command left its decision in place as to the cavalry's launching a frontal attack on Bataisk.

This operation was supposed to have been carried out according to the joint agreement of the 8th and cavalry army commands and led to the following plan of operations: two of the 8th Army's divisions (16th and 33rd) were to cross over the Don on the night of 16–17 January and occupy Ol'ginskaya and Staro-Cherkasskaya *stanitsas*; behind them, near Nakhichevan' (a northern suburb of Rostov), three of the cavalry army's divisions were to cross and, supported by a brigade from the 12th Rifle Division, were to attack Bataisk. On 17 January this maneuver began to be carried out, but the cavalry army's attack on Bataisk was not successful and the troops returned to their jumping-off positions. On 18 January the cavalry army repeated its attack, which was also unsuccessful, after which the 8th Army command pulled its rifle divisions back behind the Don and Aksai. On 19 January the cavalry army again attacked Bataisk unsuccessfully. The failures around Bataisk exacerbated and soon led to extreme tension in relations, on the one hand, between the Caucasus Front command, in the person of V. I. Shorin and, on the other, between the commanders of the 8th (Sokol'nikov)<sup>9</sup> and cavalry armies. The front command saw the main reason for the failure in the 12-day layover in the Rostov area without active operations, which enabled the enemy to rest and get prepared for a defense,





and in carrying out the attack with only part of its forces (two of the 8th Army's divisions—the 15th and 40th—were inactive during the first attacks on Bataisk, as was one of the cavalry army's rifle divisions—the 9th Rifle). The cavalry army command pointed out the completely unsuitable terrain, consisting of continuous bogs, and the limited space for deploying cavalry. The 8th Army command, in its turn, accused the cavalry army of manifesting an extreme lack of combat resilience.

During the following days, namely on 20–21 January, the 8th and 1st Cavalry Armies again attempted to jointly carry out a knowingly impossible offensive on Bataisk, due to the thaw, but it ended with the same results. The hitch around Bataisk was beginning to take on the form of a prolonged operation. Shorin hurried to commit the 9th Army into the fighting, directing it to the lower Manych, from its mouth as far as *stanitsa* Manychsko-Balandinskaya. On 23 January Dumenko's cavalry corps, which was part of this army, crossed the Don and set out in the direction of Yefremov; three of the 9th Army's divisions crossed above it and were attacking along the front Nizhnii Solyonnyi—Verkhonii Solyonnyi—Manychsko-Balandinskaya—*stanitsa* Manychskaya (23rd, 14th and 21st Rifle Divisions). But the enemy had already managed to adopt measures to meet the 9th Army. One of its divisions (21st Rifle), which was supposed to occupy Manychskaya, was driven out of there and the battle along the lower Don, beginning from this time, spread to the corner between the Don and the lower Manych. Before long the struggle to take the North Caucasus promised to spread even further in space with the Red 10th Army's approach to its main focus. By 22 January the latter was already overcoming the line of the Sal River, occupying with its divisions (32nd, 28th, 20th, 38th, 37th, and 39th Rifle Divisions and Gai's cavalry division) the Kholodnyi—Potapov—Ilovaiskaya—Novaya Alekseyevskaya—Ternovskii—Korol'kova area. The commanders of the 8th and 1st Cavalry Armies, once again jointly coordinating their actions, decided, without repeating their frontal attacks on Bataisk, to concentrate the cavalry army near *stanitsa* Bogayevskaya, and on 25 January to attack with the army through Khomutovskaya on Kushchyovskaya, thus enveloping the enemy's Bataisk group of forces from the right flank and rear, while at the same time both armies' infantry would attack *stanitsa* Ol'ginskaya.

This decision coincided to a certain degree with the views of the high command, which in its directive no. 66/1 of 24 January ordered them to shift the center of the operation to the maneuver of the 9th and 10th Armies. The 9th Army, in particular, received orders to break the line of the Manych for the purpose of securing the advance of Dumenko's cavalry corps into the flank and rear of the Volunteer Army.

Upon receiving reports of the temporary occupation of *stanitsa* Manychskaya by units of the 9th Army, the commander-in-chief, in his directive no. 68/sh of 25 January, developed the plan for a broader maneuver. The 8th Army, along with two divisions (9th and 12th) from the cavalry army, received orders to tie down the enemy, while the cavalry army was to move by forced march to the

Razdorskaya—Konstantinovskaya area, pick up Dumenko's cavalry corps and the 9th Army's 1st Rifle Division, and to deeply outflank the enemy in the general direction of Mechetinskaya. However, the front command narrowed these orders in that it left Dumenko's cavalry corps to operate independently. On 27 January the cavalry army received orders to capture Malo-Zapadenskii and to subsequently attack toward *stanitsas* Khomutovskysya and Kagal'nitskaya. The fulfillment of this directive led to a number of new and stubborn battles, with mixed results, by the cavalry army with the enemy's cavalry group on the crossings over the Manych.

On 28 January Budyonnyi's cavalry launched a powerful attack against the enemy and put his cavalry to flight, capturing 12 guns and 30 machine guns. But on 29 January it was hit by just as powerful an attack by Mamontov's cavalry in the area of Pritsepkov farm, while the 11th Cavalry Division temporarily lost its combat capability; several guns and machine guns were lost.<sup>10</sup> On 30 January the cavalry army once again stood on the northern bank of the Manych, occupying a front from Fedulovo to Manychsko-Balandinskaya. The 9th Army reached the front Balabin's winter quarters—Dal'nii—Zherebkov—Korol'kov's winter quarters—Verkhni Solyonnyi—Nizhni Solyonnyi—Aleksandrovskii—Nikolayevskii and east of Zherebkov. But the enemy continued to stubbornly hold on to *stanitsa* Manychskaya and all the attempts by the 21st Rifle Division to once again capture it ended in failure. The 10th Army continued to win space: on 26 January it reached the line of the Manych River from Balabin's winter quarters through Velikoknyazheskaya as far as the salt lakes. Gai's cavalry division was headed for Vorontsovka.

The cavalry army's failure on 29 January brought about new disagreements between the front command and the cavalry army's revolutionary military council. Comrade Shorin saw the main reason behind the failure in the fact that the cavalry army, following the unsuccessful fighting of 28 January, lost half a day without pursuing the enemy. Comrade Voroshilov, a member of the 1st Cavalry Army's revolutionary military council, pointed out the absence of unified leadership of the two cavalry groups: Dumenko's and Budyonnyi's. Dumenko had plunged ahead while the cavalry army was still just preparing to cross the Manych. Thus the enemy managed to cope in detail with Dumenko's corps and the cavalry army.<sup>11</sup>

The 10th Army's arrival at the line of the Manych River was the prerequisite for a completely new qualitative situation along the Manych—Don front. Its first indication was the extreme ferocity of the struggle along the Manych River. Before we take up the examination of the Caucasus Front's Manych operation, which grew out of the attempt to knock out the enemy's Bataisk cork, we will examine the disposition of the sides before this decisive operation to capture the North Caucasus.

By 1 February 1920 the enemy's forces along the Bataisk axis (the front Azov—Bataisk) consisted of the entire Volunteer Corps (the Drozdovskii, Kornilov, Alekseyev, and Markov Divisions), numbering 4,800 infantry, 2,100 cavalry, 32 guns, and 132 machine guns, and the 1st Don Cavalry Division,

numbering 595 infantry, 400 cavalry, 14 guns, and 21 machine guns, for a total of 5,395 infantry, 2,500 cavalry, 46 guns, and 153 machine guns along an approximately 50-kilometer front, which is equivalent to 108 infantry, 50 cavalry, about one gun, and three machine guns per kilometer of front. Besides this, six armored trains, the strength of whose landing parties reached 500 infantry, had been concentrated in the Bataisk area. Stavropol' military classes, numbering 500 infantry, were in Kaisug, while a battalion of *junkers*<sup>12</sup> of unknown strength was located in Kagal'nitskaya as a deep reserve. The IV Don Cavalry Corps, and the 10th Cavalry Division, with an overall strength of 2,800 cavalry, 12 horse guns and 54 machine guns, occupied *stanitsa* Khomutovskaya. This cavalry mass was a mobile, maneuver reserve for the enemy. The enemy was stationed along the line of the Manych River against the Red 9th Army in the following manner: the III Don Cavalry Corps, numbering 2,525 infantry, 555 cavalry, 15 guns, and 48 machine guns, occupied the front Manychskaya—Manychsko—Balandinskaya. The II Don Corps, numbering 3,133 infantry, 4,745 cavalry, 147 machine guns, 53 guns, and eight aircraft, occupied the front Verkhonii Solyonnyi—excluding Nizhnii Solyonnyi—Zherebkov—Dal'nii. The I Don Corps, numbering 4,740 infantry, 1,625 cavalry, 117 machine guns, 13 guns, and nine aircraft, occupied the front excluding Dal'nii—excluding Platovskaya. There were also small detachments, with an overall strength of 930 infantry, 910 cavalry, four guns, and 18 machine guns, which meant that the enemy disposed of 11,308 infantry, 7,835 cavalry, 85 guns, 330 machine guns, and 17 aircraft along a 100-kilometer front from Manychskaya to Platovskaya, which is equivalent to 113 infantry, 78 cavalry, about one gun, and more than three machine guns (all figures are rounded off) per kilometer of front. Operating against the Red 10th Army was the Caucasus Army, which consisted almost exclusively of Kuban' units, with the major part of its forces covering the axis from Velikoknyazheskaya to Tikhoretskaya. Here the enemy's composite infantry corps, the IV Composite Mountain Corps, the V Caucasus Cavalry Corps, and the 1st Kuban' Division were operating, with an overall strength of 5,981 infantry, 5,135 cavalry, 96 light and heavy guns, four armored cars, four tanks, and 12 armored trains. The Caucasus Rifle Corps, consisting of 1,200 infantry, 20 cavalry, six light and heavy guns, and 22 machine guns, was operating to the west of Velikoknyazheskaya as far as the heights around *stanitsa* Platovskaya. The 3rd Kuban' Cavalry Division, consisting of 320 cavalry, 16 light and heavy guns and 34 machine guns, occupied a front from the east of Velikoknyazheskaya approximately to the salt lakes. Moreover, independent detachments with an overall strength of 2,500 infantry, 635 cavalry, four guns, and seven machine guns were sprinkled along the entire front. In all, the enemy disposed of 9,681 infantry, 6,110 cavalry, 122 light and heavy guns, 336 machine guns, 12 armored trains, four armored cars, and four tanks along the 150-kilometer front excluding Platovskaya—excluding the salt lakes, which is

equivalent to 64 infantry, 41 cavalry, about one gun, and three machine guns (all figures are rounded off) per kilometer of front. (See Map 12 of the plate section)

The enemy could also rely on such deep reserves as the III Kuban' Corps, which was undergoing formation in the Yekaterinodar area, and Kuban' reserve units in Yekaterinodar, Armavir and Stavropol', with an overall strength of 8,000 infantry and cavalry, as well as military training institutions and courses in Stavropol', Yeisk and Armavir, with an overall strength of 700 infantry and 400 cavalry.<sup>13</sup>

The situation of the "Armed Forces of South Russia," examined without reference to their political-moral condition was incomparably more profitable from the military point of view than that of their enemy. The enemy's rear had grown closer to its military bases and human reinforcement bases, while depending on such powerful local lines as the Don and Manych rivers. By taking advantage of the local peculiarities of these lines (the swampy and broad valley of the Don), which ran along certain axes, and powerfully occupying the Bataisk and Velikoknyazheskaya axes, they were able to operate with their mobile, maneuver reserves along internal operational axes. This gave them the opportunity to throw back, in turn, to the opposite bank those Red units which, one after the other crossed over to their side. Finally, perhaps for the first time in the entire history of the civil war, the Whites were able to experience the advantages of a radically altered political base so familiar to the Reds. Such was the Don region for the Whites. The Don Army, which had been driven from there and which was now separated from it by only the Don and Manych rivers, was striving to return to its native territory with weapons in hand. This striving was reflected in the increase in the Don units' combat capability. We have seen how Mamontov's cavalry, which had been repeatedly and cruelly defeated, once again recovered its combat capability and began, and sometimes not unsuccessfully, to compete against the cavalry army. A number of their local successes undoubtedly influenced the increase in the Whites' combat capability. The latter were a consequence of the commitment of the Red forces into the fighting in detail (first the 8th and cavalry armies, and then the 9th Army in detail, and finally the 10th Army), the absence of unity and firmness of control (the commanders of the 8th and cavalry armies were always "coordinating" their actions), as well as a certain lack of coordination among the higher Red command in difficult terrain and weather conditions. All of these objective (the consecutive commitment of the 9th and 10th Armies into the fighting) and subjective reasons (disagreements among the higher command) were of transient importance, which is why the entire success of the Whites' subsequent defense depended upon whether or not the Kuban' would prove to be just such a vital area for them as at the birth of the Volunteer Army. From this point of view, the condition of the political front was so unfavorable for the Whites that it reduced to nothing all of the advantages offered by the proximity of their main bases.

The enemy's rear was showing obvious signs of dissolution. This was testified to by such facts as the rapid growth of uprisings against the Whites in Chechnya and

Dagestan, and the spread of the Green movement throughout the entire space between Novorossiisk and Yekaterinodar, where the Greens numbered up to 7,000 troops.

Finally, there were other symptomatic features of the approaching general catastrophe, despite the improved military situation: the port of Novorossiisk was full of fleeing bourgeoisie and clergy. The Kuban' Cossack rank and file declared definitively that it did not wish to let the bourgeoisie and officer class into the Kuban' region. These declarations were an echo of the fierce internal political struggle in the enemy camp between the Kuban' Cossacks, in the form of its *Rada*, and the Volunteer Army command. The Kuban' *Rada* was seeking to distance itself from the army command and to carry out its own policy. One of the chief tenets of this policy was now the immediate conclusion of peace with the Bolsheviks on the basis of the latter's recognition of the Cossack state. In the purely military sphere, this struggle found its expression in the threatening decline of the Kuban' Army's combat capability which was soon transformed into its complete collapse.

All of these circumstances were creating favorable prerequisites for the Reds' broad offensive operations in which they counted on finding this time a new and broad base, so necessary for the Red armies, in the Kuban' area behind the enemy's front line, taking into account their extremely extended communications lines and the disruption of transport.

Let us now turn to the disposition and strength of the Red forces along the lower Don and Manych by 1 February 1920. Now only the 8th Army was located along the Bataisk axis, along a 50-kilometer front from the mouths of the Don to *stanitsa* Aksai, numbering 15,260 infantry, 4,120 cavalry, 159 heavy and light guns, and 779 machine guns, which yielded 905 infantry, 83 cavalry, three heavy and light guns, and 16 machine guns (all figures are rounded off) per kilometer of front.<sup>14</sup>

Thus along the Bataisk axis (Don front) the Reds outnumbered the Whites nearly two to one in men and from three to five to one in materiel. The 9th Army, consisting of 9,670 infantry, 5,730 cavalry, 183 guns, and 600 machine guns, the 10th Army, consisting of 15,630 infantry, 3,300 cavalry, 158 guns, and 585 machine guns, and the cavalry army, consisting of 10,250 cavalry, 26 guns and 259 machine guns were deployed along the Manych front from *stanitsa* Manychskaya to the area excluding the salt lakes, for a total strength of 25,300 infantry, 19,280 cavalry, 367 guns, and 1,444 machine guns, which given an overall length of front of 250 kilometers (Manychskaya—the salt lakes), yields a density of 101 infantry, 77 cavalry, 1 ½ guns, and six machine guns (rounded off) per kilometer of front. Thus the Reds significantly outnumbered the enemy along the Manych sector in the number of infantry, cavalry, guns, and machine guns.<sup>15</sup>

Given such a correlation in the number of cavalry along the Manych sector, it would have been quite expedient to unite the operations of the entire cavalry in one hand, which is what the 1st Cavalry Army's military-revolutionary council repeatedly and vainly insisted upon. It was also clear that the strength of the enemy's defense lay



in the active maneuver of his cavalry units, which were being brought in from various sectors of the front and from the reserve. By placing the entire success of the operation on an attack by a cavalry mass against one equal in strength, it was important to ease this cavalry mass's prospects for success by dispersing the enemy's cavalry masses along various axes, which could only be achieved through by activating the entire front. This is what comrades Voroshilov and Budyonnyi were trying to achieve, but their wishes did not achieve their goal. In such conditions, on 1 and 2 February the cavalry army once again attempted to advance toward Khomutovskaya, but both times unsuccessfully, because the successes of the cavalry army operating in isolation were easily eliminated by the enemy. These latter attempts finally undermined the relations between the cavalry army command and the front command (Shorin). The cavalry army command now appealed by wire directly to the commander-in-chief.<sup>16</sup> The result of this conversation was evidently the commander-in-chief's directive no. 627/op, addressed to the front command, that the front's armies be ready to develop Budyonnyi's success with an energetic offensive.<sup>17</sup>

On 7 February the cavalry army's attacks on Khomutovskaya were halted by the new front command (comrade Tukhachevskii), which before long set about regrouping the armies for inflicting a decisive defeat on the enemy.<sup>18</sup>

In view of the extreme exhaustion of the rifle divisions, the front command opted for an extreme solution, by disbanding a number of divisions and pouring their people into the 10th and 11th Armies' remaining divisions as reinforcements. On 9 February the front command, in its directive no. 19/p, laid out the regrouping which had the goal of creating a shock fist along the Manych and the cavalry army's arrival at its jumping-off area for a decisive attack. According to this directive, the 8th Army was to extend its front by 11 February as far as Manychskaya, thus freeing up part of the 9th Army's forces, while the cavalry army would be shifted to the Platovskaya area. The 10th Army, which also included two arriving divisions (34th and 50th), was to concentrate no less than six divisions in the area of *stanitsa Velikoknyazheskaya*.<sup>19</sup> Thus it was planned to have a powerful group of forces along the Platovskaya—Velikoknyazheskaya sector against the enemy army. Worthy of attention here is the successful and harmoniously coordinated axis of the main attack in the operational and political senses. An attack on Tikhoretskaya, on the one hand, would place the Reds in the rear of the White forces along the lower Don and Manych and, on the other hand, having in mind the Kuban' Army, ran along the line of the least political resistance. This directive also noted the date for the general offensive as 14 February. Finally, on 12 February there arrived directive no. 42/p, regarding the overall assumption of the offensive.<sup>20</sup> This directive revealed even more sharply the front command's intention of carrying to the end the principle of operating along the lines of the least operational and political resistance. The front commander pointed out that the boundary line between the enemy's Don and Kuban' armies ran through Belaya Glina, Srednyaya Yegorlykskaya, Korol'kov's



winter quarters, and Kazyonnyi bridge. The front's armies were given the mission of defeating the enemy and throwing him against the Sea of Azov. For this, the 8th Army was to launch its main attack in the direction of Kagal'nitskaya, for the purpose of reaching the Kagal'nik River in the next few days. The 9th Army was to develop its attack in the general direction of the village of Novorogovskii and by 19 February it was to reach the front Novo-Protopopovskaya—Novorogovskii village. The cavalry army was to play in the front commander's assignment the role of a surgical knife, which was to forever separate from each other the Kuban' and Don counterrevolution. It was given the task: "by cutting and dislodging the flanks of the enemy's Don and Caucasus (Kuban') armies, to break through to the area of *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya by 21 February." The 10th Army received orders to cut off the enemy's Caucasus Army from possible routes of withdrawal on Armavir and was to reach the line Belyaev—Belaya Glina—Uspenskaya by 19 February. The front command, in order to achieve a decisive victory, did not miss the slightest opportunity to bring in to the focal point of the decisive struggle all those forces that could take any kind of part in it. For example, the front's extreme left-flank army—the 11th—which was operating within the confines of Stavropol' province and the Terek region, also received orders to seize Stavropol' and Armavir within the next few days. Thus it was planned to envelop the enemy's right flank along with a simultaneous breakthrough of his center and pinning actions against his left flank.

The first successes were achieved along the 10th Army's front. As early as 17 February the front commander, comrade Tukhachevskii, had the opportunity to note that the enemy had been dislodged from the 10th Army's sector. But the enemy's resistance continued to be very stubborn opposite the 9th Army's front. The results of the cavalry army's maneuver had not yet told, because while winning space for its attack it deviated sharply toward Torgovaya. Wishing to nudge the 9th Army forward, the front commander ordered the 8th and 10th Armies to concentrate shock groups along their flanks adjacent to the 9th Army and to assist it. The cavalry army was ordered to continue its offensive on Kruchyonaya Balka, Lopenka and Tikhoretskaya.<sup>21</sup>

The White command transferred all of the Don cavalry, under the command of General Pavlov,<sup>22</sup> from the area of *stanitsa* Ol'ginskaya to *stanitsa* Torgovaya to oppose the powerful Red attack from the area of Velikoknyazheskaya.

But while the crisis of the entire campaign was ripening in the collisions of the Red and White cavalry, the situation continued to remain tense along the front of the Red 8th and 9th Armies. The enemy, while actively defending, even managed to achieve local successes along the 9th Army's front; here he managed to dislodge its right flank and center. The front command saw the reason for the failure exclusively in the unskilled actions of the 9th Army command, which placed its force in a position to be attacked in detail. At this time the 8th Army was "standing in place." Meanwhile, an attack by Pavlov's cavalry fell primarily on

Blinov's<sup>23</sup> and Gai's cavalry divisions (10th Army). They were attacked and dislodged by Pavlov's cavalry on 17 February in the area of Korol'kov's winter quarters, while one of Blinov's brigades fell back to Platovskaya and Gai's division fell back to the Maslakovtsev's winter quarters. The 28th Rifle Division, whose commander, comrade Azin, was taken prisoner, suffered heavily. But this was a temporary success by Pavlov due to the cavalry army's deviation from its given axis of movement.<sup>24</sup> The cavalry army, along with the 10th Army's divisions, had prepared to attack Pavlov's cavalry, but was itself attacked by Pavlov around *stanitsa* Shablievskaya. This attack was repulsed. On 18 February Pavlov began to fall back on Srednyaya Yegorlykskaya, but got caught by a snowstorm and lost half of his horses, which froze in the steppe. On 19 February the cavalry army was getting ready to begin the pursuit of the enemy. At that same time we managed to eliminate along the 9th Army's sector a breakthrough by the enemy cavalry, which penetrated as far as the Yanchenkov—Susatskii area. Dumenko's cavalry corps attacked it from the Manychsko-Balandinskaya area, defeated it and threw it back. The 8th Army's left flank managed to advance and it was engaged in stubborn fighting with the enemy in the area of *stanitsa* Ol'ginskaya.

Meantime, the White high command was preparing for a decisive counterblow. The operational plan consisted of an attack on Rostov and Novocherkassk, along the axis that had been most weakened by the Caucasus Front, to pull the Reds' attention there, while meanwhile gathering all available forces and attacking the Reds' flanking ram with them, that is, against the 10th and 1st Cavalry Armies. A powerful cavalry group was created under General Pavlov.

The Whites' counterblow was guessed in time by the Caucasus Front command. In a new directive, it set out the task of defeating, first of all, General Pavlov's group. The winning of the entire campaign would be predetermined by this defeat.

Such was the overall situation on the front, when the enemy made a desperate attempt to capture Rostov. On 20 February the Volunteer Army went over to a general offensive and captured *stanitsa* Khopry, *stanitsa* Gnilovskaya, Temernik and *stanitsa* Aksai.

The 8th Army drove the enemy out of *stanitsa* Aksai with a counterattack by its left flank and was able to seize the northern outskirts of Rostov and Nakhichevan', where stubborn street fighting had blazed up. However, on the morning of 21 February the 8th Army was forced to abandon both Rostov and Nakhichevan' and go over to the defensive, which greatly worried the high command but did not change the front command's plan. The enemy did not have the opportunity to further develop the success. He had now concentrated his efforts against the 9th Army's right flank, while seeking to capture *stanitsa* Bagaevskaya. Here stubborn cavalry fighting broke out on 21 February between Dumenko's cavalry corps and Gusel'shchikov's<sup>25</sup> Terek-Don cavalry. But Gusel'shchikov's cavalry was heavily attacked in the area of *stanitsa* Manychskaya, lost up to 1,000 men in prisoners alone, and was forced to

abandon *stanitsa* Bagaevskaya. This is how 21 February ended for both sides. But as early as 22 February, under the influence of events in the Yegorlykская area, the Volunteer Army command was forced to begin withdrawing behind the Don in order to reinforce General Pavlov's cavalry with its last cavalry reserves. The Red 8th Army occupied its previous front line.

Meanwhile, Pavlov's cavalry, which had been reinforced by units which had arrived from the Rostov axis, once again attempted to go over to the offensive on Srednyaya Yegorlykская and to throw out of the screen of the 1st Cavalry Army, the main forces of which were in the village of Gor'kaya Balka.

Pavlov set out on 25 February from Srednyaya Yegorlykская toward the village of Belaya Glina for the purpose of getting into the rear of the 1st Cavalry Army. The latter, in its turn, had set out for Srednyaya Yegorlykская for the purpose of enveloping the right flank of Pavlov's cavalry. Pavlov's cavalry ran into the 10th Army's rifle divisions (20th and 50th) in its movement on Belaya Glina. At the same time, it was attacked by all of the 1st Cavalry Army's forces from the right flank, ten kilometers south of Srednyaya Yegorlykская, and with enormous losses of 29 guns, 100 machine guns and more than 1,000 prisoners, was thrown back to the Yegorlykская—Ilovaiskii village area. The 25 February fighting near Srednyaya Yegorlykская is a brilliant example of a combined cavalry-infantry battle. However, the 1st Cavalry Army's 25 February attempts to capture Yegorlykская without infantry assistance ended in failure.

The advance by the 10th Army's left flank during this fighting took place almost unimpeded. The 32nd Rifle Division occupied the Novo-Pokrovskaya—Sosnovka area, while on 27 February the 39th Rifle Division occupied *stanitsa* Kavkazskaya following a small battle. Thus the 10th Army, having encountered stubborn enemy resistance in the Yegorlykская area and having in front of it the 1st Cavalry Army, which was tied down in stubborn fighting with Pavlov's cavalry, carried out a turning movement with its left shoulder forward around its right flank and by 28 February had lined up its front directly facing west from *stanitsa* Tselina to Belaya Glina—Novo-Pokrovskoye—Sosnovka—Kavkazskaya. The *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya axis was being covered only by the remnants of the Whites' II Kuban' Corps, but the 10th Army command held up, beginning 25 February, the 32nd Rifle Division along the general line of the front. This meant that the closing of the ring around the Whites' main group of forces north of the Kuban' would be postponed in time and that they still had the wide gates between the Sea of Azov and the 10th Army for a withdrawal behind the Kuban' River. The enemy hurried to take advantage of this circumstance, while no longer thinking of further resistance.

On 26 February the enemy began to gradually abandon the left bank of the Don. On 27 February units of the 8th Army were already on the left bank of the Don, and on 29 February a general offensive by the Red 8th and 9th Armies began. On 1 March Yegorlykская finally fell under the coordinated attacks of the Red

cavalry. But now a ramming group on the Caucasus Front's left flank no longer made any sense. Thus the front command hurried to create in a timely fashion a new ramming group along the shortest (Novorossiisk) axis, which would lead into the rear of the enemy's Rostov—Manych group. Thus on 3 March it dispatched the 9th Army's main forces to the *stanitsa* Leushkovskaya—Medvedovskaya area, while the 1st Cavalry Army was to cut off the enemy's path of retreat in the area of Timashevskaya station by an attack on *stanitsa* Leushkovskaya. The 10th Army was to support the Reds' Stavropol' group in capturing Armavir by an attack of no less than four divisions on Tikhoretskaya and Yekaterinodar.

The Don—Manych operation by the Caucasus Front command is worthy of the historian's especial attention. We see in it the unity and integrity of the operational design. It is not territory or geographical locales here that attracted the attention of the Red command, but the enemy's forces. Its defeat in a battle of destruction was the guiding idea of the operation. For the sake of achieving the main goal, the front command boldly separated the main mass of its forces from geographical objects such as Rostov and Novocherkassk and threw it into the depths of the Manych steppes. The subsequent course of operations fully justified this bold decision. The temporary seizure of the city of Rostov yielded General Denikin nothing, insofar as the collision of both sides' cavalry masses and the Red 10th Army in the Yegorlykskaya area decided the fate of the operation.

It subsequently remained only to pursue and finish off the materially and morally broken enemy, who, having left weak screens against the 8th and 9th Armies, had now concentrated all of his efforts on attempts to delay the cavalry army's threatening advance. The latter, together with the 10th Army, once again launched a powerful attack on 25 February 1920 around Yegorlykskaya, capturing there 29 guns, more than 100 machine guns and many prisoners. The front commander subsequently directed the cavalry army to Mechetinskaya and the 10th Army to Tikhoretskaya. At the end of February the 8th and 9th Armies dislodged the enemy screens opposite them and went over to the offensive. On 1 March a clot of enemy forces had formed in the area Mechetinskaya—excluding Yegorlykskaya and the front command was preparing to destroy it by a concentric movement of its armies. On this day Stavropol' fell under the blows of the Reds.<sup>26</sup> However, foreseeing this maneuver, the enemy had sped up his general withdrawal behind the Kuban' River.

On 2 March the Red forces' Rostov group occupied Bataisk, and on 9 March was already entering Yeisk; on this day Budyonnyi's cavalry occupied *stanitsa* Tikhoretskaya. The "Armed Forces of South Russia," which had broken up into three groups, were falling back as follows: one group (part of the Kuban' forces and the Don Army) on Yekaterinodar and Novorossiisk, the Kuban' Army's main forces on Maikop and Tuapse, and the Volunteer Corps to the lower course of the Kuban' River through Timoshevskaya station. The last remnants of the enemy's forces in the Terek—Dagestan region were trying to break through to Georgia.

The enemy command planned to delay along the powerful water barrier of the Kuban' River, to put itself in order and await a possible change in the situation in its favor. A withdrawal beyond the Kuban' would put the "Armed Forces of South Russia" in a very dangerous situation in the event of the fall of the defensive line of the Kuban' River. Then it would end up pressed against the sea, with the necessity of either boarding ships in the only possible locale for this—Novorossiisk, or to fall back to the south along the shore of the Black Sea under the Soviet forces' flank attacks. Their situation was made all the more serious by the absence of a preliminary evacuation plan, the small number of transport vessels and the numerous refugees following behind the troops. The Soviet forces' energetic pursuit and the decline in the combat capability of the remaining armies of the "Armed Forces of South Russia" rendered the enemy command's hopes for the possibility of holding on behind the Kuban' River extremely doubtful. On 17 March, following a short fight, the Red forces captured Yekaterinodar and the enemy's main forces fell back behind the Kuban, with the Don Army along the Novorossiisk axis from *stanitsa* Ol'ginskaya through Yekaterinodar as far as Ust'-Labinskaya, and to the west of it the Volunteer Corps, along the lower Kuban' from *stanitsa* Ol'ginskaya to the mouth of the Kuban'. Uncoordinated units of the Kuban' Army, which no longer had communications with either the Don Army or with its high command, were located along the Don Army's right flank in the area of Ust'-Labinskaya.

However, as early as 19 March the Red forces crossed the Kuban' near Ust'-Labinskaya and opposite Yekaterinodar. The Don Army's weak counterattacks proved unsuccessful and the general withdrawal of the Don Army and the Volunteer Corps to the single, general point of Novorossiisk began. At the same time, the Kuban' Army, with a part of those Don Army troops that had become separated and joined up with it, was streaming toward Tuapse.

The Volunteer Corps, while striving under the cover of the Don Army to get aboard the ships, had abandoned the lower Kuban' before the Don Army and got to Novorossiisk before it and began to board ships at the same time that the half-encircled Don Army was still fighting through to Novorossiisk. The evacuation of the remnants of the "Armed Forces of South Russia" was extremely hurried and disorderly, which was a consequence of carrying it out from a single locale and a great shortage of transportation equipment. The pressure by the Red forces prevented them from completing the evacuation and thus, when the Red forces occupied Novorossiisk on the night of 26–27 March, about 22,000 prisoners fell into their hands. The occupation of the remaining territory of the North Caucasus by Red forces took place just as rapidly.

The Soviet coup in Azerbaijan in April 1920, which was supported by an operation by the 11th Army and which included this country, along with its oil riches among the equal members of the Soviet Union, and the conclusion of peace with Georgia that same month, were the political results of the final rout of the "Armed Forces

of South Russia.” Finally, on 2 May 1920 the remnants of the Kuban’ Army, which had been pressed to the border with Georgia, surrendered to the Red 9th Army in the Sochi area; this signified the final elimination of the “Armed Forces of South Russia” in their previous form, while their remnants had streamed into the Crimea.

At this time the Southern Front’s operations to pursue the enemy were developing no less successfully. Having thrown the enemy back from Kiev and Yekaterinoslav at the end of January, the Southern Front’s forces (41st Division) had pressed the enemy group along the Ukrainian right bank to the city of Odessa, into the angle between the Dnestr River and the Black Sea. On 7 February 1920 Odessa was taken. Part of the enemy’s forces on the Ukrainian right bank surrendered and part of them scattered. Genichesk and Perekop along the Crimean axis were occupied on 23 January 1920, but as the result of the stubborn fighting that broke out, Slashchyov’s group managed to hold the Crimean peninsula’s isthmuses in its hands.





# The External and Internal Political Situation at the Beginning of 1920. Mutual Relations Between Soviet Russia and Poland. Both Sides' Preparation for Continuing the War

*The Entente Powers' Attitude Toward the Continuation of the Civil War in Russia After the Defeat of the "Armed Forces of South Russia." Great Britain's Point of View; France's Point of View. Poland's External and Internal Situation Before the Start of the 1920 Campaign. The Final Diplomatic Dealings of Both Governments Before the Start of the Polish-Soviet Campaign of 1920. Negotiations Between the Soviet and British Governments About the Fate of the Remnants of the Southern Counterrevolutionary Armies. A Brief Review of the Belorussian and Ukrainian Theaters. A Description of the Polish Army. The Concentration and Deployment of Both Sides' Forces on the Polish Front During the Winter of 1919–1920. The Sides' Plans. The Disposition and Strength of Both Sides Before the Start of the Decisive Events of the Spring and Summer of 1920. The RSFSR's Internal Economic and Political Situation*

The collapse of the counterrevolutionary forces led by General Denikin facilitated the exposure of those currents of British policy, the exponent of which was Lloyd George, which arose as early as the autumn of 1919. Under their influence, British policy sought to establish business relations with the Soviet regime in the hopes of its subsequent degeneration by peaceful means under the influence of establishing trading ties with the capitalist West. Given the dominance of such a point of view, the continuation of the civil war in Russia and its support no longer corresponded to the views of the British government. Thus it hurried to propose to General Denikin its mediation in his capitulation to the Soviet regime.

As regards France, the fall of the Denikin regime did not bring in its wake any kind of changes in the main lines of French policy regarding the Russian question. As we have already pointed out, France had been forced as early as the spring of

1919 to forswear direct armed interference in the Russian Civil War, but this in no way hindered it from strengthening the armed might of the small states, Poland and Romania first of all, as well as to continue to supply the remnants of the White armies with money and materiel. While retaining its prior uncompromising and hostile attitude toward the Soviet regime and its state system, France was thinking of using the small states, on the one hand, to secure Europe from the “infection of Bolshevism,” and on the other, with the aid of their armed forces, to restore its economic interests in south Ukraine and in the Donbas. Its main concern, as before, was supporting that wedge, in the form of White Poland, which the Entente, as the result of the Treaty of Versailles, had inserted between Soviet Russia and vanquished Germany. It would seem that those remnants of the “Armed Forces of South Russia” which had found a refuge in the Crimea were acquiring a special interest and significance for France. But the latter’s fate was considered to have already been decided and to bet on them was more than doubtful. Thus Poland was attracting to itself all of the attention of French political thought as an “eastern bastion of French military might.”

Poland, with French economic and military assistance, had become considerably stronger throughout 1919. By the start of 1920 the external and internal political situation was developing favorably for it. Poland, with the assistance of the Entente powers, had resolved all of its misunderstandings with Czechoslovakia in a way favorable to itself. Under the yoke of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to submit to the Entente’s decisions regarding its border disputes with Poland and the latter could rest easy regarding its German border. Thanks to French economic and military assistance, Poland managed to establish itself in eastern Galicia, the population of which waged a stubborn struggle for its independence in 1919. The cruel occupation regime crushed all signs of resistance in Galicia. Thus in the foreign policy sense, Poland did not have to worry about its rear and could concentrate all of its forces and attention on resolving those missions which it considered necessary to achieve in the east. To be sure, a small, dark spot in the form of relations with Lithuania could be observed on this nearly cloudless horizon, but the latter’s political and military weakness excluded the possibility of independent active operations against Poland.

The Polish internal political situation was characterized by the assumption of power by the petite bourgeoisie; in the war against the Soviets, the petite-bourgeoisie noisy-patriotic government was able to count on the support not only of the bourgeoisie and the *kulak* elements in the countryside, but of the landowners as well.

The World War and the prolonged Austro-German occupation, which lay most heavily on the working class of Poland and the land-poor peasantry, dissipated and weakened the latter’s strength. The situation that was arising for Poland made the leaders of its state policy particularly intractable and demanding. They thought that a convenient time had arrived for completing the unification of Poland within

the boundaries of 1772,<sup>1</sup> which meant the forcible incorporation of Belorussia, the Ukrainian right bank and a significant portion of Lithuania.

In the beginning of 1920, as in the course of the entire preceding year, the Soviet government conducted a firm peace policy regarding the Polish people. Even at that time, when the concentration of Polish men and materiel to our border was proceeding at full pace, the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet governments repeatedly attempted to extend the hand of friendship across the front line to the Polish people.

In a note of 28 January 1920, the Council of People's Commissars<sup>2</sup> solemnly declared to the Polish government and people that "there exists not a single question: territorial, economic or other, which cannot be resolved by peaceful means, by means of negotiations, mutual concessions and agreements." On 2 February the Central Executive Committee made an appeal to the Polish people in which it was noted that "the desire for peace with Poland is the sincere and deepest wish of the workers and peasants," and called upon the Polish people "to end the bloody war, so that both peoples may begin a war with the calamities oppressing them—cold, hunger, typhus, and unemployment." These appeals remained unanswered on the part of the Polish government; on 6 March 1920 the Soviet government repeated them, stressing to "what degree the condition of war is harmful to the interests of both peoples." Only on 27 March did we receive an answer from the Polish government, which proposed choosing the town of Borisov as the site for peace negotiations, while it was proposed to halt combat operations not along the entire front, but only in the area of Borisov.

In order to understand the entire internal meaning of this proposal, it is necessary to keep in mind that the Polish command at this very time assumed the concentration of significant numbers of our forces along the Borisov axis and was preparing in its turn the concentration of a major attack fist in Ukraine. Thus it was profitable for the Polish command to tie our armed forces diplomatically along the Borisov axis and to preserve its operational freedom along all the other sectors of the front, chiefly in Ukraine. The Soviet government could not agree to this. It proposed selecting some neutral territory or other as the site for negotiations, but the Polish government rejected this proposal. In a note of 2 April 1920, the Soviet government was forced to place upon the Polish government the responsibility for all the calamities which would arise as a consequence of continuing the war, and in a note of 8 April it was forced to admit that it "had been placed before the sad necessity of admitting the collapse of the negotiations with Poland because of the question of the negotiation site."<sup>3</sup>

However, it is impossible to say that the Soviet government's work in favor of peace was completely lacking in result. The sincerity and forthrightness of the Soviet proposals could not but act in a sobering fashion upon certain Polish political circles, which caused a certain schism in the Polish bourgeoisie's united front. According to General Sikorski's testimony,<sup>4</sup> arguments broke out between the Polish bourgeois

political parties as to the war's goals. But what was most important was that the voice of the Soviet government, aimed directly at the broad masses of the Polish people, found a response among them. General Sikorski confirms that the Soviet government's peace proposals made a powerful impression not only on the people, but also upon the mass of soldiers in the army. Without a doubt, these proposals did not pass the notice of mass public opinion in those states which surrounded Poland. The Polish government's lack of desire to meet these proposals halfway later created for Poland a situation of isolation and brought about increased activity by the international proletariat in favor of the Soviet Union.

The inevitability of a campaign on the Polish front was a complete given for the Soviet command in the overall strategic situation. The Polish armies, according to their strength, supply and training, had to be the Red Army's main opponent during the course of 1920. As regards the other enemy in question, in the form of the remnants of the "Armed Forces of South Russia," for a certain time the possibility of its elimination through capitulation was not excluded. The British government, at least, was hard at work along these lines. Panicky attitudes among the remnants of the White Army, which had not yet passed away following the fall of Novorossiisk, were creating favorable prerequisites for just such a solution of the problem. The remnants of the "Armed Forces of South Russia" were, for the time being, thinking of nothing more than recovering and sitting things out in the Crimea.

The Soviet government did not recognize any other alternative for these forces but their complete and unconditional capitulation. The British government was trying to stipulate for them conditions for an honorable surrender on conditions of the equality of the negotiating sides. The negotiations were drawn out.

Thus in 1920 Soviet strategy had to deal with two active opponents, which were operating in an uncoordinated way in both the political and military spheres. The location of these enemies in theaters far from each other brought about a division in space of Soviet forces operating against them. The latter circumstance required the formation of two completely independent theaters of military activities.

These were, first of all, the Polish theater, which was the main one in the 1920 campaign, for the reasons cited by us above. This theater occupied a very broad space. Its boundaries may be very precisely established along river lines—the Western Dvina, Dnepr, Dnestr, and Vistula rivers. The most significant events of the Polish-Soviet campaign of 1920 played out within the bounds formed by these river arteries. The quite significant size of this space conditioned, in turn, the presence there of two theaters, which were Belorussia and Ukraine. The significance of the Belorussian theater lay in the fact that the shortest and most convenient operational axes lay through it leading to the most important political and industrial centers of both belligerent sides—Warsaw and Moscow. Smaller in size than the Ukrainian theater, this theater had a sufficiently developed road network, but was poorer in local resources than its Ukrainian counterpart. It was distinguished by

a great homogeneity of population in the national and class senses, while in both these senses the conditions here were developing favorably for the Red Army, which guaranteed the tranquility of its rear throughout the entire campaign. The terrain features and the development of the road network allowed for the movement and combat activities of large troop masses. The most significant water lines lay along the theater's boundaries, while the line of the Dnepr River, due to the direction of its upper course, could be bypassed through the gap between it and the Western Dvina River. This gap was given the characteristic name of "the Smolensk gates." During our troops' operations in the direction of Warsaw, their right flank would rest on the territory of neutral states and be secured by them.

The second theater was the Ukrainian, which due to its significant size and the presence along its boundaries of states, of which one, Poland, was already openly at war with the Soviet Union, while the other, Romania, maintained a hostile neutrality and could acquire an independent significance in the event of Romania's active entry into the war. This did not happen, but in fighting against Poland alone, one could pursue independent goals in the form of an invasion into eastern Galicia. In such an event, the objects of operations could be the chief political and administrative center of eastern Galicia and a major transportation junction in the form of the city of Lvov and the oil-producing Stryi—Drogobych area. The political situation that had arisen in Ukraine aroused particular interest in this theater on the part of Poland. However, the Soviet high command did not attach independent significance to the Ukrainian theater, viewing it as a supporting theater for the Belorussian one. The railroad network in this theater was also quite satisfactorily developed and it was rich in local resources. From the national and class points of view, the population of the Ukrainian theater represented a more colorful picture than the population of the Belorussian theater. The hostility of certain layers of the population in the Ukrainian theater toward the Soviet regime found its reflection in the high development of banditry, the social roots of which ran deep in the thick of the anarchist-*kulak* element. Thus as regards the condition of the rear, the situation of the Soviet forces operating in Ukraine had to be less favorable than in Belorussia. And just as in Belorussia, the movement and operations of large troop masses would not encounter barriers in the terrain features. The presence of a secretly hostile Romania to the south did not allow us to consider the left flank of those forces operating along the Lublin and Lvov axes to be as securely guaranteed as the right flank of our forces in the Belorussian theater.

The sizeable wooded and swampy area of the basin of the Pripyat' River, known by the name of *Poles'ye*, divided both theaters. It differed from both according to its features. On the whole, it was characterized by the closed nature of the terrain, a profusion of swamps and east-west water lines in the form of the northern and southern branches of the Pripyat' River, the comparatively weak development of roads, the small number and dispersion of the population, and the poverty of local

resources. Although it had to a significant degree lost its imperviousness under the influence of culture, nevertheless the operations of large bodies of troops in it would encounter more significant difficulties in the terrain conditions than in Belorussia and Ukraine. The uniqueness of the *Poles'ye*, due to its large size, gave it the significance of an independent but secondary theater linking the Ukrainian and Belorussian theaters. The northern and southern areas of *Poles'ye* were correspondingly included by the Soviet command in the Belorussian and Ukrainian theaters.

Such is the general description of the three theaters in which the main events of the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 played out. From this the reader may discern that a common feature of all three theaters was their open plain. Thus it was particularly important for both sides to acquire as strong points in the terrain the water and lake-swamp lines within the theaters' overall boundaries. In viewing these from the point of view of attacking into the depth of Poland from the line of the Berezina River, we must first of all fix our attention on the Neman and Western Bug river systems. These river systems, with their tributaries and the dense forests lying between them in the form of the Belostok (Bialystok) and Belovezhskaya forests, are, on the one hand, a natural rear boundary between Poland's eastern forward theaters of military activities and the country's internal regions and, on the other hand, they serve as a natural defensive line for these regions. This natural eastern defensive line of Poland is reinforced by the fortresses of Grodna lying along the Neman River, and Brest, located on the Western Bug River.

The Neman River is powerful not so much due to its width and depth as to the features of its valley and boundaries. This valley is swampy in the river's upper course, and covered with forests, which is why it is not easily accessible to troops. Further on, the river cuts through elevated and hilly terrain, while its banks, which correspond to the edges of the valley, often form cliffs from 20 to 30 meters high. Only when approaching the confines of Lithuania and extending beyond the boundaries of the theaters described by us does the river once again flow along a broad valley with sloping edges and takes on the form of a full plains-type river. The Neman River, while reaching up to 200 meters in its middle course, beginning from Lunno (to the southeast of the fortress of Grodna), already presents a sufficiently serious barrier for forcing by troops attacking into the depths of Poland from the "Smolensk gates." The Belovezhskaya forest, which occupies an area of 1,500 square kilometers, covers the gap in the terrain between the middle courses of the Neman and Western Bug rivers. This powerful wooded expanse, which is difficult to traverse off the few roads, is a delaying obstacle for sizeable numbers of troops attempting to pass through it. However, one should note that due to widespread logging this area has become significantly easier to traverse following the imperialist war.<sup>5</sup>

The Western Bug River flows slowly along a broad and swampy valley along its middle course. In the Drohiczyn area, the Western Bug changes the direction of its

flow from the north to the northwest and, in describing a broad arc, upon meeting the tributary of the Nurec, turns due west and maintains the direction of its flow all the way to its confluence with the Vistula River.

In passing this line, we enter Poland proper. The terrain retains its overall flat character. Only in the south, in the Lublin area, does it become more elevated, hilly and broken, which is particularly noticeable in the area between the upper Bug and the sector of the Vistula River from Zawichost as far as Deblin. This terrain is called the Lublin uplands (the height is 200 meters above sea level). On the northern edge of the valley and partially outside the borders of the theater under consideration, the terrain is also elevated, which becomes more evident as one moves to the area of the East Prussian lakes (the height of certain hill ranges along the East Prussian border reaches 313 meters above sea level). Thus from the military point of view, within the confines of the Polish theater, the system of water lines must attract the predominant amount of attention.

The main water artery in the Polish theater is the Vistula River, with a highly developed system of right tributaries, the chief of which are the Western Bug, Narew and Wieprz rivers. All of these rivers are typical plain rivers. They are all distinguished by a small drop, low and swampy banks, and broad and wet valleys that easily fill with water during the spring thaw and rains. The sandy bottom of the majority of these rivers often changes, upon which the frequent change of their channel depends. In general, this is true of the country's main water artery—the Vistula River. It should attract our attention within the borders described by us, beginning from Deblin. From this point it flows along a broad valley, with poorly designated borders and is quite a serious water barrier.

Around Warsaw the river's width is already 1,000 meters, but below Warsaw the river's width once again narrows, while along the Plock—Nieszew sector its width does not exceed 400–600 meters and lower where the river is already regulated, while its width along its entire subsequent course does not exceed 700 meters. The bottom of the Vistula River is sandy and often changes a lot. The river's channel is winding, capricious and subject to frequent changes. The average depth of the river around Warsaw does not exceed 1.5 meters, but there are no permanent fords over the river. The current is swift. The width of the river valley at Warsaw reaches 12 kilometers, but at the mouth of the Western Bug River it narrows to three kilometers.

Around Warsaw the left edge of the valley commands, but below the mouth of the Western Bug the right edge of the valley predominantly commands. The Vistula River flows almost due north from Zawichost to Modlin. The fortress of Deblin, located at the mouth of the Wieprz, where it flows into the Vistula, blocks here the Lublin operational axis, which leads around Warsaw from the south.

Around Modlin the Vistula takes on the large Western Bug and Narew tributaries and from here it begins to describe a large bulge, sticking out to the



west as far as the Fordon area, where it moves beyond the confines of the theater under description.

This sector of the river is of interest to us not so much for the qualities of its flow as for the number, location and qualities of its permanent crossings. These consisted of three bridges in 1920. One was in Wyszogrod, another in Plock, and a third in Wloclawek. The presence of three permanent crossings, the comparative narrowness of the valley and the river itself and, finally, the predominantly commanding right edge of the valley over the left are all circumstances that make the Vistula most accessible for crossing precisely along the sector below Warsaw and Modlin.

In order to arrive at the line of the middle Vistula from Deblin to Modlin, which has the greatest significance due to the location of the state capital of Warsaw along this sector; one may employ two operational axes. The northern one starts from Grodna and is a junction of all roads leading to this sector of the Vistula River from the northeast. The eastern axis runs through the fortress of Brest and leads directly to Warsaw. This shorter axis, however, is under a flank threat from the Lublin uplands, which acquire the significance of a small, independent operational theater. Covered from the north and northeast by the course of the Wieprz River, these uplands are characterized by an entire network of roads running from it to the north, that is, which leads directly into the flank of the Warsaw—Brest operational axis. Such are the roads running from the Lublin uplands through Wlodawa to Brest, through Parczew to Biala and Miedzyrzec, through Lysoboki to Lukow, and from Deblin to Siedlce and Novo-Minsk (Minsk Mazowiecki).

Warsaw is the political, administrative and commercial center of Poland. In 1920 it was not only a road junction, but a junction politically linking into one the three main parts of the Polish state that had before this been a part of three empires (Austria-Hungary, Russia and Germany) for a long time.

Let us now turn to a review and description of both sides' armed forces, which played the main role in the combat events of 1920.

The Polish armed forces grew and developed in conditions of war and consisted of the most varied formations:

- 1) detachments of legionnaires,<sup>6</sup> which had been created during the World War by the Austrians (Pilsudski) and Polish formations from the regular Austro-Hungarian Army (some German sources define these formations as being equivalent to a division);
- 2) a mixed brigade of legionnaires, formed by the Germans on the territory of occupied Poland;
- 3) Polish formations from the old Russian army, which had been created in 1917 (this includes Dowbor-Musnicki's corps);
- 4) Haller's army, which was formed in France in the winter of 1918–1919 from Polish prisoners of war from the Central Powers and American Poles

- (five divisions and one reserve division); as we already noted above, in the spring of 1919 Haller's army was transferred from France to Poland to fight the Soviets;
- 5) Poznan self-defense detachments, organized in Poznan at the end of 1918 by the Polish population during the German revolution.

The presence of three military schools—Austrian, German and Russian—could naturally not help but tell negatively on the young army's unity.

Thanks to material assistance from the Entente powers, the Poles had the opportunity to deploy their armed forces relatively much later than the Soviet Union. By the spring of 1920 the overall strength of all the Polish armed forces was approaching 738,000 men. At the moment of the greatest intensity of the country's armed forces, which took place in August 1920, when the sides' combat activities were unfolding along the very banks of the Vistula, Poland called up 16 age cohorts into the army and raised the overall strength of its armed forces to 1,200,000 men, including 164,615 volunteers. Being satisfactorily supplied with equipment, the Polish Army suffered from the varied types of its armaments, which was a consequence of the circumstance that the Polish armed forces arose from the ruins of the armies of the imperialist powers: Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia, while simultaneously the varied types of arms told in French help in supplying the Polish Army with equipment. During 1920 alone, France sent to Poland 1,494 guns of various calibers, 291 aircraft, 2,600 machine guns, and 327,000 rifles, etc., not counting supplies of equipment and clothing that the Polish Army periodically felt a need for.

The Polish Army's tactical preparation was not homogenous, once again chiefly due to the reason that influenced the varied types of its weapons (the Russian, Austrian and German schools). The combat training of the older soldiers, the great majority of which had experience in the World War, was quite satisfactory. The training of the young soldiers, who had undergone a short course of instruction in reserve battalions, left much to be desired. The habits of the World War's positional period told negatively on the control and methods of operation of large tactical units. In view of the higher command's insufficient experience, the intelligence service in the Polish Army and communications between the infantry and artillery were not at the appropriate level. The defense was passive and the significance of maneuver in defense was little valued.

In terms of combat, in the sense of resilience and combat capability, the divisions formed in Poznan showed themselves to best advantage, followed by the divisions from General Haller's former army, which had been formed at the end of the World War under the care of France on the World War's French front from Polish émigrés and prisoners of war and, finally, the legionnaire divisions formed from natives and soldiers of former Austrian and Russian Poland. The weakest in terms of combat worth proved to be the so-called Lithuanian—Belorussian divisions, of which there were two (1st and 2nd). These units yielded the highest percentage of defectors and deserters.

The situation of the Polish forces that had penetrated deeply into the confines of Belorussia by the end of 1919 was poorly supported by the rear. Their lines of communications were extremely elongated. Railroad transport took place with major interruptions. The consolidation of the rear encountered difficulties both due to these reasons as well as, and mainly, due to the hostile attitude of the main mass of the population to the Polish Army.

In spite of all the shortcomings noted, by the spring of 1920 the Polish Army represented a serious combat force. In this regard, it is extremely interesting to cite that description of the Polish Army by the commander of the Red Western Front, comrade Tukhachevskii, after the first combat collisions with it. "The enemy's troop control is excellent," wrote comrade Tukhachevskii, "and both the staffing of the headquarters and the means of waging war is worthy of note in the sense of training and waging war on a scale of regular maneuver warfare... their tactical training is also good. Individual units, divisions, regiments and battalions, maneuver excellently. All of this indicates a tactical smoothness by units and a high level of the command element." In conclusion, the commander of the Western Front emphasized that the Polish Army "reeks of Europe."

The consistent growth of the Polish forces on their eastern front began as early as the winter of 1919. By 1 January 1920 the strength of the Polish Eastern Front numbered 121,200 infantry and cavalry, with 594 guns, 2,910 machine guns, and 95 aircraft, with 59,800 infantry and cavalry of this number in the Belorussian theater.

Throughout February and March the Polish eastern front was reinforced by three infantry divisions and four cavalry regiments, which had been freed from the occupation of areas disputed between Germany and Poland, while 53,438 reinforcements were added. In April another 60,000 reinforcements were expected. By the end of April the overall strength of the Polish armed forces on the eastern front reached 369,887 men.<sup>7</sup> Our intelligence data estimated the overall number of enemy forces on his eastern front between 1 and 15 May 1920 at only 115,700 infantry and cavalry, while these forces, according to our intelligence data, were grouped primarily in the Belorussian theater, namely: of this number, 65,500 infantry and cavalry were on the Belorussian front and 50,200 infantry and cavalry on the Ukrainian front. Proceeding from these considerations that on 1 January 1920 the ration strength on the Polish eastern front was 213,320 men, while of these 121,200 were infantry and cavalry, one may approximately calculate that with the growth in ration strength to 369,887 men by 1 April 1920, then the number of infantry and cavalry must have also increased at least somewhat and thus our intelligence organs' estimates proved to be significantly undercounted.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent events also showed that by the middle of April 1920 the center of gravity of these forces' concentration had been shifted to Ukraine, and not to Belorussia.<sup>9</sup>

On the whole, in the middle of April 1920 the Polish high command had completed the concentration on its eastern front of all of those forces that were designated by it for conducting the campaign.

The Soviet high command set about systematically reinforcing the Red armies of the Western and Southwestern fronts only when the inevitability of the continuation of the war with Poland became obvious. This circumstance, in connection with the overall disruption of transport, conditioned the lateness in time of the concentration of the main mass of our forces on the Polish front. For example, in three months—from March through May inclusively—it was reinforced with 5½ rifle and one cavalry divisions, and in June 1920 the reinforcement of the Red armies in the Ukrainian and Belorussian theaters was expressed as 13 rifle and six cavalry divisions.<sup>10</sup>

From the very start of the concentration of our forces against Poland, the high command carried out precisely a policy of primarily reinforcing the Belorussian theater, attaching the main significance to it.<sup>11</sup> By the middle of April 1920 the overall strength of our forces on the Polish front did not exceed 86,338 infantry and cavalry; of these, 70,684 infantry and cavalry were in the Belorussian theater and 15,654 infantry and cavalry in the Ukrainian theater.

Thus it is not hard to see that by the beginning of decisive operations on the Polish front the enemy, due to the above-named reasons, disposed of a significant numerical superiority in comparison with the Red armies. In setting the latest goal of its foreign policy the spread of the Polish state in the east to the borders of 1772, the Polish government, while taking into account the public opinion of the popular masses of Europe and its own country, could not openly declare these goals to be the sole reasons for the further continuation of the war. Thus in the Polish literature on the essence of the Polish war plan we find no mention of these goals, but instead an entire series of pretexts justifying the Polish Army's assumption of the offensive.

Overall, then, the Polish war plan came down to the following. Wishing to preempt the Soviet forces' attack with his own offensive, Pilsudski decided to launch his attack in Ukraine, reinforcing his decision with the following considerations: in his opinion, the main mass of Soviet forces was in Ukraine; it seemed easier to resolve all troop supply problems in Ukraine; in operations in Ukraine the Polish armies' right flank would be secured by the territory of friendly-neutral Romania which bordered on it. Moreover, it was thought that by launching an attack in Ukraine, they could create food difficulties for the Soviet Union, depriving it of Ukrainian grain and attracting the sympathies of the Ukrainian population by declaring the independence of Ukraine.

Pilsudski passed up launching the main attack in the Belorussian theater, because in such a case his left flank would be greatly extended, while the possibility of the Lithuanian Army launching an attack against it from the rear was not excluded.

The Polish armies would be drawn into an impoverished region, deprived of food stores, with a hostile population.<sup>12</sup>

Proceeding from these prerequisites, Pilsudski gave preference to the secondary Ukrainian theater at the expense of the main one. In one of the following chapters we will halt in greater detail on those consequences which this decision, which was dictated chiefly by political considerations, brought in its wake and we will put forward the opinion of Polish military literature on this question. Here we will turn the reader's attention to the artificiality of the motives put forward by Pilsudski to support his decision. As we have shown through figures, there was no kind of concentration of the main mass of Soviet forces in Ukraine. The deprivation of Ukrainian grain in 1920 could not have been so hurtful to the Soviet Union, because the grain-rich regions of the North Caucasus and Siberia were already at its disposal.

At the heart of the Soviet high command's war plan against Poland were considerations that flowed from an overall evaluation by the Soviet government of the external political situation in 1920. This evaluation took into account among the number of our active enemies, besides Poland, also Lithuania and Latvia, insofar as peace had not yet been concluded with the latter two states. Belorussia had to be the main theater of military activities. The Western Front's Red armies would have to launch their main attack in the direction of Igumen and Minsk, demonstrating and distracting the enemy's forces along the Polotsk and Mozyr' axes. The Southwestern Front's armies, reinforced by the 1st Cavalry Army, would receive the initial task of actively tying down the enemy. They also had the mission of destroying Vrangeli's army. It was believed that the accomplishment of the latter task would not present any particular difficulties.

The campaign's subsequent events showed that our high command quite correctly evaluated the significance of the Belorussian theater. In its evaluation of the situation it proceeded from the very cautious political prerequisites of the possibility of Latvia and Lithuania entering the war on the side of our enemies, but at the same time underestimated the significance of the weight of Vrangeli's army, which created a number of difficulties for our high command throughout the summer and early autumn of 1920. According to the calculations by the RKKA<sup>13</sup> Field Staff, for the successful resolution of the task on the Polish front, it was necessary to concentrate there 225,000 infantry and 16,000–18,000 cavalry, while it was planned to deploy 122,000 infantry and cavalry from this number along the Dnepr north of the line Baranovichi—Mogilyov. These calculations did not fully justify themselves chiefly due to the reasons put forward by us earlier. It will be clear from subsequent chapters that only in July 1920 were we able to raise the overall number of forces along the entire Western Front to 108,000 infantry and cavalry.

Our high command's plan finally took shape in the final ten days of March 1920. Then the commanders of both our fronts set about working out in detail their plans. Comrade Tukhachevskii, who entered into the command of the Western Front on

30 April, changed his initial intentions as to the direction of the main attack of the front's armies. He shifted the center of gravity of active operations to his right flank, with which he decided to develop the main attack in the general direction of Vil'na, in order to then throw back the opposing Polish forces into the *Poles'ye* swamps. In order to carry out the plans of their high commands, both sides had deployed in the following manner by the latter third of April 1920.

The Polish First and Fourth Armies (the boundary of both armies was in the Lepel' area) were operating in the Belorussian theater, including the *Poles'ye* and occupied the front excluding Drissa—Disna—Lepel'—Borisov—Bobruisk, while moving up their forward units to the left bank of the Berezina near Borisov and Bobruisk and occupying the gaps between these locales along the right bank of the Berezina River; further on, their front ran along the right bank of the Berezina River as far as the line of the settlement of Yakimovskaya (inclusively); from here the line of the Polish front turned due south and ran in the general direction of the village of Khoiniki, while running to the west of the latter, and then to the mouth of the Slovechna River. A special "*Poles'ye* Group," which occupied the front from the Slovechna River, linked the Belorussian theater's armies with the armies of the Ukrainian theater, of which the Polish Third Army was stationed in Volhynia along the line of the Ubort' and Sluch rivers and the Polish Second Army along the front including Novyi Miropol'—excluding Letichev. In Podoliya the Polish Sixth Army was stationed along the front excluding Letichev—the Kalushik River as far as its mouth. The Seventh Observation Army, which was in embryonic form, was stationed along the demarcation line with Lithuania. The Fifth Army had temporarily not been formed.<sup>14</sup> As we have noted, the center of gravity of these forces had been shifted to Ukraine. The following were stationed as reserves in the northern Polish theater (the Belorussian theater and the *Poles'ye*): the 6th Infantry Division in the village of Osipovichi in the Polish Fourth Army's reserve; the 16th Infantry Division was being dispatched from the country's internal regions into its reserve to the *Poles'ye*. The 17th Infantry Division was stationed in Lida in the high command's reserve. The 11th Infantry Division was located in the deep rear as part of the overall strategic reserve, as well as the 7th Reserve Infantry Brigade, which was completing its formation.

Our Western Front's 15th and 16th Armies were deployed against these forces in Belorussia and the *Poles'ye* along the line Drissa—Disna—Lepel', then to Borisov (all of these locales are excluded), and then along the left bank of the Berezina River (the enemy held a bridgehead near Borisov and the fortress of Bobruisk) as far as the settlement of Yakimovskaya, inclusively, and from the latter their front line shifted directly south as far as the village of Khoiniki. The Southwestern Front's 12th and 14th Armies were deployed in Ukraine along the line of the Slovechna, Ubort', Sluch, and Kalushik rivers, while maintaining combat contact with the above-named line of the Polish front in Ukraine. The high command's reserves, which were being

transferred to the Western Front command, were concentrating behind the Western Front's right flank in the Polotsk—Vitebsk—Tolochin triangle. By 24 April they consisted of five rifle and one cavalry divisions (4th, 6th, 11th, 29th, and 56th Rifle and 15th Cavalry Divisions).

Thus both sides were deploying on the Polish front, with their shock fists concentrated along opposing flanks.

Upon entering the third year of the civil war, Soviet policy and strategy could inscribe into their history the elimination of the civil war's main fronts. The internal counterrevolutionary coalition had been broken; it remained to finish off its remnants in the form of Vrangeli's army. The results of the Red Army's victories along the internal fronts indirectly exerted an influence on the external encirclement of the USSR. Opportunities for diplomatic and trade relations between the Soviet state and certain capitalist countries began to appear. The path of the direct military destruction of the proletarian revolution had proven to be unrealizable for the capitalist powers. The struggle between the Soviet system and imperialism, after two years of armed clashes that had led to the establishment of Soviet power in one-sixth of the world, began to shift to purely economic areas. In April 1920 V. I. Lenin noted in one of his speeches that international capital will attempt to penetrate into the confines of the Soviet country in the guise of a trade guest. He foresaw that that guest would try to unite his efforts with like-minded groups within the country and create new difficulties for us and "to prepare a new series of traps and snares."

We began 1920 on a restricted economic basis. To be sure, the reestablishment of the Soviet territory's economic integrity—the unification of the producing and consuming areas of the country—opened an entire series of favorable prospects for the future. But the present was quite depressing. The following figures speak eloquently to the condition of the national economy. Coal extraction in 1920 was 27% of the amount mined before the war (29% in 1919). The production of cast iron was represented by the paltry figure of 2.4% (2.7% in 1919). The production of flax yarn was 38% (45% in 1919). The area under cultivation had decreased to 68% of the prewar norm, and the yield of rye had fallen to 36.1% of a *puđ* per *desyatina* (38.6% in 1919). Rail transport continued to fall apart catastrophically: in 1920 61% of the steam engines were in need of repair. At the same time the process of the proletariat's dispersal continued: the number of workers had declined by more than two times, falling from 3,000,000 to 1,340,000. Added to this were also special circumstances. The drought summer of 1920 proved to be very unfavorable for several provinces (Oryol, Tula, Ryazan', etc.) in the RSFSR's central zone.

The figures cited are sufficient for reaching a judgment that in the area of heavy industry our existence was based exclusively on old reserves. Naturally, given the presence of these conditions, military industry was unable to produce sufficient means for making up for the expenditure and wearing out of military equipment. Thus in devising our strategy, we also proceeded from the presence of old reserves.



The wails of commanders at all levels over the shortage of ammunition were particularly heard throughout the entire war of 1920. Lacking figures on this very important means of war at the overall republic level, we may cite several typical examples to illustrate our poverty in this area. In the summer of 1920 one of the Red 13th Army's groups on the Crimean front, which in strength was equivalent to an entire army (the right-bank group, consisting of four rifle and one cavalry divisions, and which disposed of up to 100 heavy and light guns) received only 5,000 shells (which amounted to only 50 fires per gun for the entire operation) and 800,000 rifle rounds for the beginning of a very important operation calculated to last several days. The group commander vainly asked to raise this figure to 3,000,000 rifle rounds and 25,000 shells.<sup>15</sup> Given this poverty of ammunition, the maximum norm of rifle rounds a rifleman could count on was 90 rounds.<sup>16</sup>

Thus the poverty of ammunition deprived the Red Army of one of the chief advantages of modern weaponry—its rapid rate of fire.

Given such an impoverished internal military-materiel base, the calculation on captured bases—on finding everything necessary for us behind the enemy front—was to acquire great significance in our strategic plans. Such calculation could be supported by past experience, for the war on the main fronts in the preceding years yielded many examples of such captured bases. Let's recall, for example, that the rout of Kolchak and the invasion of Siberia immediately increased the strength of the Red armies by the inflow of partisans and opened up great opportunities for supplying the country and army with grain, and improved the army's equipment with supplies of weaponry and equipment captured from the enemy, etc. Approximately the same picture could be observed on the Southern and northern fronts at the time of their elimination. This means that the theory of captured bases completely justified itself during the civil war.

1920 introduced certain new shades in the mutual relations between the two main forces of the revolution—the proletariat and peasantry. With the defeat of Kolchak's and Denikin's armies, the threat of the landowner's return, which had been hanging directly over the peasantry, seemed to have been eliminated. The danger from Vrangel', which had not become sufficiently clear by that time, did not yet have great significance for the peasantry. At the same time, the economic policy established during the civil war years (the food requisition and the entire system of measures tied to it) perceptibly told on the economy of the countryside (particularly the well-to-do part). In turning over grain to the city under pressure from the state's food apparatus, the countryside got almost nothing in exchange from the city. When the danger of the landowners returning threatened, the main mass of the peasantry, in any event, reconciled itself to food requisitioning, understanding that having received land, the peasant must make sacrifices for the war. When the immediate danger of the landowner passed, the countryside began to protest. Thus the active and well-to-do upper crust of the village was able to find favorable soil for its anti-Soviet activity. Such was the internal

content and significance of those counterrevolutionary peasant movements in which the *kulak* tried to take on the leading role and, which having arisen as early as 1919 in Ukraine (the Grigor'yev and Makhno movements), arose in the first half of 1920 in the black-earth region of the RSFSR (the Antonov<sup>17</sup> movement in Tambov province) and later developed in Siberia. The detailed analysis and research of these movements is not part of our work. We mentioned them insofar as they were one of the givens of the political situation of the war in 1920.

The remnants of the Socialist Revolutionary Party attempted to put themselves at the head of the *kulaks'* movement and to politically shape it under new slogans. The idea of the Constituent Assembly had already been buried for good, even in the consciousness of the Socialist Revolutionaries and in its place they put forth the slogan of a peasant union and "free soviets." However, neither a change in slogans nor an alliance with the *kulaks* was able to save this party from final collapse.

Before the shift to a food tax and the cancellation of the food requisition, quite difficult political situations were created within the country which made military work at the fronts more difficult.

We will now describe in a few words the party's military exertions in the beginning and during the course of the Polish-Soviet campaign.

Having defeated Kolchak and Denikin and having chased Vrangl' into the Crimea, Soviet Russia threw itself headlong into economic construction. It would not be an exaggeration to say—and the press at the time confirms this—that questions of war had been pushed to the side. Later, on 10 July 1920, when Vrangl's offensive had already begun, the Central Committee of the RKP(b), in its appeal to the party's organizations, wrote that "We are now paying the price on the Crimean front for the fact that in the winter we failed to finish off the remnants of Denikin's White guard forces. Hunger, the breakdown of transportation and the shortage of fuel will last longer because sufficient energy, insistence and decisiveness were not manifested in a timely fashion in bringing to an end the destruction of the southern counterrevolution."

With the start of the Polish offensive, the party very quickly shifted from peaceful construction to a war footing. As early as 24 April 1920 the party and soviet newspapers came out with the slogan: "To the Western Front." But the means of pouring the active members or shock core into the army differed from the time of the Kolchak and Denikin campaigns.

Alongside the party mobilizations, which now began to take place, volunteerism had special significance. The mobilizations were carried out successfully: as early as 4 May Petrograd had sent to the Polish front the first party of communists (300 men) and the party's Moscow committee carried out the Central Committee's mobilization orders by 82%; 5% of the party members were mobilized in Orenburg; the city soviet mobilized 10% of its members in Nizhnii-Novgorod.

The volunteer movement became widely developed. In Moscow the registration of volunteers took place through the Moscow council's bureau, through the Central

Committee and Moscow committee of the RKP, through district committees, and through the central committee of the youth union. The number of volunteers rose with each day. Up to 20% of the volunteers in Moscow were not party members, while workers predominated.

The campaign to help the Polish front unfolded out throughout the entire country. 200 volunteers signed up immediately in Kaluga; in Chelyabinsk an entire sentinel regiment expressed the desire to leave for the western front; in Tashkent several hundred people, half of them non-party members, signed up for the front in two sessions. They reported from Pyatigorsk, Simbirsk, Omsk and other places that the workers were ready to answer the first call to leave for the western front in order to defend the revolution.

A second peculiar feature of the Polish campaign was a certain change in the mutual relations between the RKP(b) to a number of other parties, as well as a turning point in the ranks of the intelligentsia in relation to the Soviet regime. In the beginning of May, at a solemn session of the Moscow soviet, Martov<sup>18</sup> spoke in the name of the Moscow Mensheviks, who in general “considered Soviet policy in the Polish question correct, and the struggle on the western front the vital cause of the Russian proletariat.”

Of course, this address did not by any means signify the movement of the Martovs and Abramoviches<sup>19</sup> to the side of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, but at the same time it showed that menshevism had lost any kind of support among the masses. Various socialist groups, including those in Ukraine, had completely fallen apart and their best parts had moved toward the RKP(b). These circumstances, just as in the turn in the intelligentsia’s front, enabled the party to far more widely, and completely differently than before, carry out a series of measures to strengthen Soviet Russia’s combat capability.

For example, a special conference of well-known representatives of the old army, under the chairmanship of A. A. Brusilov,<sup>20</sup> was organized within the high command. Then there appeared the opportunity of employing more broadly than before former officers, or those who had hidden their rank or who had fought in the White armies and were located in concentration camps.

Aside from the 30 May appeal by the commander-in-chief’s special conference, signed by A. A. Brusilov and others and entitled “To All Former Officers, Wherever They Are,” on 2 June there appeared on a similar matter an appeal by the Council of People’s Commissars and signed by comrade Lenin. In Moscow up to 1,500 former officers were equipped and received accelerate political training for their subsequent dispatch to the front.

During the Polish campaign aid to Soviet Russia from the international proletariat proved to be much more powerfully expressed than before. The initiative of the party and unions of Soviet Russia in this regard was very great. The central committee of the railway and water transportation workers appealed to the transport workers’

unions of Great Britain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands at the beginning of June. The appeal demanded the cessation of the loading and transport of weapons and military equipment for the Polish White Guard legions.

An international congress of metal workers met in Copenhagen at the end of June. The central committee of the All-Russian Union of Metal Workers sent a radio message of greetings to the congress in which it also demanded “an energetic and strong rebuff to the attempts to suffocate the workers of Russia.” “Produce weapons,” the radio said, “but only against your enemies, against capital in all countries.”

An entire wave of foreign workers’ delegations rolled across Soviet Russia, and even a delegation of British trade unions arrived, the representatives of which spoke out against the Polish attack on Soviet Russia on the western front, in Petrograd, Moscow, and in a number of other cities. The arrival of an Italian delegation and its appeal to the international proletariat had enormous significance. And, finally, the matter was completed by the second congress of the Comintern,<sup>21</sup> which opened its sessions right at the height of the Polish campaign.

Also known was an entire series of actions by the working class in Great Britain, Italy and Norway, etc., when the workers interfered with the shipment of weapons to the Poles, and the creation of the “Hands off Russia” committee, and others. If a mighty and simultaneous action by the proletariat of a number of countries for Soviet Russia did not take place, then individual movements and actions played an enormous role.

One of the forms of assistance, which has only now found widespread employment, were those “western front weeks,” which party committees began to conduct. The essence of these weeks was not only in broad agitation, but in actual assistance to the front in the form of voluntary deductions, *subbotniks* and duties, etc. *Vsevobuch*<sup>22</sup> and Red commander days had the same sort of practical significance, particularly when the army was experiencing a greater and greater shortage of Red commanders.

# The White Poles' Ukrainian Operation. The Battle on the Berezina. The Red Armies' Counter Maneuver in Ukraine

*Petyura's and Pilsudski's Agreement as a Political Prerequisite of the Polish Offensive on Ukraine. Both Sides' Situation in Ukraine Before the Beginning of the Poles' Decisive Operations. The Essence of Pilsudski's Offensive Plan. The Revolt of the Galician Brigades and the Condition of the Rear of the Armies of the Red Southwestern Front. The Battle Along the Red 12th Army's Sector. The Struggle for Kiev. Combat Operations Along the Red 14th Army's Sector. A Pause in the Poles' Operations in Ukraine; its Reasons. The Plan for a Counter Maneuver by the Red Armies of the Southwestern Front in the Ukrainian Theater. The Assumption of the Offensive by the Western Front's Armies. The Battle of the Berezina and its Results. The Counter Maneuver of the Southwestern Front's Armies in Ukraine and its Results. The Pursuit of the Retreating Polish Armies in Ukraine and the Beginning of the Cooperation of Both Our Front's Internal Flanks. The Rovno Operation. The Proskurov Raid. The Western Front's Preparation for a General Engagement in Belorussia. Both Sides' Situation Before the Beginning of This Engagement*

On 22 April 1920 the head of the Polish state, Pilsudski, and the leader of the Ukrainian petite-bourgeois chauvinists, Semyon Petyura, who titled himself the “head *ataman*” of Ukraine, signed an agreement to free Ukraine from the Soviet regime. This agreement, which would actually have made Ukraine a colony of bourgeois-aristocratic Poland, was necessary for Pilsudski as a political pretext for justifying the invasion of Ukraine by Polish legions. Through this agreement, Pilsudski wanted to mislead the public opinion of the popular masses of Poland and Europe, because offensive operations in Ukraine, in any event, would have been at odds with all previous declarations by Polish political figures and the press to the effect that Poland was in the side defending itself against the Bolsheviks’ “red imperialism.”

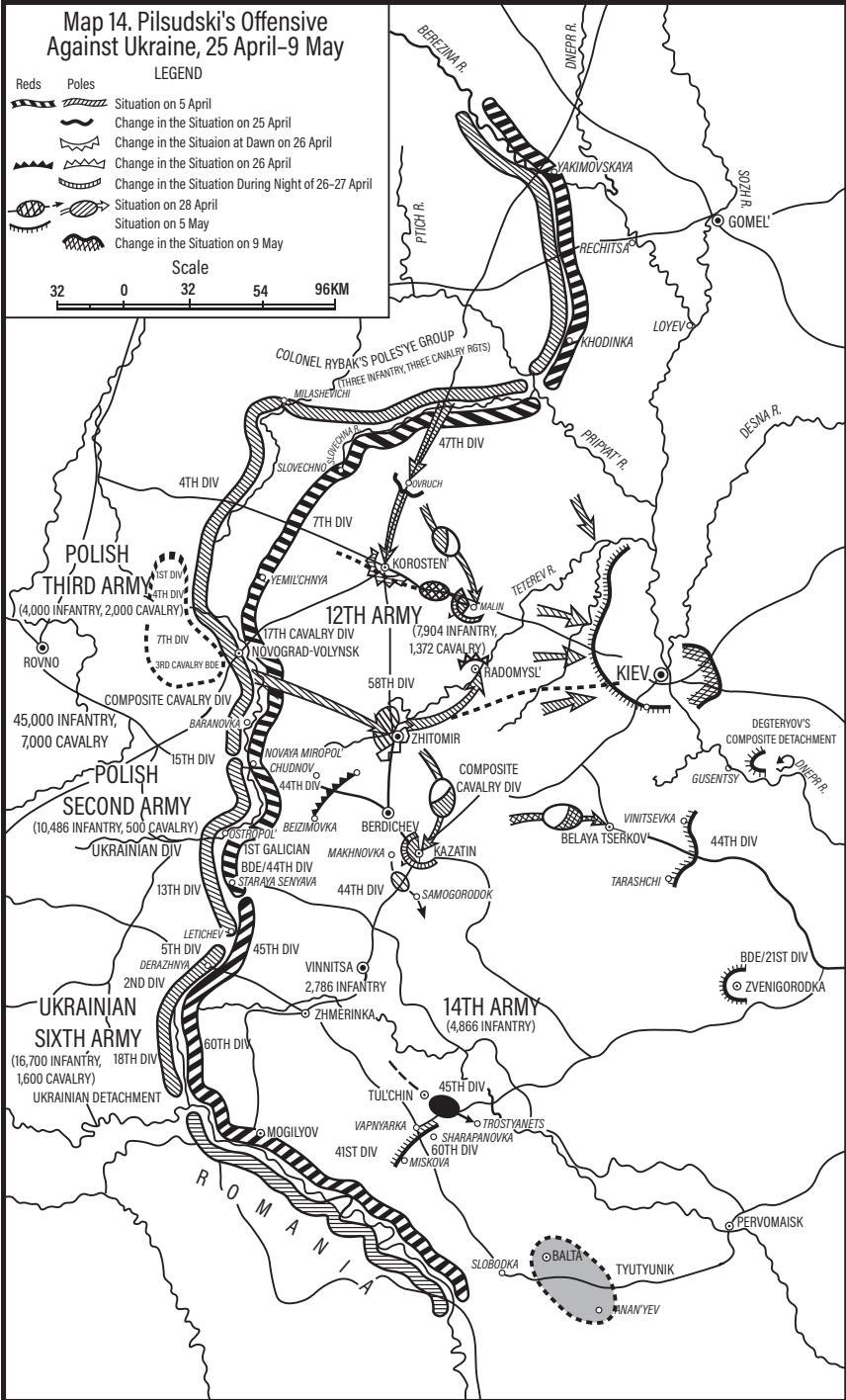
At the same time, Pilsudski was not embarrassed by the fact that one of the sides signing the agreement was politically lacking in authority.

The agreement was signed<sup>1</sup> and came into force when the Polish forces in Ukraine were completing their concentration and deployment.

By 25 April 1920 the enemy's forces in Ukraine had deployed in the following manner. Colonel Rybak's<sup>2</sup> "*Poles'ye* Group," numbering 1,500 cavalry and an unknown number of infantry (three infantry and three cavalry regiments), which was operationally subordinated to the neighboring Polish Third Army to the right, was stationed along a 120-kilometer front along the Slavechna River, from its mouth and then as far as the village of Milashevichi. The Third Army occupied a front along the Ubort' and Sluch rivers, from Milashevichi (inclusively) as far as the Rovno—Berdichev railroad on a 140-kilometer front, and numbered up to 14,000 infantry and more than 2,000 cavalry (1st Legionnaire Infantry Division, the 4th and 7th Infantry Divisions, the 3rd Cavalry Brigade, and General Romer's<sup>3</sup> composite cavalry division).<sup>4</sup> It was bordered on the south by the Polish Second Army along an 80-kilometer sector from the line including the Rovno—Berdichev railroad to the town of Letichev. On this sector the enemy disposed of 10,486 infantry and 500 cavalry (the 15th Infantry,<sup>5</sup> the Ukrainian and 13th Infantry Divisions). Finally, the Polish Sixth Army, numbering 16,700 infantry and 1,600 cavalry (5th, 12th and 18th Infantry Divisions and Ukrainian detachments), formed the extreme right flank of the Polish Ukrainian front, occupying a 90-kilometer front along a line excluding Letichev, through Derazhnya and further along the Kalushik River to its mouth.<sup>6</sup> In all, more than 40,000 enemy infantry and cavalry were deployed along a 430–450-kilometer front in Ukraine. Taking into account the number of infantry in the three infantry regiments of Colonel Rybak's group, which were not included by us, as well as the Polish 5th Cavalry Brigade, one may confidently round out these figures to 45,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry.

The disposition of these forces was not equal along the entire front. Its density decreased from the right to the left flank. It was the smallest along the sector of the Polish Third Army, which was to have offensive significance in Pilsudski's plan. Along this army's sector, in their turn, two infantry divisions and a cavalry brigade (the 1st Legionnaire Infantry and 7th Infantry Divisions and the 3rd Cavalry Brigade) formed General Ridz-Smigly's shock group.<sup>7</sup>

The Southwestern Front command could oppose these enemy forces with the Red 12th Army (Mezheninov),<sup>8</sup> which occupied a front from the mouth of the Slavechna River through the village of Slavechno—Yemel'chin—Novograd-Volynsk—the village of Baranovka-Ostropol'—Senyava station (all locales excluded), with an overall length of 340–360 kilometers, with forces numbering 6,849 infantry and 1,372 cavalry (47th and 7th Rifle, 17th Cavalry and 44th Rifle Divisions), having in the army reserve in the Zhitomir area the 58th Rifle Division, which numbered 855 infantry, for a total of 7,904 infantry and 1,372 cavalry, and the Red 14th Army (Ubovich),<sup>9</sup> which





numbered 4,866 infantry and which was occupying the front from the line excluding the town of Letichev, through and excluding Derazhnya along the Kalushik River, and then along the Dnestr to its mouth against Romania, while the 90-kilometer anti-Polish sector of the 14th Army's front was held by two rifle divisions (45th and 60th Rifle Divisions),<sup>10</sup> with an overall strength of 2,768 infantry.<sup>11</sup> In all, we disposed of 15,338 infantry and 1,372 cavalry against 50,000 enemy infantry and cavalry; that is, he disposed of a nearly five-fold superiority in forces.

Our forces were stretched out in an even cordon along a front from the Pripyat' River to the Dnestr River, while as a typical feature of their position we should note the circumstance that the axis along the Novograd-Volynsk—Zhitomir railroad, which was most powerfully occupied by the enemy, was on our side covered by only the 17th Cavalry Division, which was both quantitatively and qualitatively weak along an extended front in a thickly wooded area. This disposition of our forces was precisely known to the enemy.

In preparing to launch an attack in Ukraine, Pilsudski decided to take charge of it himself. Without giving up the overall command of all the Polish armies, he took command of the Polish Third Army, which, according to his plan, had the main role. Pilsudski's plan pursued the goal of completely defeating the Red 12th Army as the right flank of the main mass of the Soviet forces concentrated (in his opinion) in Ukraine. Upon breaking through this army's front along the Zhitomir axis, with a simultaneous attack against its right flank from the "*Poles'ye* Group," Pilsudski calculated on completely destroying with this double attack the entire northern flank of the Red Southwestern Front, which would open for him the path to Kiev, which was the political goal of the campaign. The plan pursued the seizure by cavalry of Malin and Katin stations as immediate goals and rear junctions which the Reds, in Pilsudski's opinion, could not go around in their retreat. While carrying out this operation, it was planned to tie down the Red 14th Army with powerful frontal attacks so that it could not aid the 12th Army.

Upon reaching the line of the Teterev River, Pilsudski planned to concentrate the main mass of his forces in the Zhitomir—Berdichev—Kazatin triangle in order to, depending on circumstance, from there operate either against Kiev, or against the Red 14th Army.

In turning to an evaluation of Pilsudski's plan, we must first of all note that it proceeded from false political and strategic prerequisites, which determined its ultimate failure, despite its temporary initial success. The falsity of the political prerequisite was that Pilsudski, in overestimating the significance of his alliance with Petlyura, completely mistakenly evaluated the mood and sympathies of the broad masses of the Ukrainian population, which viewed the invasion of Ukraine by the Polish legionnaires as another intervention. Thus it was necessary for Pilsudski, in order to securely establish himself in Ukraine, to foresee its occupation, for which Poland's forces were insufficient. The experience of 1918 showed that the

Austro-Germans needed to designate a 250,000-man strong army to occupy Ukraine, although their dominance reached only into the largest administrative centers and railroad lines, while waves of popular uprisings convulsively broke out along the remaining territory.

In the strategic sense, Pilsudski's situation in Ukraine could also not be considered secure while the armies of the Red Western Front remained, maintaining their operational freedom and increasing in numbers, along the immediate operational axes to the main political center of the Polish state—Warsaw.

Thus the Polish offensive could count on the successful resolution in Ukraine of only one, purely local task, the defeat of one or two Soviet armies, and this could have been achieved without a five-fold superiority in forces, which was achieved at the expense of weakening Polish forces in the main theater.

Many Polish authors adhere to this same opinion. One of these, Colonel Malyszko, writes: "To ignore the situation in the north before the Kiev operation was a political and strategic mistake"; another Polish author, Falewicz,<sup>12</sup> in evaluating that influence which Pilsudski's Ukrainian operation had upon the entire subsequent course of the war, said: "Although this campaign ended in success, it was, however, a defeat and tied to the impoverishment of half of the country, and we are still experiencing its materiel and moral consequences." Finally, we find an indirect half-admission in the memoirs of Pilsudski himself. In his book, *1920*, he maintains that it was decided to launch the main attack in Ukraine because the main mass of Soviet forces was concentrated there and that information about this came from his then chief of staff—General Haller.

The Southwestern Front's armies in Ukraine had defensive tasks from the end of March 1920. They expected reinforcements and the concentration of those forces which were moving to the Southwestern Front according to the overall intentions for the deployment of our forces against Poland, after which the Southwestern Front command intended to go over to the offensive.<sup>13</sup>

Aside from the significant numerical superiority, which, as we saw above, Pilsudski managed to secure, attendant circumstances significantly favored him in carrying out his mission. These circumstances consisted of the following. In one of the 12th Army's divisions (44th Rifle) and two of the 14th Army's divisions (45th and 41st Rifle) there existed a brigade each of Galician riflemen, formed from the former Galician Army following its joining the Soviet side in the early spring of 1920.<sup>14</sup> Two of these brigades that were a part of the 14th Army, having fallen under the influence of anti-Soviet agitation, rose up just two days before the start of the general Polish offensive. The struggle against this mutiny swallowed up all the Red 14th Army's free reserves, and moreover was reflected in the situation of the neighboring 12th Army to the right. Although the 1st Galician Brigade, which was located on the army's left flank, proved to be entirely loyal to the Soviet regime and in subsequent fighting demonstrated its fidelity to it, just in case, part of the

12th Army's free reserves was moved up to its left flank in the Galicians' rear, which bared the dangerous Zhitomir axis even more so.

Aside from the mutiny of the Galician brigades, which swallowed up the remnants of both our armies' meager reserves, another reason of a more prolonged character was undermining their strength. A mutinous *kulak* movement, which was led by national-chauvinist parties, had built itself a firm nest on the Ukrainian right bank in the immediate rear of our armies. An enormous swath of territory to the east of the Vinnitsa—Slobodka railroad, all the way to the banks of the Dnepr River, ended up engulfed in banditry. (See Map 13 of the plate section)

The majority of the bands operating on the right bank had a sharply expressed Petlyurite coloration; only in the southeastern corner of the right bank (the Kherson, Nikolayev and Krivoi Rog area) did Makhno's forces dispute the rights for hegemony with Petlyura. Petlyura's bands were organized according to the same principles as Petlyura's regular army. They were headed, in the majority of cases, by officers of Petlyura's army who remained in the Red Army's rear during its victorious advance following Denikin's defeat. Having settled in its rear, the cadres of Petlyura's units served as that adhesive material which secured for the yellow and blue<sup>15</sup> banditry in Ukraine a certain resilience and viability. The unorganized and amorphous *kulak* class received in the form of these cadres a necessary organizational force. According to an entire series of documents, we arrive at the conclusion that the settling of Petlyura's cadres and agents during the withdrawals of his regular army was carried out according to a well-known, previously thought-out and compiled plan. These cadres settled most thickly in the areas of the main railroad junctions. In organizing a ring of bands around these junctions, Petlyura held the Red Army's communications under constant threat and periodically disrupted their work.

As early as 2–3 weeks before the start of the Polish offensive, the unification of the bands operating in the Balta—Anan'yev area was taking place under the leadership of Tyutyunnik.<sup>16</sup> Almost simultaneously, the very important railroad junction of Znamenka was being surrounded by a dense ring. The entire rear of the 12th and 14th Armies was crawling with large and small bands, which carried out raids on transport and railroad stations, while disorganizing the supply and feeding of these armies. The bandit *atamans* were guided by instructions from the Polish command, which they received through Petlyura. As the Poles advanced, individual bands (for example, that of Tyutyunnik) became part of Petlyura's regular army.

On the basis of a thorough study of an entire series of materials, we consider it necessary to brush aside the assertions by certain sources that the Polish armies' offensive was supposedly accompanied by widespread uprisings of the peasant masses in the rear of the Red armies. The noisy *atamans* really did sometimes create incorrect impressions regarding the scope of their influence through their actions and operetta uprisings. In the majority of cases, the Petlyura bands arose not as the result

of peasant uprisings, but as the result of painstaking organizational work to create underground centers beforehand. Given the weakness, or more likely the complete absence of a Soviet apparatus in the countryside, the bands, organized along military lines and, while operating as partisans and relying on the sympathies of the *kulaks* and the temporary wavering of the middle peasants, had the opportunity of ruling unchallenged in entire areas, even given their comparatively small strength. The process of sovietization, which demanded great resources and forces, could not keep up with the pace of the Red armies' advance, which were pursuing the remnants of Denikin's forces, at the end of 1919 and beginning of 1920. A gap was created into which Petlyura's and Makhno's rushed.

In opposition to the banditry on the Ukrainian right bank, Makhno's movement, which embraced an enormous area on the Ukrainian left bank, was not formally linked to either Vrangeli' or the Polish-Petlyura bloc. Objectively speaking, in destroying the Red Army's rear and distracting its forces from the front, Makhno's movement could be viewed by us as an ally of one or the other. His proclamations screamed about a struggle on two fronts, while in reality this was a one-sided struggle against the Soviet regime; his proclamations contained high-flown left-revolutionary phrases about a third, super-socialist revolution, while in practice it was a *kulak* counterrevolution and a *kulak* spearhead that was clearing the way for Vrangeli'. Such was the essence of Makhno's movement in 1920.

By the spring of 1920 Makhno had put right the organization of his bands that were collectively known as the "Ukrainian Army of Rebellion." He divided his army into three corps. Each corps consisted of an indefinite number of regiments of a quite diverse makeup. The regiments were gathered from wandering freebooters. A bandit who gathered such a regiment became its permanent commander. The regiments were usually cavalry. If a band managed to get hold of a large amount of machine guns, then it formed a machine gun regiment.

Having hidden out in his area in the winter of 1919–1920, with the arrival of spring in 1920 Makhno once again came out and began a partisan war in the rear of the Red 13th Army. Makhno's forces blew up bridges along the rail lines, attacked railroad stations and transport and individual units of the Red Army. The 42nd Rifle Division and a brigade from the Estonian Division fought against them. These units occupied Makhno's main bases, the town of Gulyai-Polye and seized almost all of his artillery, but Makhno and his detachments remained uncatchable and the struggle against him did not cease for nearly the entire summer of 1920, until the political situation forced him to once again adopt an accommodating position regarding the Soviet regime.

On the Ukrainian right bank the struggle against banditry also demanded men and materiel from the military command. The local garrisons' forces, which were quite small, were insufficient for fighting this evil. The shortage of forces had to be made up from the field troops, once again weakening them numerically. For example,

the 12th Army alone detached from its units eight expeditionary detachments, each numbering from 150 to 200 soldiers.

Alongside the field forces, reserve units, the inflated commands of the military commissariats and battalions of internal security forces waged the struggle against banditry. The “internal front” demanded the command’s close attention. In April and May some bands were already operating in close proximity to Khar’kov (front headquarters and the capital of the Ukrainian government). In the last days of April rail communications between Poltava and Khar’kov (the Kovyaga rebellion) were cut; the bands threatened the main communications of the 12th and 14th Armies, which were operating against the attacking Poles. As we have already noted, the Polish offensive was accompanied by a sharp reinforcement and liveliness in the activities of all the bands of the Petlyura stripe. The “internal” and external fronts were cooperating with each other.

The intensity of the situation in the rear of the field armies demanded from the command and government a number of organizational measures for securing the normal and unhindered struggle against the bandit groups. The diffuse and unorganized efforts of individual armies and military commissariats to eliminate the “internal front” failed to yield the necessary results. By May an apparatus for controlling the struggle with banditry in Ukraine had taken final shape. The position of rear chief was created within the front’s military revolutionary council. The same sorts of positions of rear chief were created in all the armies and provinces. The political control of the struggle was concentrated in special organs, the so-called permanent conferences for fighting banditry, which consisted of representatives from the command, the revolutionary military committees, (executive committees), party organizations, and land and food organs. Comrade Dzerzhinskii, who had been commandeered by the government of the RSFSR to Ukraine, took up his duties as chief of the rear in May. The struggle against banditry demanded a great deal of combat exertion from the troops. An enemy who operates in a partisan fashion, who is resourceful, tireless and mobile and who has an excellent knowledge of the terrain, demanded the very same qualities from the Red Army’s detachments. The troops and the command element retrained themselves on the go, while acquiring in the practical struggle the necessary skills of partisan activity. The rear swallowed up significant forces. By the autumn of 1920 all the units designated for the struggle against banditry in Ukraine were already grouped into five internal service divisions, each consisting of three brigades (internal service troops). As we have already noted, alongside them were other units (reserve and other) waging the struggle against banditry. Internal service units gradually acquired in their struggle with banditry a new ally in the form of detachments of the rural poor undergoing formation (detachments of poor villagers).

We halted quite consciously on the description of the Red armies’ rear in Ukraine. The problem of front and rear in a revolutionary-class war appears in a

completely different light than in the wars of previous ages. The belligerent sides in a revolutionary-class war, more than in any other war, have the opportunity of relying on the armed assistance of sympathetic groups in their enemy's rear. There is hardly any reason to prove that great opportunities are opening up along these lines for the army of the proletarian revolution.

Any war, which the Soviet Union will be forced to wage, will at some point be a revolutionary-class war. We consider it our task in our study to reveal at the same time the features and signs which, in our opinion, distinguish a revolutionary-class war from a number of other wars. According to the experience of the war of 1918–1921, a future revolutionary-class war is conceived by us as a combination of a modern, major war and a so-called small war. The Red Army's command element must be prepared even in peacetime not only for operations in a major war (this is the most important thing), but for decisive partisan operations, which is to say, for a small war.

Such was the overall situation at the front and in the rear of both our armies, when at dawn on 25 April 1920 the enemy went over to a general offensive along the sector from the Pripyat' to the Dnestr rivers. The enemy's shock groups managed to break through the Red 12th Army's porous front without difficulty. On that same day, that is, 25 April, Rybak's group occupied Ovruch, while General Ridz-Smigly's group was developing an energetic offensive and its infantry (the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division), which was moving partially on trucks, covered 80 kilometers in one day and at dawn on 26 April captured the city of Zhitomir following a fight with the 58th Rifle Division along the near approaches to it. On that same day the enemy occupied Korosten' and Radomysl', thus establishing himself along the lateral rail line running behind the Red 12th Army's front (Korosten'—Zhitomir). As a result of the enemy's operations, as early as the second day following the start of his offensive, the 12th Army had ceased to exist as a controlled entity; four of its divisions (47th, 7th and 58th Rifle and 17th Cavalry), having lost communications with army headquarters and between each other, were already falling back to the east, striving to reach their rear military roads. Only the army's left-flank 44th Rifle Division continued to fight the enemy along the front. However, under enemy pressure it also had to yield 30 kilometers to him, falling back from the village of Chudnov to the front Kitkhi—Beizymovka. The 14th Army was more successful in beating off the enemy's demonstration attacks along its sector.

Thus Pilsudski's plan had yielded fruits as early as 26 April. Subsequent days along the 12th Army's sector were characterized by the enemy's new achievements and vain attempts by the 12th Army command put the retreat of its divisions in order and to organize resistance along intermediate lines. It was unable to achieve either of these objectives: the first, because of the loss of communications with its divisions, and; the second, due to the absence of free and fresh reserves at its disposal. On the night of 26–27 April Rybak's cavalry seized Malin station, while Romer's composite cavalry division attacked the Kazatin junction station and captured it, destroying



units of the 44th Rifle Division in this area. For this reason, the latter was forced to sharply shift its withdrawal to the south, in the direction of Makhnovka and Samgorodok, and for this reason fell out of the army for a long time.

However, the seizure of Malin and Kazatin did not create the insuperable congestion in the rear of the 12th Army's retreating units for which Pilsudski was striving. The 44th Rifle Division, as we have already seen, bypassed this congestion, while the 7th Rifle Division, which was falling back in a compact formation, knocked out the Polish cork at Malin station on the night of 27–28 April and threw the Polish cavalry occupying it to the north and opened a path to Kiev for itself and the remnants of the 47th Rifle Division. However, these tactical successes did not change the overall difficult strategic situation. A significant gap had opened up between the 12th and 14th Armies, into which the enemy streamed. The 14th Army, in shifting the front of its right flank (the 45th Rifle Division) sharply to the north, was also supposed to begin a withdrawal in the general direction of Zhmerinka, in order to then cover the Odessa axis.

Up until now the Polish Third Army's operations had developed with extreme speed and energy. The following figures paint a picture of this: the 6th Cavalry Brigade from Rybak's group covered 180 kilometers in two days; the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division covered 80 kilometers in one day.<sup>17</sup> But subsequently, when the first part of the operation had been realized and the remnants of the 12th Army remained to be pursued, the pace of the pursuit fell considerably and the pursuit itself took on a spasmodic character.

There were reasons for this, which had their explanation in the waverings of the Polish high command. Despite its comparatively close proximity to the troops (Pilsudski's headquarters was in Rovno), due to the rapid increase in events and the contradictory nature of the information it was receiving, lacked a clear understanding of the developing situation, which by this time it was seeing in a distorted manner. For example, on 28 April it still did not have any kind of information about events in the Malin area and, on the basis of false rumors, believed that Romer's cavalry division had been routed around Kazatin; the sole bit of data positively known to it was that the 14th Army's resistance had proved to be unexpectedly stubborn and that forward units of Ridz-Smigly's group had reached the line of the Teterev River.

Concerned by this circumstance, on the following day Pilsudski halted his left flank in place and pushed his center forward an insignificant distance and gathered the 15th Infantry Division into his reserve in the event of the necessity of more decisive operations against the 14th Army. Taking advantage of this situation, the 12th Army's units broke contact with the enemy and carried out their withdrawal in quieter conditions. Due to the overall situation, the Red Southwestern Front command made the decision to limit itself to the defensive along the Kiev and Odessa axes until the arrival of the 1st Cavalry Army at the Southwestern Front.



The following day, in turn, passed for Pilsudski in wavering. He stood before a choice of two decisions: to either cut the 14th Army off from crossings over the Dnepr by dispatching all of his cavalry on Cherkassy and Znamenka, or by shifting his group's center of gravity to the Kiev axis, to pursuit his ultimate goal—the seizure of the city of Kiev. The occupation of the town of Belaya Tserkov' by Polish cavalry finally convinced Pilsudski that a significant and unfilled gap existed between the Red 12th and 14th Armies, which put an end to his wavering. On 3 May he decided to choose as the chief object of his operations the city of Kiev. Its capture was entrusted to General Ridz-Smigly's group which, upon receiving the 15th Infantry Division and the composite cavalry division, was to be renamed the Third Army.<sup>18</sup>

According to the plan of the Kiev operation, the Third Army was supposed to reach the line of the Dnepr River from the mouth of the Pripyat' River to the mouth of the Krasnaya River. The Polish Second Army was supposed to support it from the south, while the Polish Sixth Army was given the task of securing the Mogilyov—Kazatin—Kiev railroad from the south.

While supporting the Polish Third Army in the *Poles'ye* the Polish Fourth Army was to begin an offensive on 7 May toward the sector of the Dnepr River between the mouths of the Pripyat' and Berezina rivers. Meanwhile, by the end of the day on 5 May the remnants of the 12th Army, which numbered only 2,511 infantry and 893 cavalry, were located along the immediate approaches to Kiev, behind the Irpen' River, while bending their left flank through the village of Veta to the very Dnepr. The 44th Rifle Division was found significantly to the south of them, along the front Vintsetovka—Tarashcha. Comrade Degtyaryov's small composite detachment was located in the space between these two groups along the left bank of the Dnepr River, in the Gusentsy area. Finally, the 14th Army was forming in the area of Vapnyarka station, along the Odessa axis, with the 60th Rifle Division along the front Sharapanovka—Myaskovka, while at the same time the 45th Rifle Division was falling back from the town of Tul'chin to Trostyanets. A brigade (the 63rd Rifle Brigade, which had been transferred to the Southwestern Front by order of the commander-in-chief) from the 21st Rifle Division was in the town of Zvenigorodka.

In preparing to capture Kiev, General Ridz-Smigly, in expectation of a stubborn struggle for this major political center of Ukraine, had concentrated three of his infantry divisions along a narrow front to attack the city of Kiev from the west, while at the same time Rybak's group was to launch an attack on Kiev from the north. In order to secure this operation, the Polish Second Army was to extend itself far to the east, while changing its front almost due south. However, the attack launched by Ridz-Smigly merely hit air. The 12th Army's thoroughly weakened and bled-white units could not withstand the pressure of the enemy's forward units and, under their onslaught, abandoned the line of the Irpen' River. On 6 May 1920 the commander of the 12th Army was forced to issue orders to abandon the city of Kiev and to withdraw Soviet forces to the left bank of the Dnepr River.

On 9 May the enemy crossed part of his forces to the left bank of the Dnepr River opposite Kiev and occupied a bridgehead along the river's left bank. The 12th Army's attempts to throw the enemy back were the beginning of a series of local battles in this area, which continued throughout May with partial shifts of the front line in this or that direction. The situation along the 14th Army's sector developed the same way. The enemy's actions after the fall of Kiev, despite his partial successes, essentially took on the character of an active defense. Here the influence of the law of space told, which eventually swallowed up the energy of the Polish offensive, as well as the absence of free forces which could be distracted to the Belorussian theater from Ukraine through the active operations of the Soviet Western Front. This activity led both sides to the first major battle of this campaign in Belorussia, along the Berezina River.

The small combat episodes around Kiev wrapped up the enemy's Ukrainian operation, which was characterized by his complete domination of the initiative. New events were ripening against the background of these episodes and were linked to the approach of the 1st Cavalry Army to the Ukrainian front and which were the beginning of a new operation along this front, which took place in a situation in which our initiative dominated. But before taking up the examination of this operation, we will attempt, in a few words, to sum up the results of the recently completed period of the campaign in Ukraine.

As we have already noted, in undertaking an offensive against Ukraine, Pilsudski was pursuing political and strategic goals; the operational task of defeating the 12th Army was not an end in itself, but was merely an intermediate task in the process of achieving both final goals. Neither one nor the other of these goals was achieved. The declaration of Ukrainian independence did not secure Pilsudski a political base in Ukraine. The strategic goal, which in the overall war plan was seen as the defeat of the main mass of Soviet forces concentrated in Ukraine, was also not achieved for the reason that these forces were not there; they were concentrating and deploying at this time in the Belorussian theater. Thus Pilsudski's strategic attack proved to have been launched away from these forces and when the energy of his attack dissipated in the Ukrainian expanses his strategic situation turned out to be less favorable than at the beginning of the operation. The battle on the Berezina before long ignited the first sparks of concern in the hearts and minds of Polish politicians and strategists.

Let us now look to see to what degree Pilsudski managed to realize the operational tasks along the path to the achievement of his ultimate goals. And they, in our opinion, were not resolved to that degree to which they might have been achieved, given such a significant numerical superiority of the Polish forces. To be sure, the Red 12th Army had been thoroughly worn out and throughout the entire subsequent campaign it experienced the moral consequences of the hit it had taken, but its defeat was not completed by an energetic pursuit. The Red 14th Army was ignored. The enemy missed an opportunity to inflict a separate

defeat on it, which it had every opportunity of doing, beginning on 28 April. The 14th Army, which retained its combat capability, continued to tie down significant enemy forces. The army's activity, in connection with the enemy's need to secure two operational axes, which diverged from each other and lay along opposite flanks, the Kiev and Odessa axes, created that cordon location of his forces in Ukraine that subsequently enabled the Red command to carry out its counter maneuver. These mistakes did not flow from Pilsudski's operational plan, the merits of which we have noted. They were a consequence, on the one hand, of the incorrect political and strategic prerequisites of the entire plan of operations and, on the other hand, of those waverings and indecisiveness which set in in the actions of the Polish high command after which it had achieved its initial goals in the form of the defeat of the Red 12th Army. These waverings were reflected in the weakening of the pace of the pursuit and the ignoring along its right flank of those undisrupted Soviet forces represented by the 14th Army.

In the situation that had arisen for the Soviet armies in Ukraine in the spring of 1920, the chief reason for the failure of the 12th and the withdrawal of the 14th Red Armies was the extremely unfavorable correlation of forces. No kind of flexible counter maneuver was thinkable given such a correlation. The single correct decision would have been the timely withdrawal of the 12th Army, under the cover of rearguards, out from under the attack launched against it. This decision also brought about the withdrawal of the 14th Army and the temporary and voluntary cession of a significant portion of territory. If the high command and the Southwestern Front command were unable to decide upon this energetic measure due to political considerations, then there remained to do only what they did: to attempt to hold out along intermediate lines for the purpose of winning time until the arrival of fresh forces. The shortcoming of this method of operations was the great exhaustion of the combat organisms, of which the 12th Army is an example.

The Red high command, proceeding from a correct appraisal of the scale of the Polish offensive in Ukraine, saw the sole possibility for a decisive change in the situation in its favor in the commitment into the fighting of a major shock fist along the decisive axis. Before the concentration of this fist in the form of the 1st Cavalry Army, the high command's measures came down to, first of all, the preservation of this fist in its entirety, without dispersing it beforehand, and, secondly, in the creation of favorable conditions for this fist's operations. Thus as early as 8 May commander-in-chief S. S. Kamenev demanded the greatest possible activity from the 12th Army in order to tie down significant enemy forces at the front. The Red 14th Army, in turn, was supposed to maneuver in such a way as to draw significant enemy forces to the Odessa axis. Thus having stretched the enemy's front, they planned to make it easier for the 1st Cavalry Army to launch an attack along the internal flank of one of the Polish armies; it was then planned to direct its attack approximately to the railroad junction of Kazatin.

The final formulation and realization of this plan was the content of the subsequent period of the campaign in Ukraine, which was marked by a series of brilliant successes by Red arms and nearly coinciding in time with the revival of activity along the Crimean axis, which was also characterized by the enemy's initial dominance of the initiative and his spatial successes.

The halting at a standstill of the scope of the Polish offensive in Ukraine nearly coincided with the renewed active operations by the Western Front's Red armies.

However, in undertaking these operations, the Western Front command had in mind not so much helping the Southwestern Front as striving to preempt the enemy's general offensive in Belorussia. The activity of the Polish Fourth Army, in the opinion of the Western Front commander, offered a basis for such assumptions.

The Polish Fourth Army, in assisting the Polish Third Army's operations along the Kiev axis, developed an energetic offensive along its right flank and throughout 8–9 May advanced as far as the Dnepr River and captured the town of Rechitsa. Wishing to preserve its situation and "to deprive the Poles of the opportunity to draw our main group of forces into actions thrust upon it,"<sup>19</sup> the Western Front commander decided to move from the defensive to the offensive. On 12 May 1920 he issued orders to go over to an energetic offensive, without waiting to concentrate all of his forces, for the purpose of "defeating and throwing the Polish Army into the Pinsk Marshes."<sup>20</sup>

Special reasons favored the realization of the Western Front commander's plan. They consisted not in the numerical correlation of forces, but in their relative location. The absolute correlation of the enemies' forces was thus: the Western Front's 61,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry opposed the Poles' 50,800 infantry and 4,500 cavalry. But the Polish forces were extended along a nearly even cordon over a length of 500 kilometers, from the Western Dvina River to the village of Loyev on the Dnepr, while the Western Front command disposed of a massive group of forces in its immediate rear behind its right flank, which consisted of five rifle and one cavalry divisions with an overall strength of 35,736 infantry and 2,416 cavalry, which the Western Front commander had decided to deploy along the 60-kilometer Yanopol'ye—Paul'ye—Kamen'—Grachevichi—Chashniki sector. Thus the Western Front commander had secured a decisive superiority of force along the attack sector chosen by him.

According to the Western Front commander's plan, the decisive role in launching this attack would fall upon comrade Kork's<sup>21</sup> 15th Army, which included all of the above-named divisions; it was to launch its main attack in the direction of Ushach' and Zybki. Comrade Sergejev's<sup>22</sup> "Northern Group," which had been formed as early as 5 May, was to support the 15th Army's operations by turning the enemy's flank from the north. But it was unable to concentrate in time and thus for its active operations its commander could only detach a small "shock group" (two regiments from the 164th Rifle Brigade), numbering only 700 infantry and eight guns. At the

same time, comrade Sollogub's<sup>23</sup> 16th Army, upon going over to the offensive along the Igumen axis and crossing the Berezina River, was to tie down the enemy from the front and interfere with his possible counter maneuver against the 15th Army.

Thus according to the Western Front command's plan, the 16th Army would launch a supporting attack in the forthcoming operation. It should be noted that the fulfillment of this task required this army's preliminary regrouping. The main mass of its forces had been concentrated on its left flank, along the Mozyr' axis (10th, 17th and 57th Rifle Divisions). The single 8th Rifle Division was securing the Borisov and Bobruisk axes and was stretched along a 200-kilometer front. In calculating the time and space, the 16th Army commander, comrade Sollogub, believed that the shifting of the center of gravity of the concentration of his forces to the Igumen axis might be accomplished no earlier than 19–20 May.<sup>24</sup> The Western Front commander ordered the 16th Army to force the Berezina no later than 17 May.

In wishing to avoid the wooded and swampy upper reaches of the Berezina River, the commander of the 15th Army decided to initially launch his attack in the general direction of Ushach' and Zyabki, with a subsequent change in the direction of this attack toward Molodechno. The deployment of the 15th Army in a single line of divisions along the indicated front was concluded by the morning of 12 May.

By this time the overall disposition of the forces of both sides in the Belorussian theater was as follows:

The Polish First Army (General Zygodlowicz<sup>25</sup>), numbering 34,000 infantry and 1,300 cavalry (1st and 2nd Cavalry Brigades, the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division, the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division, and the 8th and 10th Infantry Divisions), was deployed along the front Lake Pelik—Ushach'—Farianovo station—Disna along a 150-kilometer front (rounded off).<sup>26</sup>

The Polish Fourth Army (General Szeptycki<sup>27</sup>), numbering 17,200 infantry and 3,200 cavalry (9th Infantry Division, a cavalry brigade, the 14th Infantry Division, a brigade from the 6th Infantry Division, and the 2nd Legionnaire Infantry Division) was deployed along the front Loyev—Rechitsa—Gorval'—Bobruisk—Borisov—excluding Lake Pelik, with an overall length of 350 kilometers, rounded off.<sup>28</sup>

The high command's reserve, the 17th Infantry Division (4,800 infantry), was located in the area of the town of Lida. The 16th Infantry Division (4,800 infantry), which was arriving at the Fourth Army's reserve, was heading along the Borisov and Zhlobin axes with a brigade each.<sup>29</sup>

Against these enemy forces the Red armies of the Western Front were deployed in the following manner: Sergeev's "Northern Group" had its shock group (700 infantry) opposite the town of Disna; Kork's 15th Army (6th, 53rd, 4th, 11th, 56th, and 29th Rifle and 15th Cavalry Divisions), numbering 35,736 infantry and 2,416 cavalry was along the sector Yanopol'ye—Kamen'—Grachevichi—Chashniki along a 60-kilometer front (rounded off).<sup>30</sup> Sollogub's 16th Army (8th, 10th, 17th, and 57th Rifle Divisions), numbering 28,449 infantry, began its regrouping on 6





May and continued it without overly exerting itself. The 17th Rifle Division was moving up to the Teterin—Shepelevichi—Golovchin area (50 kilometers northeast of the village of Berezino); to the south was the 8th Rifle Division, which had set about turning over its sectors by brigade; the 24th Rifle Brigade was turning over the sector Ozdyatichi—Batsevichi—Yakimovskaya settlement to a brigade from the 10th Rifle Division. The 23rd Rifle Brigade was occupying the front opposite Borisov in expectation of being relieved by the slated arrival of the 21st Rifle Division's lead brigade.<sup>31</sup>

The general assumption of the offensive was set for 14 May. As should have been expected, the actions of Sergeyev's "shock group," although it crossed the Western Dvina River successfully, did not have any particular influence on the development of the 15th Army's activities, which developed successfully without its assistance, while the army's left flank, along which the so-called "Southern Group" was operating, which had been formed from the 29th Rifle Division and its other units, was unable to avoid the wooded and swampy upper reaches of the Berezina River.

As the 15th Army advanced, its front increased. On 18 May the front ran along the line Luzhki—Glubokoye—Lake Mezhezhol—Malaya Berezina—Lake Domzheritskoye, while the army's flanks ended up being pinned back relative to the center, and the overall length of the front reached 110 kilometers.

Up until now the 15th Army had been left entirely to its own devices. It was only at dawn on 19 May that the 16th Army crossed two of its incomplete divisions (17th and 8th Rifle) to the right bank of the Berezina River, south of the town of Borisov, and began to develop its attack on the town of Igumen.<sup>32</sup> Combat activities here from 19 through 23 May were of purely local significance. Despite the fact that our units managed to advance as far as the town of Igumen and capture it, the 16th Army's forces were insufficient for widening the wedge of its attack and its base immediately began to experience attacks by the enemy's reserves which threatened to cut off our units from the crossings over the Berezina River. The significant distance between the internal flanks of the 15th and 16th Armies, which reached 120 kilometers, excluded the mutual coordination of their actions and would make the enemy's counter maneuver against the 16th Army easier.

Only on 22 May, having been reinforced by the lead units of the 18th Rifle Division, which was arriving from Polotsk, did Sergeyev's "Northern Group" begin to pull even with the 15th Army's right flank. The latter was getting ready at this time to change the direction of its advance on Molodechno. This maneuver boiled down to the nearly equal distribution of all the 15th Army's forces along three diverging axes: the Postavy axis (53rd Rifle Division, 15th Cavalry Division, and the army's reserve, the 6th Rifle Division in the village of Glubokoye); the Molodechno axis (4th, 11th and 56th Rifle divisions), and; the Zembinskaya axis (the "Southern Group," with about two divisions), with active tasks for each of these groups and which pursued the goal of reaching the front Postavy—Voistom—Radashkovichi.



Sergeyev's "Northern Group," which as yet consisted of only one rifle brigade, was at the same time directed to the northwest, in the general direction of Bratslav. Thus four diverging axes were planned at distances of 55, 75 and 55 kilometers from each other, along which from 23 May the "Northern Group" and the 15th Army, which was launching the main attack, were to begin to operate, which led to the latter's being swallowed up in space, although up until 27 May the 15th Army's offensive continued to develop due to the initial inertia. It was only on 27 May that it began to encounter the enemy's more stubborn resistance and the front line began to waver in places under the influence of the enemy's pressure, which was beginning to make itself felt along the Zembin axis, with the gradual spread of this pressure to the Molodechno axis. The "Northern Group" encountered stubborn enemy resistance along the Bratslav axis and the fighting here was indecisive and back and forth.

All of these data speaks to the maturation of an overall shift in the situation not in our favor and were the result of the beginning of the Polish counter maneuver. Having initially taken the 15th Army's offensive for a demonstration, Pilsudski then rapidly got a handle on the situation. Having united the control of both of his armies in Belorussia in the hands of the commander of the Polish Fourth Army, General Szeptycki, he ordered the transfer to the Minsk axis from Ukraine two infantry divisions and one infantry brigade, which had been pulled back into the reserve there beforehand, and moved from within the country to Svencionys the 7th Reserve Infantry Brigade and some other units, forming in the Svencionys area a fist in the form of General Sosnkowski's<sup>33</sup> "Reserve Army," which had a strength of four infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade (8th, 10th, 11th Infantry Divisions, a brigade from the 5th Infantry Division, the 7th Reserve Brigade, and the 1st Cavalry Brigade), and the same sort of fist along the Minsk axis in the Zembin area in the form of Skierski's<sup>34</sup> Group: 1½ infantry divisions (15th Infantry Division and a brigade from the 4th Infantry Division).

He conceived of an attack against both of the 15th Army's flanks in the directions of Postavy and Shklyantsy and to squeeze it in a pincer movement and destroy it. But to secure the operation's success, they first had to eliminate the 16th Army's Igumen wedge and the first attacks fell upon it by the reinforcements arriving at the Minsk axis; throughout 22–23 May they forced the wedge's head to pull back from Igumen to the Berezina (26 May) through attacks from the south and north against its base; during the subsequent days the 16th Army fell back to the river's left bank. The attack against the 16th Army's wedge was the prologue to a broader counter maneuver against the 15th Army and this counter maneuver began to develop, as we have seen, from the Zembin axis by General Skierski's shock group from the Polish Fourth Army. Correctly assessing the change in the situation along the 15th Army's sector, the commander of the Western Front himself adopted measures to establish the coordination of the internal flanks of

both our armies. On 29 May he ordered the 16th Army to once again cross the Berezina River, this time north of Borisov, but the regrouping necessary to carry out this order required several days.

Despite the elongation of its rear and the detected increase in enemy strength, the 15th Army was ordered to energetically continue the offensive. Thus the commander of the 15th Army gathered all of his free reserves to the Molodechno axis (to Shklyantsy), barring the Postavy axis; he also planned to stretch the 53rd Rifle Division's front to the south along the latter axis. Thus the conditions for maneuver were eased for the enemy along this axis.

On 31 May the enemy's counter maneuver against the 15th Army unfolded in full. On this day General Sosnkowski's "Reserve Army" went over to an energetic offensive along the Postavy axis and tore open the boundary between the 15th Army and the "Northern Group." The enemy's operations developed less successfully along the Molodechno and Zembin axes, where the already worn-out Polish First Army, which consisted of 3½ infantry divisions (3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division, the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division, the 17th Infantry Division, and a brigade from the 6th Infantry Division), which the Western Front commander decided to take advantage of and launch a powerful attack against the enemy along the Zembin axis. For this purpose, the front reserve—the 12th Rifle Division, which had just arrived at the village of Glubokoye—was transferred to the 15th Army commander on the night of 1–2 June. Upon reinforcing his "Southern Group" with this division, the 15th Army commander was supposed to develop his attack on Smolevichi. The 16th Army, which was ordered to cross the Berezina at dawn on 3 June north of Borisov and attack toward Zhodin and Smolevichi, was to support the attack. Thus each of the sides was seeking to achieve a decision along its opposite flank. But the Western Front command, in order to realize its idea, had to lay bare even more the Postavy axis, along which the enemy was strongly pressing. This axis was very important for both sides, because it led the enemy into the 15th Army's rear.

The 15th Army commander made this task even easier for the enemy through his orders. He dispatched the entire 12th Rifle Division to the village of Shklyantsy and after it a brigade from the 54th Rifle Division,<sup>35</sup> which had just arrived at the 15th Army's sector, and the 15th Cavalry Division. None of these units arrived at their designated location. While they were moving on Shklyantsy on 2 June, the enemy completely broke through the 53rd Rifle Division's front. The 15th Army's reserves were turned on the march once again to the Postavy axis and were committed into the fighting in packets, but they were unable to restore the situation. Thus 2 June was the crisis of the entire operation.<sup>36</sup> The following days were marked by the general withdrawal of the 15th Army and the "Northern Group." Not being in a condition to hold out along the Mnyuta River, both units fell back on 8 June to a shorter front resting on water lines, which ran along the line Lake Bol'shaya Yel'na—Lake Zhado—Auta River, with the left flank resting on the Berezina River. As a result of

its counter maneuver, which began on 1 June and concluded on 8 June, the enemy managed to completely restore his position along the Berezina River.

Neither side was able to achieve the complete realization of its goals during the Battle of the Berezina. We were unable to throw the enemy into the Pinsk Marshes and he was unable to destroy the 15th Army. All of the difficulty of the fighting in this battle lay upon the 15th Army. Before 22 May the “Northern Group” was too weak to substantially assist it and the 16th Army’s activities were not coordinated either in time or in space. These were the objective reasons that made the 15th Army’s situation more difficult. The subjective reasons that made it easier for the enemy to carry out his tasks were expressed in the maneuvering of the 15th Army during the shift of its axis toward Molodechno along three diverging axes and in the weakening of the Postavy axis at the moment when the attack by the enemy’s “Reserve Army” had been detected. The 15th Army’s escape from the enemy pincers was eased because the latter’s army along the Molodechno axis itself surged forward, without waiting for the maneuver by the flanking groups to manifest itself, and made a dent at the head of the 15th Army’s wedge.

The Battle of the Berezina, which arose from a preventive offensive by the Red Western Front’s armies, despite a number of “frictions” in the area of organization and control, which have been noted by us and which to a certain extent are inevitable in war, nevertheless achieved those limited aims for the sake of which it was undertaken by the Western Front command. We pointed out earlier that the Western Front commander had as his main goal the thwarting of the planned Polish offensive. As is now known, Pilsudski really did have a plan: immediately upon the completion of the White Poles’ Kiev operation, to develop operations against the left flank of the Western Front’s armies in the general direction of Zhlobin. For this purpose, the enemy had already grouped his maneuver reserves along the Berdichev—Zhitomir—Korosten’—Kalinkovichi—Zhlobin lateral rail line, which linked the Ukrainian and Belorussian theaters. But these reserves had to be transferred to the Polotsk and Minsk axes and were used to parry our attacks. Moreover, our preventive offensive influenced the entire subsequent course of the war. The Poles had to limit their campaign in Ukraine to the merely defensive aims of holding the space already seized, because the free operational reserves had to be rapidly transferred to Belorussia.<sup>37</sup> The Polish front’s wavering along the shortest operational axes to Warsaw made the enemy nervous and forced him to adjust his plan. Even the deep reserves that were still just completing their formation (the 7th Reserve Brigade) felt the influence of our attack on themselves. No less important were the moral results of our offensive. They testify to the offensive elan and combat capability of our units. These results could have been more significant had some of our purely technical mistakes not occurred.

The technique of organizing and carrying out an operation is acquired by means of long experience. We did not acquire this experience immediately. Beginning with

the Battle of the Berezina, our will to victory began to masterfully hang over the suppressed psyche of the Polish commanders for quite a long time. The daring of the revolutionary strategy fully justified itself and once again underlined the significance of the moral element in war, which is an element people often lose sight of. If, on the whole, the Battle of the Berezina facilitated the enemy's moral depression, then on the other hand, it could not but call forth an improved morale in the ranks of the Red Army. This was particularly important for the Western Front's main divisions which had spent the previous year's campaign on the defensive. These divisions saw that they, just like the divisions from the other fronts, which were accustomed to bold offensive operations, could and should attack.

Finally, the Battle of the Berezina was also valuable for us from the point of view of its organizational experience. It revealed some of our operational shortcomings (poorly developed army control apparatuses, the small amount of communications equipment, etc.), and the ensuing period of quiet enabled us to fix them somewhat.

At the same time that the Battle of the Berezina entered into a period of stubborn struggle for the initiative on both sides, with the enemy getting the upper hand, then a completely opposite picture had come about in Ukraine. Here there finally appeared the long-awaited 1st Cavalry Army, which had been marching from the Caucasus. On 18 May its main forces, numbering 16,700 cavalry, 48 guns, five armored trains, eight armored cars, and 12 aircraft, were detected within the environs of Yelisavetgrad. On that day, the commander of the Southwestern Front, Yegorov, planned to create three operational groups on the Ukrainian right bank: Yakir's Fastov Group, consisting of two rifle divisions (44th and 45th and Kotovskii's<sup>38</sup> cavalry brigade), Budyonnyi's Kazatin group, which included the entire 1st Cavalry Army, and the Zhmerinka group near Borovichi, consisting of the entire 14th Army, that is, 2  $\frac{2}{3}$  rifle and one cavalry divisions (41st and 60th Rifle and 8th Cavalry Divisions that had just been transferred from the Crimean Front, and the 21st and 63rd Rifle Brigades). The Kazatin cavalry group was the shock group, which would operate between the two infantry groups, securing its flanks.

By the time the 1st Cavalry Army entered the fighting the enemy's front in Ukraine had finally become established and the enemy had gone over to the defensive along its length. The Poles' Third Army, consisting of three incomplete divisions (Colonel Rybak's group, the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division and the Ukrainian 6th Division) and the 1st Cavalry Brigade (7th Cavalry Division), while occupying the a front from the mouth of the Pripyat' River as far as the town of Belaya Tserkov', inclusively, with a bridgehead on the left bank of the Dnepr opposite Kiev, had the task of securing the Kiev area from the east and south. The Polish Second Army, including two infantry and one cavalry divisions (7th and 13th Infantry Divisions and Romer's former cavalry division), which were stationed along the front excluding Belaya Tserkov' to the town of Lipovets, inclusively, was to secure the Kazatin railroad junction.<sup>39</sup> The Polish Sixth Army, consisting of four

incomplete divisions<sup>40</sup> (12th and 18th Infantry, a Ukrainian division and a brigade from the 5th Infantry Division), was covering the axis on Zhmerinka along the front excluding Lipovets—Gaisin—Yampol'. The overall strength of all the Polish forces in Ukraine was 60,000 infantry and cavalry; they were stationed almost in an even cordon from the mouth of the Pripyat' River to the Dnepr River along a front exceeding 400 kilometers. The commander of the Southwestern Front could oppose to the enemy's forces, even after the arrival of the 1st Cavalry Army, only 36,985 infantry and cavalry, but there were 16,000 and more infantry and cavalry in the group of forces which was securing the concentration of the main attack on Kazatin.

Determining the overall enemy strength at 58,000 infantry and cavalry, and believing that the center of gravity of his group of forces had been shifted to the Kiev axis, the Southwestern Front commander decided to select as the main goal of his actions the enemy's Kiev group of forces. The 12th Army was supposed to cross the Dnepr north of Kiev and attack in the general direction of Korosten', cutting the railroad between Korosten' station and Kiev near Borodyanka station; Yakir's group, while attacking toward Belaya Tserkov', had the task of attracting as many enemy forces upon itself as possible, thus making the 1st Cavalry Army's task easier. The latter, while energetically attacking toward Kazatin, was supposed to seize it no later than 1 June and, while securing itself with a screen to the west, to operate against the rear of the enemy's Kiev group. The 14th Army was supposed to capture the Vinnitsa—Zhmerinka area for demonstration purposes no later than 1 June. The start of the operation was set for 26 May. It unfolded in the following manner. Initially the fighting seesawed back and forth along the 12th Army's sector and that of Yakir's group, with local waverings of the front line in this and that direction. The 12th Army, while fighting along the front, was awaiting the complete concentration near the town of Oster of the 12th Rifle Division, sent to reinforce it, in order to set about crossing the Dnepr River.

On 29 May the 1st Cavalry Army ran into the Polish 13th Infantry Division's fortified position, which was covering the Kazatin railroad junction, committing its divisions into the fighting in detail, and in a series of frontal attacks sought to break through it. The 14th Army was involved in local fighting. Only on 5 June, having concentrated all of its forces to its right flank, did the commander of the 1st Cavalry Army manage to break into the enemy's rear along the boundary between the Polish Sixth and Third Armies.<sup>41</sup> This breakthrough coincided in time with the crossing to the right bank of the Dnepr River, north of Kiev, of the lead units of Golikov's<sup>42</sup> shock group, from the 12th Army (7th and 25th Rifle Divisions and the Bashkir Cavalry Brigade).

Throughout 7–8 June Golikov's shock group deployed slowly along the Dnepr's right bank, directing the axis of its movement on Borodyanka; at the same time the 1st Cavalry Army did not surge into the Polish Third Army's rear, but toward Berdichev and Zhitomir, also bypassing the powerful Kazatin junction. On 7 June





Zhitomir and Berdichev were seized by the 1st Cavalry Army, along with their stores, but at the same time the Polish Third Army got two valuable days and the Polish Sixth Army was able to secure the Kazatin junction with two infantry and one cavalry divisions.

Thus the results of the 1st Cavalry Army's breakthrough had more of a moral than a strategic effect. In the following days the 1st Cavalry Army was tied down in fighting the enemy's cavalry division. On 8 June, judging from his directive, the Southwestern Front commander evidently planned to seize the Polish Third Army in pincers with only Yakir's and Golikov's groups. The first was given the task of cutting the Kiev—Zhitomir highway no later than 10 June, and the 12th Army was to cut the Kiev—Korosten' railroad line along the Borodyanka—Irsha sector no later than 12 June. The commander-in-chief, in turn, taking into account the success of Golikov's group, was taking measures to move the 24th Rifle Division, which had initially been designated for the Western Front, by water to the crossing area.

Upon receiving the first reports of the 1st Cavalry Army's breakthrough, Pilsudski decided to abandon the Kiev bridgehead on the left bank of the Dnepr River and to take up a shorter front in Ukraine, while the Polish Third Army was to attack into the rear of the 1st Cavalry Army, upon moving it along the Zhitomir highway. However, the latter order did not reach the commander of the Polish Third Army in time. Believing that the Polish fist, which was being gathered in Kazatin, must deal with the 1st Cavalry Army, Ridz-Smigly decided to pull his army back on Korosten', with its axis of advance the Kiev—Korosten' railroad.

Pilsudski took measures to establish a new front line along the front Korosten'—Shepetovka, by means of transferring forces from the Belorussian theater<sup>43</sup> and from the rear. On the night of 8–9 June the Polish Third Army, while preparing to retreat, began to concentrate in the triangle of the Dnepr, Irpen' and Stugna rivers, with its front facing three sides. On 10 June the forward units of Golikov's group reached the front Ivankov—Dymer, while its cavalry brigade headed for Teterev station. Yakir's group was widely scattered: its 45th Rifle Division was approaching Fastov at the same time Kotovskii's cavalry brigade occupied Romanovka. Thus the Polish Third Army still had a free 75-kilometer wide space for its withdrawal. This space could have been filled by the 1st Cavalry Army, which had left the Zhitomir—Berdichev—Fastov area and headed east. On 9 June it had concentrated in the Kornin—Khodorkov—Voitovtsy area and on 10 June two of its divisions set out for Fastov, where it established contact with units of Yakir's group.

However, this time the mousetrap, which had been prepared for the Polish Third Army, was not fated to snap shut. On 10 June the Southwestern Front commander again directed the 1st Cavalry Army to the Berdichev—Zhitomir area, evidently believing that Golikov's group alone, having reached the front Radomysl'—Makarov, would be in a condition to encircle the Polish Third Army. But the latter, falling back compactly in three powerful columns, during 11–12 June knocked out



those weak corks with which Golikov sought to block its path of retreat along the Kiev—Korosten' railroad and opened a path to Korosten'. Having once again occupied Zhitomir on 12 June and having quietly remained there on 13 June, the commander of the 1st Cavalry Army received the Southwestern Front commander's 11 June directive on 14 June to hurriedly dispatch two of his divisions to the Chepovichi—Malin area, in light of the uncovering of the retreat of the main mass of the Polish Third Army on Korosten', and set about carrying it out.

Once again the attempt to delay the Polish Third Army's withdrawal was not successful. Both divisions, operating separately, because one was moving on Korosten', while the other was moving on Radomysl', were unable to cope with the Polish 7th Infantry Division's powerful flank vanguards and were thrown back by them. The Polish Third Army's further withdrawal was completed without hindrance, because it established contact with those Polish units which had begun to mark the new line of the Polish front along the Uzh and Sluch rivers. And it was along this front, that is, the same one which the Polish armies in Ukraine had occupied before 20 April that Pilsudski decided on 12 June to pull back his Ukrainian armies. This decision signified the beginning of a new period of the campaign in Ukraine, which may be described as the strategic pursuit of the enemy.

Thus the strategic results of the Southwestern Front's counter maneuver boiled down to a major success in the form of the elimination of all of the enemy's preceding territorial achievements. However, the success was incomplete. We had not managed to sufficiently disrupt the enemy's personnel and, in particular, to destroy the Polish Third Army. The main cause of the failure was, on the one hand, a series of wandering movements by the 1st Cavalry Army from 5 through 12 June in the Berdichev—Zhitomir—Fastov triangle; the exaggerated appraisal of the opportunities to encircle the enemy with Golikov's group alone; the slowness of movement and the extension of Golikov's group due to unfavorable terrain conditions (the wooded and sandy area) and, on the other hand, the skillful organization of the withdrawal by the commander of the Polish Third Army, Ridz-Smigly.

The operations by the Southwestern Front's armies had not only strategic, but moral consequences as well: the 1st Cavalry Army's breakthrough, in the words of Pilsudski, made an enormous impression not only on the army, but on the entire country.

Commander-in-chief S. S. Kamenev believed that during the pursuit the Southwestern Front's main attention should be paid to the enemy's Kiev group of forces, as its reinforcement with three divisions being transferred from Belorussia was expected. Thus he proposed directing the cavalry army on Rovno, the 12th Army's shock group to move directly to the front Ovruch—Korosten', and to dispatch a special detachment on Mozyr'. The Southwestern Front commander, in his directive of 15 June, made some changes to these instructions. He directed the 12th Army's main forces on Ovruch, two of the cavalry army's divisions on Korosten' and two of

its other divisions on Novograd-Volynsk, together with the subordinated 45th Rifle Division. Such a dispersal of the cavalry army's forces led to its extended fighting along the line of the Sluch River around Novograd-Volynsk with the enemy's infantry that had arrived from Belorussia (a brigade of the 6th Infantry Division and the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division), because only on 20 June had all the 1st Cavalry Army's divisions once again concentrated along the Novograd-Volynsk axis.

It was only on 27 June that the 1st Cavalry Army managed to overcome the enemy's resistance around Novograd-Volynsk, perhaps mainly due to the fact that at this time two of the 12th Army's rifle divisions (25th and 7th Rifle) were already hanging over the enemy's left flank, having advanced as far as the village of Olevsk and having gotten into stubborn fighting there. The movement of the 12th Army's four rifle divisions along the southern *Poles'ye* freed up the Western Front's left flank as soon as the threat to the right flank and rear of the Polish units operating along the Gomel' axis had begun to manifest itself. On 18 June the Western Front's Mozyr' Group, which had been formed as early as 19 May from the 16th Army's left-flank units, moved after the enemy, who was falling back along its front, occupied Rechitsa and headed for the town of Mozyr'. However, the latter locale was occupied as early as 29 June by the 12th Army's right-flank division.<sup>44</sup>

On 27 June Southwestern Front commander Yegorov decided to finally break the Polish front in Ukraine by throwing its northern part into the *Poles'ye* swamps, and the southern part onto neutral Romanian territory. For this, the 12th Army was to capture Mozyr' and Olevsk no later than 28 June, and then, no later than 3 July, with a "shock group" capture the Kostopol'—Rovno area together with the 1st Cavalry Army, after which it was to energetically develop the attack to bypass Sarny in the general direction of Stepan' and Chartoriisk. The 1st Cavalry Army, while pursuing the enemy, was to capture the Staro-Konstantinov—Proskurov area no later than 29 June, while at the same time attempting to inflict a destructive blow against the enemy's Dnestr group, cutting it off from the Galician border and pressing it against the Dnestr River.

An appraisal of this plan requires the preliminary explication of both sides' situation by 1 July and their relative strength.

By 1 July the Polish Third Army (three infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade), numbering 16,000 infantry and cavalry, occupied a front along the line of the Ubort' River, with the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division in the Golyshi area. The newly created Polish Second Army (three infantry divisions and one cavalry division), numbering 14,000 infantry and cavalry, was stationed along the Goryn' River between the village of Tuchin and the town of Ostrog, with the 6th Infantry Division, which had been thrust forward to the Lyudvipol' area, on its left flank, and two infantry brigades (10th and 1st Reserve) on its right flank in the Izyaslavl'—Ostrog area. In the center, along both sides of the Rovno highway, was the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division, with the 1st Cavalry Division between its right flank and the town of

Ostrog. The Polish Sixth Army (three infantry divisions and the Ukrainian Army, which was equivalent in strength to a single Polish Division), numbering 27,000 infantry and cavalry, occupied a front from the village of Gritsev and through the towns of Letichev and Bar as far as the Dnestr.

Noteworthy in the disposition of the enemy's forces is the gap between the internal flanks of the Polish First and Second Armies, which reached 80 kilometers, and the situation of the Polish Second Army, which was echeloned back in relation to the Polish Sixth Army, which was the strongest in comparison with the other two armies.

By 1 July the front of the 12th Army's units, which were in constant movement, may be approximately designated along the line Yel'sk—Perga—Zubkovich; the 12th Army's five rifle divisions and one cavalry brigade (7th, 24th, 25th, 44th, and 58th Rifle Divisions, and 1st Cavalry Brigade), or more than 12,000 infantry and cavalry, were operating here.<sup>45</sup>

The 1st Cavalry Army's (rounded out to 16,000 cavalry) forward units had advanced to the front excluding Lyudvipol'—Mezhirech'ye—Annopol'. The attached 45th Rifle Division, along with Kotovskii's cavalry brigade (1,215 infantry and 210 cavalry), reached with its two brigades the front Korchik—Shepetovka, with its third brigade occupying the village of Gritsev. The 14th Army (41st and 60th composite Rifle Divisions and the 8th Cavalry Division), with a rounded off strength of 7,400 infantry and 2,195 cavalry, with the 8th Cavalry Division along its right flank in the area east of Senyava station, was engaged in stubborn fighting with the enemy along the front Novo-Konstantinov—Letichev (excluding both locales)—Mordin—Stodul'tsy—Kopaigorod—Mogilyov-Podol'skii (excluding both locales).

Thus each of our armies was faced approximately by one enemy army, while the correlation of forces along the three axes, which one may consider these armies' axes of operations, namely the Sarny, Rovno and Proskurov axes, arose in the following manner: more than 12,000 infantry and cavalry against the enemy's 16,000 infantry and cavalry along the Sarny axis; that is, the enemy's forces outnumbered ours. We had 16,210 cavalry and 1,215 infantry (in all, 17,425 infantry and cavalry) against the enemy's 14,000 infantry and cavalry along the Rovno axis; that is, we had a small numerical superiority. We had 9,595 infantry and cavalry against the enemy's 27,000 infantry and cavalry along the Proskurov axis; that is, here the enemy had a nearly threefold numerical superiority.

It's clear that given such a correlation of forces the Southwestern Front command was unable to count on achieving those decisive results for which it was striving, particularly in regard to the mission assigned the 14th Army, unless the enemy was completely demoralized and was preparing to commit major mistakes. In the Southwestern Front commander's plan, the Rovno axis was to be the decisive one, but this was insufficiently denoted by the disposition of forces there; to be sure, it was proposed that the 12th Army strengthen its left flank, with a shock group of no less than three divisions along the Rovno axis, but it was doubtful that it could do

this due to time. In any event, we should not have assigned equally decisive goals along both the Rovno and Proskurov axes. And if we shall nevertheless later see the achievement of quite major results by our 1st Cavalry and 14th Armies, then this only serves to emphasize the significance of energy and daring in war and the significance of the troops' high degree of valor.

In the ongoing new operation, in which the Southwestern Front command was seeking to achieve the above-listed goals, and the Polish Ukrainian front command to maintain its position through an active defense, a central place belongs to the struggle for Rovno. In a causal link with it are the both sides' operations in the Izyaslavl' area as the results of the strivings of the commander of the Polish Sixth Army, General Romer, to help his neighbor to the left, upon dispatching one of his divisions (18th Infantry) for operations against the 1st Cavalry Army's flank and rear.

The prologue to the battle of Rovno was the Polish Second Army's uncoordinated offensive attempts. They were the consequence of the Polish command's desire to test new methods of active defense along extended fronts. Thus on 1 July the Polish Ukrainian front command ordered the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division to go over to a frontal attack against the 1st Cavalry Army along the Rovno road. The Third Army's 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division was supposed to support this offensive with a flank attack from the Golyshi area. However, the order for this attack was not received by the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division in time. The 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division went over to the offensive by itself and encountered first the Reds' 4th Cavalry Division, followed by a brigade from the 6th Cavalry Division which arrived to assist it. As the result of an entire day of fighting, these units threw the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division beyond the Goryn' River to the front Tuchin—Goshcha, taking 1,000 prisoners, 40 machine guns and four guns. Not knowing the results of the 1 July fighting, the commander of the Polish Ukrainian front, General Ridz-Smigly, on 2 July ordered the entire Polish Second Army to go over to the offensive.

The offensive by the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division was supposed to have continued along the previous axis, while the 1st Cavalry Division was to have attacked through Annopol' to turn the left flank of the 1st Cavalry Army's main forces.

In his turn, comrade Budyonnyi, the commander of the 1st Cavalry Army, decided on 2 July: to leave only the 4th Cavalry Division along the Rovno axis in the form of a screen; he would dispatch his army's main forces (three cavalry divisions) to the town of Ostrog for the purpose of turning the right flank of the Polish Second Army's forces. The 45th Rifle Division was to be directed for the parallel pursuit of the enemy; it was instructed to reach the front Barkovichi—Obov. Finally, Kotovskii's cavalry brigade, which formed part of the 45th Rifle Division, was directed to Staro-Konstantinov. According to the command's plan, the rifle division was supposed to assist the development of the Red 14th Army's offensive

by an attack against the Polish Sixth Army. As a result of these decisions and orders by both sides, on 2 July there occurred a meeting engagement along the Goryn' River between the entire 1st Cavalry Army against the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division and the enemy's 1st Cavalry Division. The Polish 6th Infantry Division, which was supposed to assist them, did not take part in the fighting. The same thing happened the evening before as with the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division: it did not receive orders in time.

The meeting engagement of 2 July began with the successful actions of our Rovno screen against the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division. Having crushed its vanguard with a sudden fire attack, our 4th Cavalry Division itself went over to the offensive and threw the 3rd Infantry Division beyond the Goryn'; the Polish 1st Cavalry Division, under pressure from three of our cavalry divisions, was also forced to fall back behind the Goryn' River. On this day along the Izyaslavl' axis the Polish 18th Infantry Division threw Kotovskii's cavalry brigade out of the village of Gritsev. On 3 July the Polish Second Army was already only defending behind the Goryn' River. However, late in the evening our cavalry crossed the Goryn' north of Ostrog. This success was already reflected along the sector of the neighboring Polish First Army to the north, because the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division was hurriedly removed from it and dispatched to reinforce the Polish Second Army, but it arrived late to the battle for the town of Rovno itself. In turn, the 1st Cavalry Army commander, concerned by the state of affairs along the sector of the 45th Rifle Division, which, having been thrown back by the Polish 18th Infantry Division toward Shepetovka, reported that three enemy divisions were operating against it, dispatched its reserve, an independent cavalry brigade, there, which weakened it on the following day during the decisive fighting for the town of Rovno.

On 4 July the Polish Second Army continued its stubborn resistance along a shortened front around the town of Rovno. However, late in the evening this resistance was crushed by the bypassing of Rovno from the west by units of the 14th Cavalry Division and its capture. The Polish Second Army lost its direct communications line to Brest and ended up being thrown back to the north of Rovno, while resting its rear on the Rovno—Sarny railroad, thus preserving its communications with Brest. It was only for this reason that its failure did not become a strategic disaster. But the immediate strategic results of Rovno's fall consisted of the fact that the cavalry army had managed to break through the enemy's front to a depth of 80 kilometers, which forced the Polish command in Ukraine to make the decision to pull its armies back by 100 kilometers. In connection with this decision, all of the preceding actions of the Polish 18th Infantry Division, which on that very day, that is, 4 July, occupied the town of Izyaslavl', were pointless and now, as a result of the Polish command's new decision, it was preparing to fall back on Brody. The sole result of its appearance in Izyaslavl' was the detachment of two of the 1st Cavalry Army's divisions against it, which brought about a dispersion of its forces in space

and during the following days helped the Polish Second Army to reach the Polish front's new line, which once again ran through Rovno.

The actions of the 14th Army were not without influence on the decision for a general withdrawal by the Polish command. The 14th Army successfully resolved the mission assigned to it, having broken through with its infantry the enemy's front along the sector adjacent to the Proskurov railroad and having committed its cavalry (8th Cavalry Division) into the breach. The latter, having gotten into the rear of the Polish Sixth Army on the night of 3–4 July, completely disrupted it and even seized the town of Proskurov, the army's headquarters, which, however, managed to escape. But the 8th Cavalry Division's forces were too few to interfere with the systematic withdrawal of the Polish Sixth Army's powerful columns and, having gotten mixed up among them, the 8th Cavalry Division had to hurriedly look for a way out to link up with its main forces.

The Southwestern Front commander's order to occupy the crossings over the Ikva and Styr' rivers along the Dubno—Targovitsa sector led to a further dispersion in space of the 1st Cavalry Army, which once again began to make itself felt following its capture of Rovno. The commander of the Polish Second Army even got the impression that the entire 1st Cavalry Army was moving on Dubno and he decided to operate against its rear, occupying Rovno once again. Attacking from the north, by the end of the day of 8 July the Polish Second Army occupied the town of Rovno following a stubborn fight with two of the 1st Cavalry Army's cavalry divisions.

On the following day, that is, 9 July, the commander of the 1st Cavalry Army brought up another division to Rovno and was preparing to once again attack the town, but this proved to be excessive. On 9 July the entire Polish Second Army abandoned Rovno, falling back to a new front line, and the 1st Cavalry Army had to deal only with its rearguards.

The new breaking of the Polish front in Ukraine had been carried out almost exclusively by the units of the Red cavalry in fighting against the enemy's infantry. This characteristic feature, which had not been observed in the history of previous campaigns, speaks to the extreme wear and tear on the morale of both sides' infantry, which was evidently a consequence of the weakness or losses in battle of its main cadres.

While the Polish front in Ukraine at first wavered and then rolled back under the powerful blows of the Red cavalry, the Western Front's armies were urgently preparing to repeat their offensive operation on a broader and more decisive scale. Here the Western Front command considered most important the strict calculation and scrupulous preparation of the operation on the basis of all data from the recently acquired combat experience. Such a method of operation was dictated by all the conditions of the developing situation. It was necessary to put in order and reinforce the divisions that had taken part in the battle along the Berezina River. The Western Front command was counting its opportunities for beginning a new



and this time decisive operation, depending on the speed with which this problem could be resolved.

The high command was urgently prompting the Western Front command to go over to the offensive as soon as possible. On 8 July the commander-in-chief demanded from the Western Front commander the extreme exertion of his armies in order to interfere with the enemy transferring his units to the Southwestern Front. On 9 July the commander-in-chief demanded a brief attack against the enemy by the Western Front's armies. Insofar as it was possible, the Western Front command met these demands halfway, organizing a number of brief attacks along the entire enemy front.<sup>46</sup> (See Map 14 of the plate section)

During this period of time the Western Front command's attention was chiefly swallowed up by organizational questions. Having set itself the task of doubling the number of riflemen in its rifle divisions, the Western Front command found a bountiful source of reinforcements in the form of the inhabitants of the army rear areas, who had been hiding from mobilization or who had deserted from their units. According to M. N. Tukhachevskii's testimony, an energetically conducted campaign in this regard netted up to 100,000 reinforcements, the greater part of which was dispatched to the front's reserve army, which had been created on 26 June. We managed to carry out a campaign against desertion and avoidance of mobilization thanks to the organization of an entire network of broadly branched organs to struggle against this evil at the republic level. Commissions for fighting desertion were formed—central, front, army, and division commissions; the deep rear also had its corresponding network of these organs.

But the strengthening of the Western Front was expressed not only in reinforcements. During the time from 5 June through 5 July its forces were increased by another five rifle and one cavalry divisions (2nd, 16th, 27th, 33rd, and 5th Rifle Divisions, and the 10th Cavalry Division). The number of army headquarters and the increase in the number of operational units made the problems of organization, control and communications especially urgent. The practice of the Battle of the Berezina showed that the existing organization of the field command did not correspond to the conditions of maneuver warfare. Thus one of the Western Front command's chief measures was the increase in the number of army headquarters. Sergeyev's "Northern Group" was transformed into the 4th Army; the 15th Army's "Southern Group" was detached from the army and formed the 3rd Army (along the front excluding Lake Ssho—excluding Lake Pelik).

But the increase in the number of army headquarters brought about the exacerbation of the problem of organizing communications and rear-area control. The unfolding of the scale of combat events showed that the existing number of railroad and technical troop units did not correspond to the need for them. The formations from the center could not keep up with the needs at the front. Thus these units, in this case the front, particularly the Western Front, sought to fill this



shortcoming through its own intensive work. Despite the paucity of materiel and technical communications equipment, the Western Front managed to significantly advance the organization of its communications and railroad troops during the time of its preparation for the second offensive. The Western Front command took another path to the resolution of the communications problem. The idea of operational sites, which has found its final expression in the form of lead communications sites, arose for the first time and was realized on the Western Front. The operational site moved in the vanguard of the restored heavy wire and then unrolled field communications to army headquarters. Of course, a correctly understood idea of operational sites would have resolved the problem of the organization of communications to a significant degree. But the broadening of the confines of the operational sites' activity by way of transforming them into small operational headquarters (16th Army), which to a certain degree undermined the command's headquarters and which was encountered in individual cases, could not, of course, have useful results.

The Western Front disposed of food supplies for 30–60 days and supplies of fodder for 1–20 days to support its second offensive. Clothing was secured for the front at 100%, but there were only rifles for 49% of all the front's troops; however, the number of heavy machine guns somewhat exceeded authorized strength, namely 106%. The front was short of shells for the field artillery, while it was better supplied with shells for medium-caliber guns and well supplied with shells for heavy artillery. We managed to supply ourselves with only 61% of the requirements for communications equipment, and its distribution was uneven.

There were only enough transports to meet one-third of the front's demands. Thus measures were adopted to create transports from requisitioned carts. 8,000 of these were required for the 4th Army, 15,000 for the 15th and 3rd Armies, and 10,000 for the 16th Army. The 4th Army's communications line ran along the railroad from Polotsk to Velikie Luki; besides this, the army disposed of a water communications sector from the city of Polotsk to the town of Disna. The 15th Army employed the Polotsk—Vitebsk—Smolensk railroad line and the water sector from Polotsk to Vitebsk. The 3rd Army was based on the Kokhanovo—Orsha—Smolensk railroad line; the 16th Army disposed of two railroad lines: Mogilyov—Orsha—Smolensk and Mogilyov—Gomel'—Bryansk. Finally, the Kalinkovichi—Gomel'—Bryansk railroad line was placed at the disposal of the Mozyr' Group.

This is a much abbreviated review of the Western Front command's measures to prepare for the second offensive operation. If subsequently such shortcomings as the poor supply of transport, shortages in artillery, ammunition, and communications means revealed themselves, then the fault for this lay primarily in the overall objective conditions and that condition of "desperate ruin," in V. I. Lenin's words, in which the country was forced to wage war. We note this circumstance also because nowadays some historians, in appraising the Western Front command's measures for the materiel preparation of the operation, are inclined to underestimate the overall situation of

that time. At the same time we stress that even in that difficult situation in which the Red Army's preparation for the Polish-Soviet campaign of 1920 unfolded, the resources of the country and army allowed for the greater materiel supply of the planned operation. Despite a number of new measures by the Red command in this regard, which manifested themselves most clearly in the Western Front commander's activities, the thoughtful and objective historian cannot but ascertain the conservative force of the mechanical transfer of experience accumulated in other conditions to a new situation, with another enemy, and in other conditions of the correlation of class forces, in the experience of the Polish campaign.

The methods of operational control (here we have in mind measures for the materiel preparation of the operation) which justified themselves in the struggle against Kolchak and Denikin demanded amendments and additions to the new and more complex situation of the Polish-Soviet war.

The Western Front command calculated the forces of the enemy opposite it at 95,000 infantry and cavalry, counting the 28,200 infantry and cavalry in the armies' reserve and staging units; according to enemy data, this figure should have been 87,600 infantry and cavalry (with staging units, but not counting reserve units), with 265 light and heavy guns.<sup>47</sup>

By means of the preceding measures, the strength of the Western Front's armies (not counting the reserve army) was raised to 96,801 infantry and cavalry, with 395 guns. Thus while yielding to the enemy in the amount of artillery; we significantly outnumbered him in the amount of infantry and cavalry. The correlation of forces which flowed from its disposition in space was once again not in the enemy's favor. He had reestablished his cordon position between the Western Dvina and Pripyat' rivers with insignificant changes, while the Western Front command, in preparing to repeat its offensive, had, as before, grouped the main mass of its forces (4th, 15th and 3rd Armies) along the 135-kilometer sector Drissa—Lake Pelik. Here, by the beginning of July it disposed of 60,000 infantry and cavalry<sup>48</sup> against the Polish First Army's 33,000 infantry and cavalry, that is, we had a nearly two-fold superiority in force along the sector of the future decisive attack.



## The General Engagement in Belorussia. The Pursuit of the Polish Armies in Belorussia and Ukraine

*The General Engagement in Belorussia; its Political Results. Curzon's Note and its Strategic Consequences. Operations on the Neman and Shara Rivers. The Red High Command's Return to its Previous Point of View on the Role and Significance of Both of Our Fronts. The Policy of the Entente Powers and Their Assistance to Poland. International Proletarian Solidarity. The Beginning of Peace Negotiations*

In setting the start of his offensive for 4 July, the commander of the Western Front left in place the main idea of his May offensive, namely while consistently resting his right flank on Lithuania and East Prussia, he calculated on throwing back the Polish forces to the swampy *Poles'ye*. He planned to carry out this idea through a turning movement by the Red 4th Army north of Lake Bol'shaya Yel'nya, while the army's infantry would be directed on Germanovichi, while the cavalry (the 3rd Cavalry Corps) would be aimed for a deep turning movement along the bank of the Western Dvina River on Svencionys. The most powerful 15th Army was to launch a flanking attack on Glubokoye, in connection with the 3rd Army's supporting flank attack on Parafianovo. At the same time the 16th Army, while attacking along the Igumen—Minsk axis, was supposed to tie down the enemy's forces along his central sector, while the Mozyr' Group, which by this time had already occupied Mozyr', was supposed to support the 16th Army, while developing an attack on Glusk.

By this time the disposition of both sides' forces and their correlation was as follows:

The Reds. Sergeyev's Red 4th Army (12th, 18th and 53rd Rifle Divisions), a brigade (164th) from the 55th Rifle Division, and the 3rd Cavalry Corps,<sup>1</sup> numbering 13,831 infantry and cavalry, was deployed along a front from the town of Opochka to Lake Zhado inclusively, with the main mass of its forces concentrated along the

front Drissa—Lake Bol'shaya Yel'nya—excluding Lake Zhado. The overall length of the front was 160 kilometers.<sup>2</sup>

Kork's Red 15th Army (4th, 11th, 16th, 33rd, and 54th Rifle Divisions, and various units), numbering 25,918 infantry and cavalry, was deployed along the front Lake Zhado—Lake Ssho. The overall length of its front was 35 kilometers. There were about 741 infantry and cavalry (rounded off) per kilometer of front. Lazarevich's<sup>3</sup> Red 3rd Army (5th, 6th, 21st, and 56th Rifle Divisions, and various units), numbering 20,128 infantry and cavalry, occupied the 80-kilometer front Lake Ssho—Lake Mezhuhol—Lake Pelik. There were 252 infantry and cavalry (rounded off) per kilometer of front.

Sollogub's Red 16th Army (2nd, 8th, 10th, 17th, and 27th Rifle Divisions, and various units), numbering 24,998 infantry and cavalry, was stationed along the 200-kilometer front Lake Pelik—Parichi. There were 125 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front (rounded off).

Khvesin's Mozyr' Group (the 57th Rifle Division, a composite detachment and various units), numbering 6,588 infantry and cavalry, had moved up to the 80–100-kilometer sector excluding Parichi—including Mozyr', due to the advance by the Southwestern Front's right flank. There were from 66 infantry and cavalry to 83 infantry and cavalry (rounded off) per kilometer of front.

In all, the Western Front command disposed of 91,463<sup>4</sup> infantry and cavalry. Opposite these forces the enemy deployed (counting only combat units) the following units in immediate combat contact with them.

General Zygadlowicz's Polish First Army (General Zeligowski's<sup>5</sup> group, 8th and 10th Infantry Divisions, and other units) along the Svencionys axis; General Jdrzejewski's<sup>6</sup> group—7th Infantry Division, 7th Reserve Brigade, a brigade from the 5th Infantry Division—along the Glubokoye—Dunilovichi axis, and General Rzadkowski's<sup>7</sup> group—Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division, 11th Infantry Division). In all, the Polish First Army numbered 35,100 infantry and cavalry deployed along a front from the town of Drissa to Lake Mezhuhol. The army's overall length of front was 190 kilometers. There were 390 infantry and cavalry (rounded off) per kilometer of front.

General Szeptycki's Polish Fourth Army (2nd Legionnaire Infantry Division, 4th and 15th Infantry Divisions, and a brigade from the 6th Infantry Division), numbered 29,500 infantry and cavalry; the Polish Fourth Army was deployed along a front from Lake Mezhuhol to the Zhlobin—Kalinkovichi railroad line. The overall length of its front was 300 kilometers. There were only 99 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front.

General Sikorski's *Poles'ye* Group (9th, 14th and 16th Infantry Divisions), numbering only 8,000 infantry and cavalry, covered the front from the Kalinkovichi—Zhlobin railroad line to the mouth of the Ubort' River and further along the Ubort' River until the boundary line with the Polish Third Army's left flank in the southern

*Poles'ye*. The front of Sikorski's group had quite a broken shape. Its line ran from the Kalinkovichi—Zhlobin railroad line along the Ptich' River to its mouth; from here it ran along the Pripyat' River to the mouth of the Ubort' River, and from there it leaped to the Ubort' River. The overall length of the front was 200 kilometers. There were only 40 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front.

In all, General Szeptycki, to whom the Polish First Army and the *Poles'ye* Group were subordinated, disposed of 72,600 infantry and cavalry. He could count on the Polish First and Fourth armies' staging and rear units, numbering 15,000 infantry and cavalry, and on the Lithuanian-Belorussian 2nd Infantry Division (2,700 infantry and cavalry) for immediate support.

From the figures cited here it is clear that the Reds' forces<sup>8</sup> outnumbered the Polish forces by approximately 25,000. Besides this, the Polish front was, as before, stretched along an even cordon,<sup>9</sup> while the stationing of the Red units along their shock flank was in the form of two powerful fists (4th and 15th Armies). The Reds' initial absolute numerical superiority was increased relatively as well by this disposition. Actually, the Western Front commander disposed of 59,977 infantry and cavalry (4th, 15th and 3rd Armies) against the Polish First Army's 35,100 infantry and cavalry, that is, we had a nearly twofold numerical superiority. However, the Western Front commander's disposition of forces in space did not quite correspond to the main idea of his maneuver (the 15th Army's powerful center and the weakened wings of the 4th and 3rd Armies).

Some domestic and foreign researchers espy in this disposition a lack of correspondence to the operation's main idea. In the event of the 15th Army's successful offensive, it would have pushed back the opposing sector of the enemy's front before the results of the 4th and 3rd Armies' enveloping operations told.

But the Western Front commander's disposition finds its explanation in reasons of an organizational character, which did not consider it possible to overload the weak and newborn army headquarters of the Red 4th and 3rd Armies, which possessed very weak rear areas and communications equipment, with an excessive number of organizational units. This was an objective reason, which did not depend on the will of the front commander and testified to the organizational shortcomings, for the elimination of which the front command had undertaken all the measures in its power.

In developing the Western Front commander's plan, the 4th Army was to direct its main attack along the bank of the Western Dvina River, while planning to later move its cavalry (3rd Cavalry Corps) due west, while the infantry was to turn sharply to the south to help the 15th Army. The commander of the 15th Army chose the direction of his main attack toward Parafianovo station, while the 3rd Army was preparing to launch just such an attack toward the village of Dokshitsa, and the 16th Army was ready for an offensive by its main forces on Smolevichi and Minsk, while moving its left-flank units in the direction of Osipovichi for the purpose of cutting the Bobruisk—Minsk railroad.

At the end of June 1920 Pilsudski, while taking into account the difficult situation in Ukraine and the absence of ready strategic reserves within the country, was ready to undertake a significant shortening of his Belorussian front for the purpose of creating the necessary reserves for restoring the situation in Ukraine. Pilsudski now saw the main defensive line in Belorussia as running along the line Baranovichi—Lida—Orany and, if possible, Vil'na. While stationed along this line, the northern Polish armies had to close the free space between the Neman River and the *Poles'ye* swamps. These intentions were communicated to General Szeptycki in a letter from the chief of the General Staff (General Haller) on 28 June 1920. At the same time, Haller pointed out to Szeptycki that it was necessary, in Pilsudski's opinion, to use all possible means to hinder the establishment of communications between the Red and Lithuanian armies. Thus the left wing of Szeptycki's front, in the event of the withdrawal of his armies to the indicated line, must nevertheless be extended as far as Dvinsk (Daugavpils). Instructions were issued in this letter in the event the northern Polish armies were unable to preserve their situation under pressure from the Reds. Then they would have to begin a withdrawal from the front's left flank, firmly holding in place their right flank, for which the latter must be stronger.<sup>10</sup>

The essence of this proposal boiled down to a withdrawal by the northern Polish armies 200 kilometers back, by which they would achieve a shortening of the overall front between the Western Dvina and the Pripjat' River by 300 kilometers, while at the same time having the opportunity of resting on the line of the old German trenches with part of their forces. From this point of view, Pilsudski's intentions in the developing situation were quite expedient, in our opinion. General Szeptycki was against this plan. He believed that a withdrawal would have an adverse effect on the troops' morale; that the occupation of the continuous line of the German trenches would require a greater number of troops than the defense of strong points and, it followed, did not promise great tactical advantages. Thus Szeptycki insisted on accepting a general engagement on the line of the Auta and Berezina<sup>11</sup> rivers and was able to secure Pilsudski's agreement.

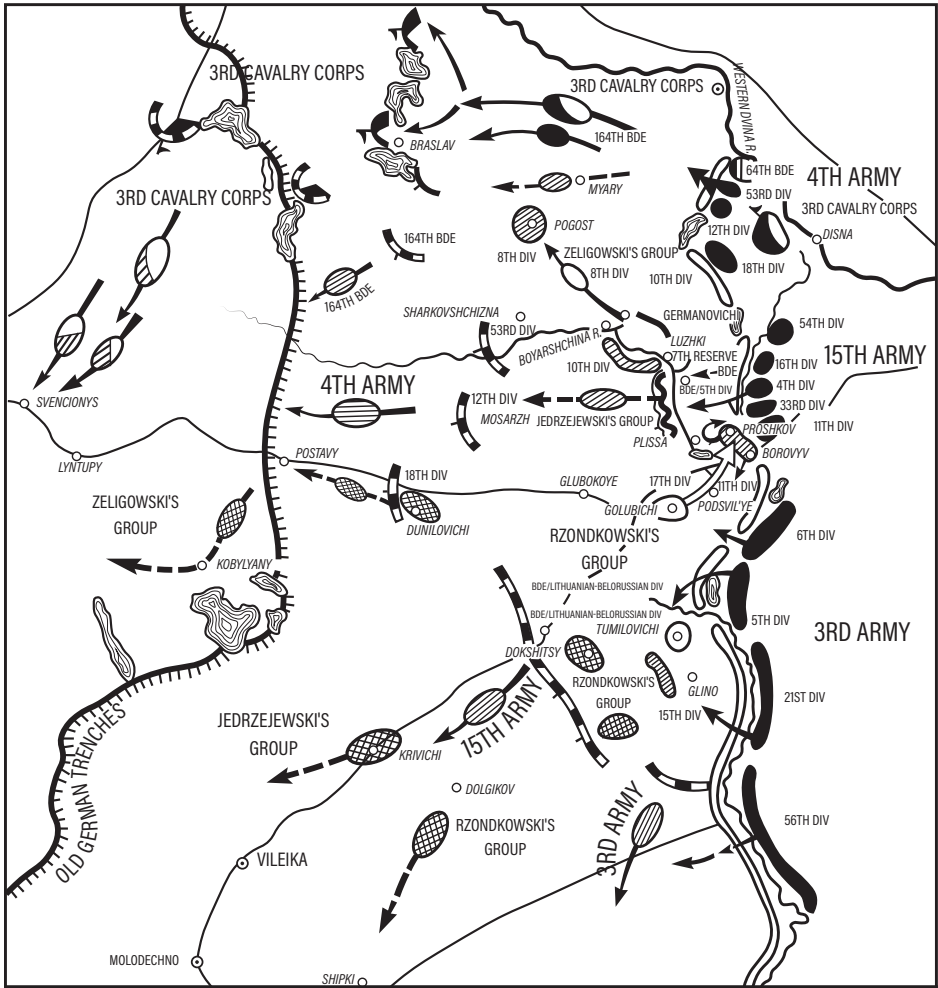
According to the Western Front commander's plan, the main attack by the Western Front's Red armies was supposed to fall upon the Polish First Army. By 4 July, following partial regroupings, it occupied the following front: General Rzadkowski's group (a brigade from the Lithuanian-Belorussian Infantry Division and the 11th Infantry Division) occupied the sector of the front between Lake Dolgoye and the Berezina River. General Jdrzejewski's group (7th Reserve Brigade and a brigade from the 5th Infantry Division), was stationed along the Auta River. General Zeligowski's group (10th Infantry Division) was stationed with the main mass of its forces in the space between lakes Yel'nya and Zhado, as well as to the south and north of these lakes. The army's reserves were stationed as follows: a brigade from the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division was in Tumilovichi and the 8th Infantry Division had been shifted to the village of Luzhki. On the night of 3–4 July the Polish First



Army command, having become convinced of the concentration of significant Red forces in the area of the town of Disna, set about castling its reserves and the front reserve (17th Infantry Division) toward its left flank. The 8th Infantry Division was dispatched from the village of Luzhki to the village of Pogost (20 kilometers), and the 17th Infantry Division was to move from Golubichi to the village of Plissa (ten kilometers). Thus the army's central sector was to be stripped of reserves. In the process of this regrouping, the Polish First Army was attacked by the main forces of the Red 4th and 15th Armies and part of the Red 3rd Army's forces.

Several hotspots of fighting arose along the 90-kilometer front. The Red 4th Army's main forces, which attacked in the space between Lake Bol'shaya Yel'nya and the Western Dvina River, fell upon Colonel Sawicki's<sup>12</sup> detachment (four battalions, two squadrons and five batteries) and, following several hours of stubborn fighting, crushed it. The Reds' 3rd Cavalry Corps moved into the breach and began to rapidly advance along the Svencionys axis. The main forces of the Polish 10th Infantry Division, which had been attacked by only a single Red division (18th Rifle), were holding their position. General Jdrzejewski's group was attacked at dawn on 4 July by the entire 15th Army and was quickly crushed, losing communications with General Rzadkowski's group to the right, and began to roll back to the west. Its retreat was so rapid that by 0700 the Reds had begun to threaten the village of Plissa, which lay 15 kilometers behind the front line. At the same time, while developing its breakthrough to the Auta River toward General Rzadkowski's group, units of the 15th Army forced its left flank (11th Infantry Division) to fall back. By midday on 4 July the remnants of Jdrzejewski's group were still attempting to hold on to the line of the Mnyuta River; at the same time, Rzadkowski's group, threatened with having its left flank and being heavily attacked along its right flank by the Red 15th and 3rd Armies, was thrown back to the west. Thus as early as 0900 on 4 July the Polish First Army's first defensive line had been pierced in the center along both sides of the Polotsk—Molodechno railroad and had its left flank turned in the space between Lake Bol'shaya Yel'nya and the Berezina River.

In the beginning General Zygadlowicz did not ascertain the scope of his first line's defeat, which is why he did not commit his army reserves into the fighting. More likely, he was unable to immediately establish communications with his two divisions (17th and 8th) that were moving north. In any event, only one of them, namely the 17th, received his order (although it was considered part of the front reserve) to go over to a counterattack from Podsvil'ye in the direction of Proshkovo, which would have led to launching an attack against the head of the 15th Army's invasion wedge. Due to the necessity of gaining permission beforehand to employ the 17th Infantry Division, this division's counter maneuver unfolded only at about 1700. At this time Jdrzejewski's and Rzadkowski's groups, particularly the former, were already hopelessly falling back, which is why they were unable to form up along the flanks of the attacking 17th Infantry Division. The latter's counterattack,



Map 17. The Defeat of the Polish First Army in the Battle of 4-7 July

Poles	Reds	LEGEND	Poles	Reds

Situation at Dawn on 4 July  
 Situation at Noon on 4 July  
 Situation at the End of Day, 4 July  
 Situation by the Evening of 5 July  
 Situation by the Evening of 6 July  
 Withdrawal on 6-7 July  
 Main Axes of Attack

Scale  
 5 0 5 10 15KM

following a small and brief success, ended in complete failure. As regards the 8th Infantry Division, simultaneously with the mission assigned to the 17th Infantry Division, General Zygdłowicz attempted to delay this division once again in the area of the village of Germanowichi, but it was already too late. The division was marching to Pogost and the army command was unable to establish communications with it for the entire day, and thus on 4 July this division played no part in combat operations. A brigade from the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division, which was behind the First Army's right flank (Rzadkowski's group), rendered no particular assistance to the right flank of Rzadkowski's group and its regiments were committed into the counterattack in packets, in detail. They carried out several uncoordinated counterattacks, but did not have a significant influence in delaying the Red 3rd Army's offensive. By the close of the day the depth of the Red units' penetration along the Polish First Army's sector had already reached 15–20 kilometers, so that one may say that as early as the first day of the general engagement in Belorussia the left flank of the Polish armies had been routed and that the Red Western Front command had achieved its immediate objective. By the close of this day the Polish First Army's uncoordinated individual groups, which had lost communications with each other and partly with the army command, had ended up in the following situation: Rzadkowski's group had been thrown back to the line Tumulowichi—Głino. To its left, in a separate forward wedge was the 17th Infantry Division, which had managed to hold out along the front Proshkov—Borovyе. The remnants of Jędrzejewski's groups had abandoned the line Mnyuta River—Plissa and had fallen back to the west. Zeligowski's group (10th Infantry Division) had fallen back in comparatively good order to the front Boyarshchina—Luzhki, but had been isolated in space; the left flank of Jędrzejewski's group (7th Reserve Brigade) no longer existed as an organized entity, while the remnants of Sawicki's detachment were falling back on Mery. The 8th Rifle Division finally reached Pogost, that is, it was located 30 kilometers behind the remnants of the Polish First Army's combat front. The chief reason for the Polish First Army's defeat on 4 July was the extremely unfavorable correlation of forces. The ram disposition of forces completely justified itself this time.<sup>13</sup>

In this failure by the Poles a considerable part of the blame lies with Szeptycki, who stubbornly insisted on accepting battle on the line of the Auta and Berezina rivers, as opposed to Piłsudski's more careful and far-sighted plan. The scale of the defeat itself depended chiefly on the orders and actions of General Zygdłowicz. As is known, the entire defensive system of the Polish armies had been built upon the basis of Piłsudski's instructions on defense along extended fronts (21 March 1920). The essence of these instructions consisted of employing a strong point or group system of defense along the forward edge of the defensive zone (and not a continuous defensive line, as had been practiced during the World War, while the center of gravity of the defense's success was to be shifted to the active maneuver of reserves echeloned deeply to the rear. The experience of 4 July showed that the active

maneuvering of these reserves is the most difficult operation for the high command and that these reserves must be quite large in order for them to manifest themselves usefully. General Zygodlowicz could not cope with maneuvering his reserves. While very late in doing so, he only more or less systematically deployed the 17th Infantry Division for a counterattack. This took place because, while carrying out the complex maneuver of castling the mass of his reserves along the front in the direction of his left flank, General Zygodlowicz and his headquarters, evidently, did little to establish secure communications with them. Thus throughout 4 July the 8th Infantry Division wandered in the rear of the battlefield, without taking part in the fighting. Finally, the army reserve, in the form of a brigade from the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division, evidently was also employed in a systematic manner, but by chance. It is impossible to really blame General Zygodlowicz for being late in correctly appraising the overall situation. The situation, in conditions of maneuver warfare along extended fronts, changes so rapidly that information about the situation in the major headquarters, far from the front line, usually already does not correspond to reality, no matter how well communications are organized. But on the night of 4–5 July, Zygodlowicz already had sufficient time in order to comprehend the situation and to be convinced that all of his plans for organizing a major counterattack on 5 July were built upon sand. Nonetheless his wavering continued the entire night. It was only at dawn on 5 July that he issued orders to organize a defense along the line Dokshitsa—Pogost, but at that time the remnants of his individual groups had already crossed this line and were in full retreat. It was only about midday on 5 July that General Zygodlowicz reported to Szeptycki his opinion on the need for a further withdrawal in order to put the First Army in order.

On 5 July Szeptycki ordered: the Polish First Army was to break contact with the Reds and the main mass of its forces was to fall back in the general direction of Lida, while covering the Svencionys axis with Zeligowski's group (8th and 10th Infantry Divisions), and thus the city of Vil'na.

In connection with the retreat of the Polish First Army's right flank, the Fourth Army should have begun its withdrawal in view of the threat to its left flank. A general order for the Fourth Army to fall back followed on that same day, according to Pilsudski's order for the general withdrawal of the Polish armies on the Belorussian front to the line of the old German trenches. Simultaneously, the Lithuanian-Belorussian 2nd Infantry Division was subordinated to Szeptycki and he received the mission of defending Vil'na. by bending his front from Svencionys to the north.

At the same time the Western Front commander ordered his armies to energetically develop the success achieved, while the 16th Army was instructed to cross the Berezina along the Lyubonichi—Parichi sector, while the Mozyr' Group was to attack to the northwest and on 7 July reach the front Bobruisk—Glusk—Leskovichi—Medukhov. By this directive the Western Front command was already outlining the formation of pincers along both flanks of the Polish Belorussian front.

Throughout 5 July the remnants of the Polish First Army's groups fell back, striving to reach their rear roads and without any communications with their command. The Red armies' vanguards pressed them. The 3rd Cavalry Corps, upon taking Braslav, moved on Svencionys. By the close of 5 July only the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division was detected in Nebyshena. It later transpired that Zeligowski and his group (8th and 10th Infantry Divisions) did not go from Postavy to Svencionys, but through Kobyl'nik, directly toward Vil'na. The remnants of Rzadkowski's group were streaming back along the Molodechno axis, baring the 15th Infantry Division's (Fourth Army) left flank. In such a situation Szeptycki's order, which was issued on the night of 5–6 July, for occupying the line of the old German trenches was too late. According to this order, Szeptycki was to pull back his *Poles'ye* Group in coordination with the Polish Third Army in the southern *Poles'ye*. The Fourth Army, having the Minsk axis as its axis of movement, was to fall back to the line of the old German trenches, and the First Army, while falling back to the same line through Vileika and Molodechno, was to secure Vil'na by extending its left flank along the western bank of Lake Svir', and then on to Lintupy, Svencionys and Malyaty. The Lithuanian-Belorussian 2nd Infantry Division was to be rapidly gathered for this purpose to Svencionys. However, the situation of the Polish First Army's groups by the end of 5 July already excluded the possibility of carrying out this order as well as regards the Polish First Army's left flank.

By the morning of 6 July all three of the Polish First Army's groups had ended up scattered in space, which offered us the opportunity of defeating them in detail. However, instead of this, combat contact between the sides was lost during 6 July, and this gave the enemy the opportunity to put his group of forces in order. The loss of combat contact was due to several reasons. On 6 July the Red 4th Army slowed its pace of advance. It only reached the front Mosarzh—Dunilovichi by the close of 6 July. Meanwhile, Zeligowski had abandoned Dunilovichi as early as dawn on 6 July. On 6 July the 15th Army slowly advanced, which gave Jedrzejewski's group room to safely carry out its flank march on that day from Glubokoye to Molodechno. The 3rd Army, which the Western Front commander had sharply turned to the southwest, aiming it toward Minsk to help the 16th Army, could not hinder this enemy move, because it was carrying out a regrouping and changing the axis of its movement.

Only on 7 July was the Polish First Army able to more or less put its units in order and on 8 July Zeligowski's group was already falling back on Vil'na, Jedrzejewski's group on Molodechno, and Rzadkowski's group on Dolginov and Shipki; the Fourth Army was also falling back along the entire front, in close contact with the forward elements of the Red 16th Army, which on 7 July crossed over the Berezina River. On this day the Red Western Front's armies only pursued the enemy. The 3rd Cavalry Corps approached Svencionys while carrying out a parallel pursuit; the 4th Army's

maneuver axis was aimed from Sharkovshchizny to Gadutsishki, the 15th Army was moving with its main mass of forces on Molodechno, the 3rd Army continued to turn toward Minsk, and the 16th Army was directing its main group of forces on Minsk through Igumen.

Thus, beginning on 7 July the general engagement in Belorussia, for which the Western Front command had been so scrupulously planning for a month, had turned into a disorderly withdrawal by the enemy, undertaken by him without a stubborn struggle for the initiative due to the thorough defeat of the Polish First Army on the first day of fighting, that is, on 4 July. The engagement did not have time to mature and spill over into finished forms. Only the Polish First Army had suffered heavily, while the Polish Fourth Army and the *Poles'ye* Group were falling back voluntarily and in order. On our side, the engagement had taken the form of the inward pushing back of the Polish Belorussian front's left flank, which had been defeated by the 15th Army's "ram." The maneuver to turn the flank with cavalry during 4–5 July had not yet had time to tell due to the rapid development of events along the Polish First Army's front. Subsequently, the enemy's defeat could be achieved only under conditions of the extreme energy of the Red 4th Army's offensive. However, the 4th Army's divisions were far from manifesting this energy sufficiently, having lost a great deal of useless time along the banks of the Viliya River, by which the scope of the right flank of the Red front had been significantly weakened.

Pilsudski's subsequent orders speak to the fact that the failures in Belorussia and Ukraine caught him off guard and forced him to operate from case to case. Although he maintains in his book, *1920*, that the reestablishment of the situation in Ukraine and the struggle with Budyonnyi's cavalry during this period of time were his main goal, while the Belorussian front was of secondary importance to him, and that operations there were to only pursue the goal of winning time, his directives testify to the opposite: on 9 July he instructed his army commanders that the last line of retreat was the line Zbruch River—Styr' River—Luninets—the line of the old German trenches—Vil'na. They were supposed to soon go over to the offensive from this line. At the same time, he began negotiations with the Lithuanians for an agreement, but the latter stubbornly insisted on the cession of the city of Vil'na to them.<sup>14</sup>

General Faury speaks quite correctly in his review that the most important consequence of this new success by the Western Front's Red armies was not the winning of territory, but the decline in the Polish Army's morale.<sup>15</sup> From this point of view, Faury quite correctly evaluates the July general engagement in Belorussia as a Polish defeat, despite the fact that they managed to slip away from a decisive materiel defeat.

At the same time, Faury's point of view on the events in June in Ukraine and in July in Belorussia is interesting.

In establishing a mutual connection between both events, Faury places them in the context of a single border engagement. Here we espy a certain exaggeration, which does not exclude, however, the possibility of accepting Faury's point of view.

Within Poland the hurried formation of reserves, which were being dispatched to the Western Bug River, was being conducted, although they were not yet being drawn into the Polish First and Fourth Armies' battles. Subsequent events showed that they were unable to realize Marshal Pilsudski's recent plans, either in time or in space. They were unable to eliminate Budyonnyi's cavalry in Ukraine. The strong point of the future maneuver by the Polish armies along the line of the Western Bug—the fortress of Brest—fell into the Soviet forces' hands before they were able to gather significant forces along the Western Bug River; moreover, there was no where to get them from, insofar as the struggle in Ukraine was continuing with its previous ferocity.

All of these circumstances shifted the decision of the fate of the entire campaign to the banks of the Vistula River and under the walls of Warsaw itself. But while these circumstances were maturing, the offensive operations by the Western Front's armies continued to develop favorably for us.

On 9 July our units seized the town of Igumen; on 10 July the enemy abandoned the fortress of Bobruisk, having first blown up its fortifications; on 11 July Minsk was occupied by the 16th Army's units; on 13 July the enemy attempted to put up resistance along the line of the old German trenches, but here his resistance was of short duration and on 14 July our forces entered the city of Vil'na. following a stubborn battle with units of General Zeligowski's group along the Viliya River, while the entrance into the city was marked by the nearly simultaneous movement of the Lithuanian Army against the Polish Army from the area of Landvarovo station and Novye Troki.<sup>16</sup> The entry of the Lithuanian Army threatened the left flank and rear of the Polish front, which forced General Zeligowski's group to begin a hurried withdrawal not to Grodna, but due south, to the town of Lida, in order to distance itself from the Lithuanian border.

The coordination of the Lithuanian and Red armies would have been quite profitable for both sides in the strategic sense, if the Lithuanian government had gone all the way along this path. But this did not happen. Following four-days of negotiations with the Lithuanians, an agreement was reached, according to which the Western Front's right flank was not supposed to cross in large numbers the agreed line Novye Troki—Orany—Grodna—Sidra. A new boundary line was later established: Orany—Merech'—Augustow. The Lithuanian Army enjoyed complete operational independence to the northwest of this line.

On 15 July, following the fall of Vil'na, Pilsudski ordered the withdrawal of the armies of his Belorussian front to the line Pinsk—Oginskii—the Shara-Neman Canal as far as Grodna.<sup>17</sup> But as early as the evening of 16 July Pilsudski had a new idea;



by pulling the Polish First Army back to the Neman River, to launch a brief attack by the Fourth Army on Lida, by grouping its reserves behind its left flank along the line of the Neman. In carrying out these instructions, Szeptycki delayed the Fourth Army's withdrawal and set about castling it to the left: the 2nd Legionnaire Infantry Division and the 15th Infantry Division were to move to Novogrudok, while the 14th Infantry Division was supposed to be moved to Mosty by railroad. But this decision by the Poles was not fated to be realized. In the meantime, the Western Front's armies continued to pursue the enemy. On 16 July they once again launched a powerful attack against the Polish First Army. On the night of 16–17 July Red units broke through between the Polish First and Fourth Armies' internal flanks and occupied the village of Nikolayev on the Neman. Thus Pilsudski's recent plan was thwarted by the Reds' energetic pursuit before they were able to carry it out. The plan's sole result was to delay the pace of the Polish armies' retreat, as opposed to the situation, which brought in its wake, as we shall now see, its subsequent worsening. The fact that the Polish First Army could not maintain itself along the line of the old German trenches was the result of the Red 4th Army's turning maneuver from Vil'na, to aid the Red 15th Army, which had been delayed by stubborn fighting around Smorgon'. The turning movement by the Red 4th Army's 18th Rifle Division and the reinforcement of the 15th Army with one division from the Red 3rd Army decided the outcome of the fighting around Smorgon' in favor of the Reds. All of these circumstances forced Szeptycki to forego Pilsudski's planned counter maneuver, and on 18 July he issued a general order to pull back his armies behind the Neman and Shara rivers.

By the close of 19 July the Western Front's Red armies had reached the line Neman River—Baranovichi station—Luninets station, while the 3rd Cavalry Corps, in moving all the while echeloned ahead of the 4th Army's right flank, seized the fortified city of Grodna in an energetic raid on 19 July 1920.

The occupation of Grodna by the 3rd Cavalry Corps was carried out according to the Western Front commander's directive. According to this directive, the Western Front's armies were supposed to force the line of the Shara and Neman rivers during 21–22 July. The Red 4th Army was directed at the sector of the Neman River south of Grodna; the 15th Army was supposed to cross the Neman to the south; the 3rd Army was instructed to force the Neman in the area of the mouths of the Shara River; the 16th Army was assigned the task of crossing the Shara to the north of Slonim. At this time the enemy was in full retreat to the line of these rivers. The Polish First Army was moving in two columns from the line Lida—Radun' to the front Vasilishki—Shchuchin, with plans to cross the Neman near Grodna and the village of Mosty. The Polish Fourth Army was falling back in four columns to the Shara River, along its Byten'—Vel'ka Volya sector. The withdrawal was being conducted at a forced tempo. Some divisions had covered up to 60 kilometers in a day. The seizure of Grodna by the 3rd Cavalry Corps placed the Polish First Army

in an extremely difficult situation between two fires. In turn, the 3rd Cavalry Corps got into just such a situation during 20–21 July.

Within the confines of the overall situation, an extremely interesting tactical situation arose for the Polish First Army. Upon hearing the first reports of the seizure of Grodna by the Red cavalry, Szeptycki ordered the Polish Fourth Army to take it back with the assistance of a brigade from the 9th Infantry Division,<sup>18</sup> which had been dispatched to Grodna from Belostok. General Zygodowicz resolved this problem in the following manner. He dispatched General Zeligowski's group (8th and 10th Infantry Divisions) to the city of Grodna from the southeast, through the village of Skidel'. In order to secure this group from the rear, he ordered Rzakowski's groups (the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division and the 17th Infantry Divisions) to go over to the offensive from the Mosty area in the general direction of the village of Shchuchin, along the Red 15th Army's sector. Jdrzejewski's very worn-out group (11th Infantry Division, the remnants of the 7th Reserve Brigade, and a brigade from the 5th Infantry Division) was assigned the mission: while securing the opportunity for both of the first groups to cross the Neman south of Grodna, to occupy a defensive position along the left bank of the Neman between the mouths of the Svisloch' and Shara rivers. In turn, being threatened by the enemy on both sides, the commander of the 3rd Cavalry Corps, comrade Gai, moved the 15th Cavalry Division up to the village of Kuznitsa against the enemy's Belostok group of forces, and the 10th Cavalry Division to the village of Skidel' against Zeligowski's group. At this time the Red 4th Army's forward units were approaching the village of Ozery. On 20 July events unfolded in the following manner. The enemy's Belostok group of forces attacked the Red 15th Cavalry Division and threw it back to the western outskirts of Grodna, but was unable to advance further. Zeligowski began to push the 10th Cavalry Division on Grodna, but was attacked in his turn along his right flank by the Reds from the Ozery area. At the same time, Rzakowski's attack on Shchuchin was not only beaten back, but his group began to hurriedly fall back on Mosty under pressure from the 15th Army, thus exposing Zeligowski's rear. It was in this situation that the latter was forced on 21 July to cease fighting around the village of Skidel' and to hurriedly get over the Neman in the area of the village of Lunno. Rzakowski crossed this river near the village of Mosty.<sup>19</sup>

The Entente's diplomacy began to speak under the influence of the successes of Red arms. On 12 July the British government, in the person of Lord Curzon, approached the Soviet government with a proposal to conclude a week-long armistice with Poland. A preliminary condition was the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the natural and ethnic boundaries of Poland. This actually meant that Soviet forces were not to cross the line of the Western Bug River. In the same fashion, the Polish forces were to fall back from the territory of the Soviet Federation, which for the meant the continuation of the withdrawal behind the line of the Western Bug River. Curzon subsequently proposed to discuss the conditions for peace between the RSFSR and

Poland at a conference in London, while projecting the boundary between them in accordance with the Supreme Allied Council's plan, which was adopted in 1919, that is, along the line of the Western Bug River. The refusal of the Soviet government to accept this proposal was to bring in its wake assistance from the Entente powers for Poland by all means at their disposal.

Lord Curzon's note did not have any further diplomatic or political consequences. On 17 July the Soviet government decisively rejected the British government's proposal.<sup>20</sup> However, it had an influence on our high command's strategic plans. Espying in the closing words of the note the threat to actively enter the fighting on the side of our enemies—Romania, Finland and possibly Latvia, and particularly fearing the entrance of Romania—the high command considered it possible to complete the rout of Poland with the Western Front's existing forces, even weakening it by one army (16th), while holding it in reserve in case of the entry of Latvia. It planned to shift the center of gravity of the Southwestern Front's efforts further to the south, in order to have sufficient forces along the banks of the Dnestr in the event of Romania's entrance into the war. Thus in his 21 July directive, the commander-in-chief instructed the Southwestern Front command to operate along the Kovel' axis with only a powerful shock group for communications with the Western Front's left flank, while all the remaining forces were to inflict a decisive defeat on the Polish Army operating in Ukraine, throwing them to the south, to the Romanian border, while employing the cavalry army for this task.

Subsequent events showed that these fears were not justified, which is why this directive was subsequently and actually rescinded by a series of the commander-in-chief's follow-on orders. A detailed analysis of the Soviet government's position and the high command's decisions in planning the final campaign in the struggle against the White Poles will be featured in the next chapter. Meanwhile, the operations by both of our fronts were developing, as before, successfully, and the Red 16th Army captured the town of Slonim; on 25 July the Western Front's units captured the town of Volkovysk and pushed back the Polish Fourth Army beyond the Svisloch' River. Two days earlier, the Mozyr' Group captured the town of Pinsk. The turning movement by Gai's 3rd Cavalry Corps along the Western Front's extreme right flank continued to exert its influence, interfering with the enemy's ability to organize a firm resistance on the road to Warsaw.<sup>21</sup>

On 27 July Gai's cavalry captured the fortress of Osowiec and on 29 July occupied Lomza and Nowogrod, which facilitated the advance of the Red 4th and 15th Armies, which, in turn, captured Belostok and Bielsk and reached the line of the Narew and Nurzec rivers, also on 29 July.

The 16th Army's offensive was somewhat delayed by a stubborn three-day fight around Pruzhany and Kobrin, the capture of which made the Mozyr' Group's advance easier and, in pursuing the enemy, it was rapidly approaching the line of the Western Bug River. The Mozyr' Group, which had been delayed by the extended fighting for

Kobrin, was echeloned behind the 16th Army. It was in such a situation that the Red 16th Army command did not consider it possible to force the Western Bug River, having along its right flank a powerful enemy center of resistance, although half-destroyed, but nevertheless a fortress—Brest-Litovsk, where the enemy was also carrying out the concentration of some kind of forces. Thus the 16th Army command decided to display initiative and, while securing its left flank, capture Brest, although the latter was located within the boundaries of the Mozyr' Group. The fulfillment of the task was entrusted to the 16th Army's left-flank division (10th Rifle) and an army reserve division (2nd Rifle). Under the blows of both divisions and the Mozyr' Group, which had managed to arrive at the city of Brest and which stormed the fortress's right-bank forts, Brest-Litovsk fell on 1 August 1920. In order to understand the entire strategic significance of the taking of Brest, one should keep in mind the fact that Pilsudski viewed Brest-Litovsk as a strong point for his future counter maneuver against the Western Front's armies from the line of the Western Bug River. Pilsudski planned to finally launch this maneuver following the elimination of the successes of Budyonnyi's Red cavalry in Ukraine. Thus as early as 30 July he inquired of General Sikorski (the commander of the *Poles'ye* Group) how long Brest could hold out. The latter guaranteed him a ten-day window. The fall of Brest brought other results in its wake: the further withdrawal of the Polish Third Army in Ukraine beyond the Western Bug River, while not even speaking about the fact that Pilsudski's plan for a counter maneuver from the line of the Western Bug River had been thwarted.<sup>22</sup>

General Faury points out that the operation along the Western Bug, which was conceived by Pilsudski, pursued the sole goal of winning time for a regrouping on the Vistula for the purpose of going over to a decisive offensive.

The Southwestern Front's operations during this time unfolded as a stubborn struggle against the enemy for the initiative. While being packed with combat content, due to this circumstance they were distinguished by the rapidity of development in space, but nevertheless were accompanied by constant successes; on 9 July the 14th Army captured Proskurov and on 12 July Kamenets-Podol'sk; on 14 July our units reached the line of the upper Styr', Ikva and Zbruch rivers. The enemy decided to render stubborn resistance behind this line. He defended particularly stubbornly in the hilly and broken Dubno—Rovno area and repeatedly launched counterattacks. However, here his resistance was ultimately broken as well by the 1st Cavalry Army, which in these battles wrote a glorious page in its history.

At the same time, units of the 12th Army along the Kovel' axis reached the line of the lower course of the Styr' River, establishing themselves along its eastern bank as far as the village of Kolki. Further on the front of the Southwestern Front's armies ran through the line Lutsk—Torgovitsa to the line Dubno—Mlynov, bypassing the town of Kremenets, for the capture of which stubborn fighting was going on, and then moved to the Zbruch River. Here, along the entire course of the river,



particularly in the Volochisk area, the Red 14th Army was disputing the line of the river with the Polish Sixth Army, while preparing to invade the confines of Galicia. Such was the overall situation along the Southwestern Front, when its commander's directive of 24 July determined the subsequent direction of its main efforts along the L'vov axis. According to this directive, direct assistance to the Western Front was entrusted only to the numerically weak 12th Army, which was supposed to capture the city of Kovel' as soon as possible. Then having put out screens toward Brest, this army was to go over to a decisive offensive in the direction of Chelm, Krasnik and Annopol' and no later than 15 August reach the line of the Vistula and San rivers, occupying crossings over them in the Annopol'—Nisko area.<sup>23</sup>

Such a setting of tasks determined more likely the 12th Army's assistance to the Southwestern Front rather than the Western Front, if one compares this with the setting of tasks for the Southwestern Front's other armies. Actually, in accordance with the same directive, the main mass of the 1st Cavalry Army was to be directed to seize the city of L'vov, while the 14th Army was to direct the main mass of its forces in the general direction of Tarnopol', Peremyshlyany and Gorodok, which would determine its assistance to the 1st Cavalry Army in taking the city of L'vov.

This directive finally defined the drawing of the main mass of the Southwestern Front's forces to the L'vov axis and not the Warsaw axis. It coincided in time with the beginning of the enemy's overall regrouping along his front for the purpose of gathering as large a number of his forces as possible to the Warsaw axis and to reinforce, on the other hand, units of the Polish Second Army, which was faced by Budyonnyi's cavalry. Thus the Kovel' axis, along which the 12th Army was operating, proved to be comparatively weakly covered. The 12th Army's advance, which at that time was the connecting group between the Western and Southwestern fronts, was made easier. On 27 July the 12th Army crossed the Styr' River, encountering only weak enemy resistance; on 30 July it reached the line of the Stokhod River and on the night of 1–2 August it also successfully overcame this barrier along the entire front and moved on to the line of the Western Bug.

While the 12th Army's successful advance was going on, the 1st Cavalry Army was engaged in stubborn fighting with mixed results in the area of the town of Brody against the Polish Second Army, which was attempting through a meeting offensive to throw it away from the direct approaches to L'vov, in which was expressed the realization of Pilsudski's plan, mentioned by us above for destroying the 1st Cavalry Army. As a result of this fighting, the enemy managed to establish himself in Brody for only a short time, because due to the fall of Brest, which followed, as we have mentioned, on 1 August, the Polish high command was forced to forego the organization of its counter maneuver from the line of the Western Bug River and to pull back its line of resistance to the Vistula River, while in connection with this the Polish Second and Third Armies, which were operating along the Kovel' axis, received orders to continue falling back to the west. The 12th Army had only



to take advantage of such a favorable situation and to try and overcome only space for the earliest possible arrival at the same line as the Western Front's left flank. It sought to do this to the best of its abilities. On the night of 3–4 August it captured the city of Kovel', and on 6 August reached the line of the Western Bug River along the front Opalin—Korytnica. The cavalry army's operational freedom was reestablished later. Delayed by fighting around Brody, only on 7 August did it have the opportunity to begin its advance to the headwaters of the Western Bug, in the general direction of Busk. It once again got into stubborn fighting along this line with the enemy who defended energetically, and it was only on 15 August that it managed to establish itself along the upper Bug, occupying the town of Busk and thus reaching the direct approaches to L'vov, which was not the immediate goal of its operations. The successes of our Western Front's armies along the Kovel' and L'vov axes forced the Polish Sixth Army, which was wobbling under frontal attacks by our 14th Army, to abandon the line of the Zbruch River, which meant the spread of military operations into the territory of eastern Galicia.

These successful operations on the Southwestern Front took place at the time of a certain hitch on the Western Front. The latter's armies, in their turn, had encountered stubborn enemy resistance along the lines of the Narew and Western Bug rivers.

The 3rd Cavalry Corps' attack on the Lomza fortified position on 29 July was the beginning of six days of stubborn fighting along the left bank of the Narew River, which our 15th Army could not overcome with its own forces. The 4th Army helped it in this regard. The latter managed to throw to the left bank of the Narew two of its divisions, which were fighting there to widen their bridgehead. For the purpose of rendering assistance to the 15th Army, the Western Front commander ordered not only the 4th Army, but also the 3rd Army to help the 15th Army, directing both of them in the general direction of Ostroleka (the 4th Army from the Lomza—Tykocin area and the 3rd along the space between the Western Bug and Narew rivers, which was free of local obstacles). From here there subsequently began the gravitation of the main mass of the Western Front's forces to the north of the Western Bug River. As a result of the coordinated activities of our armies, the enemy abandoned the line of the Narew River facing the front of the 15th Army, which, thanks to this, got the opportunity to advance further and on 3 August the town of Ostrow was occupied by units of this army.

At the same time the 16th Army was engaged in no less stubborn fighting against the enemy along the line of the Western Bug. By 1 August the very worn-out and weakened units of the retreating Polish divisions had retreated behind the Western Bug, which here relied on new formations from volunteers and reserve units. The first attempt at crossing the Western Bug River was undertaken on 2 August by units of the 16th Army along the sector Janow—excluding Brest-Litovsk (17th, 8th and 10th Rifle Divisions). It ended in failure during an attempt to broaden their bridgehead on the left bank of the river, despite the fact that some of our



divisions managed to penetrate quite deeply to the west of this river. For example, the 8th Rifle Division advanced an entire march to the west and was engaged in stubborn fighting for the town of Biala. It was only on 4 August that the 27th Rifle Division, the 16th Army's right-flank division, managed to capture the village of Drohiczyn on the Bug and establish itself there, having established into contact with the 3rd Army's left flank, which meant the actual fall of the defensive line of the Western Bug River. Two days later, on 6 August, the 4th Army, following stubborn fighting, captured the town of Ostroleka. This was how the overall situation on the western front was taking shape before the start of the operation along the banks of the Vistula, which was the turning point for the entire 1920 campaign on the Polish front.

Insofar as the overall condition of our armies exerted its negative influence on the fate of this operation, aside from the operational reasons, we consider it necessary to halt a bit on the latter.

All of these phenomena: the elongation of the rear, the weakening of our combat ranks, etc., were the natural and inevitable frictions in conditions of conducting extended operations over the distance of a 500-kilometer pursuit. Undoubtedly, such a method of operations brought in its wake those "frictions" for us which we alluded to earlier. But, after all, "frictions" are inevitable and the risk created by these frictions must be insured against by an entire series of organizational measures, of which we will speak of below. Did the Western Front command act correctly in demanding extreme exertions from its troops? It is quite proper here to answer this question in the words of our enemies. Let's give the floor primarily to Pilsudski. This is what he writes in his book, *1920*. "Such long marches, also interrupted by fighting, may do honor to both an army and its leaders. It is particularly impossible to rank with middling commanders and mediocrities a commander-in-chief who has sufficient forces and energy, will, and ability, in order to carry out such military work."<sup>24</sup>

This quote, which came from the pen of Marshal Pilsudski some five odd years after the events being described, testifies to the high valuation of the march of the Western Front's troops and to that impression which it produced on the Polish general headquarters. We believe that this quote is sufficiently illustrative.

It behooves us now to halt on other opinions issuing from the same camp. General Sikorski, in his book, *On the Vistula and the Wkra*, writes that the Red armies' too hurried pursuit, undertaken by the Western Front command in counting on a radically altered political and materiel base did not justify itself and led to the weakening of the Red armies, which were forced to attack without an organized rear and repaired railroads.<sup>25</sup> Some of our writers have expressed the same thoughts. But this is not true. It was precisely during its offensive to the line of the Western Bug that the Western Front command carried out extremely energetic work for restoring railroad communications and in organizing the rear.

The rapidity of the restoration of the railroad network is testified to by the fact that at the start of the fighting along the line of the Vistula River, that is, by the middle of August 1920, the forward railroad stations of Wyszkw and Siedlce were already open. Thus the armies' railroad communications with their rear establishments had been, one could say, restored in a timely manner. But the entire misfortune was in the poor ability to take advantage of this network. The armies' rear apparatuses, due partially to the insufficiency of wheeled transport, coped poorly with the organization of delivery from the terminal railroad stations to the troops. But here the still unorganized field control of the military road played the main role here, in which the work of the terminal sector of the railroad was separated from the work along the dirt roads. Besides this, a shortage of rolling stock, particularly of steam engines, hindered the development of intensive movement along the railroads. Thus those 60,000 reinforcements which the Western Front's reserve army had prepared and sent to the front were unable to reach it at the necessary time. The extremely rapid advance by the Red armies forced the Western Front command to seek new ways of organizing the rear and to reexamine the problem of the interrelations between the front and army bases. In these conditions, the barely mobile and unwieldy army bases were already an excess intermediary level, which at the same time had become bogged down deep in the rear. For example, the 15th Army's base was located in Velikie Luki, while the 16th Army's base was in the town of Novozybkov. In order to avoid complications and the criss-crossing of deliveries, the Western Front command pushed front depots ahead of them to Molodechno and Minsk; mobile supply units, chiefly of artillery, were dispatched from these depots to the front. They were located at the terminal sectors of the railroads and would move there as soon as they were opened. These mobile units supplied the divisions directly. It was at this final link that hold-ups arose due to the difficulty of regulating distribution. The mobile units were left to their own devices and did not receive concrete instructions as to whom to distribute supplies and did this at their own risk and on their own responsibility. One could say that in this campaign we were gradually feeling out methods for the correct and flexible organization of the rear, which, of course, could in no way be recognized as ideal. One must also admit that despite a number of correct organizational measures, the organization of the rear in this operation did not correspond to its scope. This had a great influence on the outcome of the operation, but at the same time in no way could be grounds for a negative evaluation of the operational plan itself. Moreover, the operational plan itself had been conditioned by an entire series of considerations going far beyond the sphere of operational considerations.

The situation was developing otherwise for the enemy. The latter's situation, as he fell back into the depths of his own territory, was constantly improving, because in shortening their front line the Polish armies were approaching their main bases and sources of reinforcements at the same time they were marching back.

The threat to the Polish bourgeois state order aroused the latter's government to quite energetic activity. The government announced a mobilization of the male population to the age of 35 years and organized a broad volunteer campaign. It was not alone in its organizational work. The Entente powers, in the form of Britain and France, attempted to support Poland to the best of their abilities. The former had not given up the idea of diplomatic influence on the RSFSR, while the latter aided her not only morally, but materially as well. France dispatched to Poland artillery, technical weapons and munitions, which went through Danzig. The large French military mission helped in word and deeds the reorganization and training of the Polish Army.

However, faced with terrible events, this or that turn of which was keenly felt by both sides and could change the entire immediate course of world history or, at least, the history of Europe, the proletariat of our republic was not alone. It felt the support of the European proletariat, which was extending to it the hand of assistance. On 21 July the Second Congress of the Communist International appealed to the proletariat of all countries with the plea not to let military supplies pass through their territory to Poland.

On 31 July there was created on Polish territory a provisional revolutionary committee, which appealed to the population with a plea to overthrow the Pilsudski government and to conclude peace with Soviet Russia. The Polish Communist Party, in its turn, appealed with a call to the proletariat of all countries, pointing out that the Polish government had been ruling for a year and a half on the basis of a state of emergency, that trade unions were being closed, workers' cooperatives were being persecuted, that the prisons were full of workers, and that in the Polish proletariat's struggle for its liberation the heaviest blow would be the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Russia. The international proletariat broadly responded to these appeals in these days of the decisive campaign along the banks of the Vistula. August 1920 was characterized by an increase in a wave of worker actions in Britain and France. Workers' "action committees" were formed in Great Britain and exerted resistance to any attempt at Britain's armed interference in the struggle between Soviet Russia and Poland, while seeking the recall of all naval forces operating against Soviet Russia, and the recognition of Soviet Russia and the conclusion of a trade agreement with it. This followed as a reply to the British government's threat to once again mount a blockade of Soviet Russia if negotiations did not begin immediately between it and Poland. At the same time, in Germany and Czechoslovakia the workers refused to load and let pass military shipments for Poland. Against the background of these major events of international significance, a little noticed event occurred which strengthened our military situation, namely the conclusion of peace with Lithuania, which followed on 12 July.

Evidently not only the echoes of the Red Army's victories, but also the dull thunder of the revolutionary storm approaching from within, impelled the Polish government

to attempt to stave off what seemed to it the inevitable verdict of history by means of opening peace negotiations. On 22 July it approached the Soviet government with a proposal to immediately establish an armistice and to begin peace negotiations. This proposal was accepted by us. But the Polish delegation that arrived in the town of Baranovichi on 1 August presented a commission to conduct armistice negotiations that had been signed only by the military command. Thus it was proposed that the delegation return for the necessary documents. Meanwhile, the Polish government once again began to play a double game. As early as 7 August it declared its readiness to dispatch its representatives to Minsk for negotiations for an armistice and peace, but they, instead of immediately arriving at our forward units, ended up in the town of Siedlce, where they were discovered by our units upon occupying the town. On 10 August the Polish government approached the Soviet government with a request to present its terms for a peace treaty, which was done. Simultaneously with this, the terms for a peace treaty were also communicated to the British government. It was only when our units had approached the very gates of Warsaw that the Polish peace delegation made it to Minsk, where peace negotiations between both governments began.

The peace terms presented by the Soviet government to Poland were as follows: 1) the limitation of the size of the Polish Army to 50,000 men and the creation, aside from this, of an armed militia made up of urban and industrial workers under the control of the workers' organizations of Russia, Poland and Norway; 2) the demobilization of the remaining part of the Polish army and the transfer of the excess armaments and supplies to Soviet Russia and Ukraine; 3) the demobilization of military industry; 4) the return to the previously occupied areas of the rolling stock and horses seized from them and the rendering of assistance to the impoverished population of those areas laid waste by the Polish army; 5) the participation of workers' and farm laborers' representatives in the peace negotiations; 6) as regards territory, the RSFSR would make greater concessions to Poland than were called for by Curzon's note; 7) for economic purposes, the RSFSR sought to have at its disposal the Volkovysk—Belostok—Grajewo rail sector; 8) the Polish government was to allot land free of charge to the families of Polish citizens killed in the war or who had been deprived of the ability to work, and; 9) captured Polish officers were to be held as hostages for Polish communists.

These terms would put a decisive limit to the imperialistic policy of the Polish government and finally strengthen the fraternal community between the Polish people and the peoples of our union. However, the Polish government drew out the negotiations in expectation of the crisis of the campaign, which at that time was coming to a head on the banks of the Vistula River.

## The Preparation of the Operation Along the Vistula

*The Distribution of the Soviet Armed Forces Along the Various Theaters of Military Activities and Their Relative Disposition on the Eve of the Warsaw Operation. The Commander-in-Chief's Point of View Regarding the Missions and Planning of the Warsaw Operation. The Western Front Commander's Operational Plan. The Disposition of Forces in Space According to this Plan.*

In moving to an appraisal of the operation along the Vistula, it will be quite fitting to take a look at the republic's overall armed resources and at their distribution, as well as at that evaluation of the Polish state's powers of resistance that developed in the period from the preparation for war to the very battle along the Vistula.

The Polish state, which had just been united from three different parts, was undergoing a profound class struggle, which was accompanied by an extremely mixed assortment of parties and political groups, and undoubtedly was in such a condition when a war for Poland was not an easy matter and quite risky. However, the weak aspects of the Polish state were assessed in an exaggerated manner. A significant part of the Polish communists were counting that if the Red Army crossed over into Polish territory by crossing the western boundaries of Belorussia, then a revolution in Poland was inevitable.

Comrade Lenin, in his report to the tenth party congress,<sup>1</sup> pointed out that a mistake had been made in the war with Poland, although Lenin did not examine whether this had been a strategic or political mistake. "In any event," Lenin noted, "the mistake was obvious and this mistake was caused by the fact that the preponderance of our forces was overrated by us."<sup>2</sup>

The underestimation of the enemy's forces was also observed among our high command. In a conversation with the Southwestern Front's revolutionary military council on 26 February 1920, it expressed the assumption that the easiest front, should it be fated to become active, would be the Polish front, where even before the beginning of active operations the enemy had shown a fair number of signs of internal weakness and demoralization. This overrating of the internal

weakness of Poland also told later on. For example, the Field Staff assumed that the Western Front, even in the event of the 16th Army being pulled into the reserve, would be able to achieve the final defeat of Poland (report to the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of 21 July 1920) with the forces of the three remaining armies. As the history of the war showed, such a political and military appraisal did not correspond to the actual forces of the Polish state. The nationalist mood that had seized the petite bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of Poland had created sufficient cement for the unification of its heretofore disorganized parts. The peasantry, in the best case, remained neutral, and sometimes under the influence of agitation by Catholic priests was even hostile in individual cases. Finally, that military assistance, which France, given its possession of colossal military stores that remained following the end of the war, could render Poland, was underestimated. As experience showed, France carried out this assistance not only materially, but also by dispatching military specialists, from pilots to higher commanders, inclusively. The entire sum of these elements made their impression on our operational plans and on their conduct. But it was completely wrong and undoubtedly harmful to draw overall conclusions of the opposite type. First of all, there is no doubt that our calculations for a revolution had an indisputable basis. A revolutionary situation in Poland was certainly at hand. The movement of the working class in Warsaw and Lodz and the accompanying repressions against it by the Polish bourgeoisie, and the greeting of the Red Army by the working class in Belostok, etc., together is indisputable proof of this. The Polish working class began to form its own Red Army for the struggle against the Polish bourgeoisie. The fact that our calculations on a class front in our revolutionary war with the White Poles had a solid foundation is testified to by the broad wave of the revolutionary movement that rolled over Europe and which arose with particular sharpness in Germany, Italy and Great Britain. These facts are beyond dispute and speak to the fact that our political appraisal of the situation was correct. But as regards the appraisal of the forces of the Polish bourgeoisie and its level of class organization and its influence on the peasantry, as well as the appraisal of aid to Poland from France, underestimates were committed by us before the start of decisive operations, which was proven by the subsequent course of events.

The overestimation of the Polish government's weakness also told upon the employment of our armed forces. This concerns not only those forces which the field command disposed of, but generally of those resources which the People's Commissariat of Military and Naval Affairs disposed of. As is known, at that time the Red Army had about 3,500,000 men. This number includes the VNUS (VChK)<sup>3</sup> troops. It would seem that given such an overall number of armed forces, under conditions in which the war had ended along the greater part of our fronts, then a truly overwhelming superiority of forces could have been achieved in the Polish theater of war. However, this was not the case. Out of 3,500,000 men, only 639,845

men (by 1 June 1920) were at the disposal of the field command. 2,810,357 men were subordinated to the military district commands; there were 20,276 men in the labor armies;<sup>4</sup> the remaining forces were also serving in the rear. Thus while the country was suffocating from the burden of maintaining a multi-million man army, only an insignificant part of these armed forces was actually waging war.

This picture of the narrow employment of the armed forces for the struggle on the Polish front also told subsequently. At the moment the crisis of the entire campaign on the Polish front was ripening, that is, at the moment of the battle along the banks of the Vistula, the overall number of the Soviet high command's forces deployed in the west, along the Tavriya sector, and in the Caucasus, reached 210,840 infantry and cavalry. Of this number, 52,763 infantry and cavalry were on the Western Front; in the Southwestern Front, including its Tavriya sector, there were 122,786 infantry and cavalry, with 35,291 infantry and cavalry in the Caucasus; in percentage terms, this amounts to 59% (rounded off) of all forces in the Ukrainian theater, only 25% in the main western theater, and 16% in the Caucasus theater. Such a shift in the center of gravity of the republic's active combat forces to the secondary Ukrainian theater throughout the summer of 1920 can only be explained by the great activity of Vrangel's army and its successes. In the Ukrainian theater itself, the Reds' available combat forces were distributed as follows: the Polish sector of the front contained 35,000 infantry and cavalry, or 21% of the front's available combat forces (rounded off), while 87,561 infantry and cavalry were operating along the Tavriya sector, or 79% (rounded off) of the front's available forces. In carrying out such a calculation for the available amount of the republic's combat forces committed by it on the Polish and Vrangel' fronts, it is not difficult to see that Soviet strategy had been forced to distribute its forces equally between both of them.

Thus about 87,000 infantry and cavalry, out of an overall number of more than 210,000 men, had been concentrated along the direction of the decisive front. But if one takes into account that group of armed forces which was actually supposed to resolve the task on the Polish front, then only 53,000 infantry and cavalry had been designated for the "final defeat of Poland," or no more than 25% of those forces which the high command disposed of in the European theaters of war.

In this area, by the start of the war with the White Poles, the Field Staff committed a major mistake. The unallowable lack of correspondence of active infantry and cavalry with the enormous number of rear area personnel brought about sharp censures from army workers. Demands for more rational organizational activity were pressing in on the Field Staff from all sides. In such a situation it should have relied on the army's public opinion and decisively achieved a turning point for the better. Instead of this, the Field Staff, by means of cancelling the registration of infantry and cavalry and going over to the registration of infantry, cavalry, artillery and other combat arms, all the way to curfew commands, sought to create an outwardly more reputable organizational picture. However, this picture did not



correspond to the actual combat capability of the individual units, weakened the struggle for organizational rationality and gave rise to optimism in evaluating the correlation of forces with the enemy, the forces of whom the intelligence directorate continued to arithmetically count in infantry and cavalry. How much this recount would have enormous significance will be clear from the following example. By the time of the battle along the Vistula, 11 August, the Field Staff appraised the White Poles' forces at 101,500 and our forces operating against them at 156,133 troops. The forces of the Western Front alone were appraised at 112,939 troops. However, the picture was actually different. While having 112,929 troops, the Western Front actually had only 45,000–50,000 infantry and cavalry, that is, it had two times less than the enemy's forces.<sup>5</sup>

A glance at the conduct of the war with the White Poles and an appraisal of the correlation of men and materiel of the opposing sides did not represent something solid and unchanging in 1920. The development of events left their impression on different stages of the war. We spoke earlier of the optimism that characterized the beginning of the 1920 campaign on our part. Lenin spoke about this at the tenth party congress. Nevertheless, one must say that Lenin, even before the start of our active operations, had already issued a directive on the straining of all our forces for the war with the White Poles. On 5 May Lenin said the following in the Moscow soviet:

Comrades, when we now stand before a new approaching war, we must direct all of our attention to this matter. We well know that that enemy which faces us now is not to be feared after everything we have gone through, but we well know that as soon as that enemy enjoys only a small success that he will be capable of causing us many serious misfortunes, because the bourgeoisie states, which are now standing to the side, will not pass up the opportunity to join him and will not miss slowing our work and our construction.

We must say that our rule, to which we have adhered through all the preceding wars, must be completely applied to this war as well, because it is the vital weapon which has always ensured enormous success for us. This rule boils down to the fact that once the matter has come to war, then all of the interests of the country and its internal life must be subordinated to the war.<sup>6</sup>

The development of combat operations on the western front in July and August, the defeat and prolonged retreat of the Polish armies, and the revolutionary movement in the Western European armies also transformed the significance of the war for Soviet Russia on an international scale. The scope of the war's goals and means required for it grew progressively. In characterizing the course of the war at the September party conference, comrade Lenin chiefly analyzed precisely this operation and its significance:

"The war with Poland, or more precisely, the July–August campaign, radically altered the international political situation."

The turn of events on the western front and Curzon's note placed before the party the full seriousness of supplying the war with the necessary men and materiel.

And it was precisely in this area of the war that the necessary exertion of men and materiel was not secured.

On 16 July the commander-in-chief presented a report to the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, in which he laid out the following tenets:<sup>7</sup>

- 1) Romania, Finland and, perhaps, Latvia, may join Poland under pressure from Britain and France. The commander-in-chief has requested guidance on this matter, because otherwise a regrouping of forces must be carried out beforehand.
- 2) In terms of supply, the commander-in-chief believed that the Western Front may count on only two months of intensive fighting.
- 3) In the event of operations against Poland alone, one may count on the final collapse of Polish resistance within this period.
- 4) The active participation of other states would direct the high command toward halting along the line of the ethnographic border of Poland.<sup>8</sup> In the latter case, the commander-in-chief planned to carry out a regrouping of forces on the western and southwestern fronts.

According to the commander-in-chief's report, Trotskii received the government's final decision, which was outlined by him in mail telegram no. 707 of 17 July to the commander-in-chief, with a copy addressed to the RKP Central Committee.<sup>9</sup>

The directive begins with the words: "Lord Curzon's note is testimony to the fact that an Entente capitalist government believes that our successes on the Polish front are extremely threatening for that unstable international and internal regime which was established following the Peace of Versailles." In this description of the situation, the appraisal made by comrade Lenin on the question of the influence of our successes in the west on the situation of the Entente runs throughout.

At the September party conference, comrade Lenin formulated it thusly: "Our advance on Warsaw had such a powerful influence on Western Europe and the entire world situation that it completely disrupted the correlation of the struggling internal and external political forces. The approach by our army to Warsaw indisputably proved that somewhere close to it lay the center of the entire system of world imperialism, which rested on the Treaty of Versailles."

In his speech to the congress of workers and office workers of the leather industry on 8 October, he further added to this:

"If Poland had become soviet, if the Warsaw workers had received help from Soviet Russia, which they awaited and which they greeted, the Versailles peace would have been destroyed and the entire international system, which had been won through victories over Germany, would have collapsed."

Thus we see that as early as the middle of July, in rejecting Curzon's note, Lenin clearly saw what kind of political impact our offensive against Poland would have in Europe. British mediation was viewed as the latest maneuver for strengthening

our enemies. From this came the requirement for concentrating the maximum number of forces against Poland and in speeding up the operations of our fronts before the Entente could manage to draw Romania into the fighting and reinforce Vrangel'. The directive formulated the manner thusly: "Proceeding from such an overall appraisal of the situation, it is necessary for the high command and all of the military establishment's other organs to adopt measures for fully supporting our rapid and energetic advance on the heels of the retreating Polish White Guard forces and, at the same time, without for a minute weakening the forces directed against bourgeoisie-gentry Poland, to prepare reserves in the event that Romania, having lost its mind, goes the way of Poland."

From this we see that the government's decision correctly evaluated the position of Romania, while rejecting the question of regrouping our Polish front and, what is more so, it proposed adopting all measures for strengthening and supporting the attacking forces. In the case of Romania's entry, it was proposed to form new reserves, but the removal of even one man from the Polish front was forbidden.

As regards the insufficient depth of the preparations for the approaching war with the White Poles, we should still point to the poor preparation of the organization of a field headquarters on the western front. The Field Staff did not undertake any kinds of measures for increasing the number of army headquarters in connection with the concentration of new forces on the western front, nor did it support the planned scope of operations with technical means, most importantly communications equipment with the railroad troops. This oversight, as was the case with the insufficient organization of front and army rear areas, had a negative effect in the course of subsequent operations.

In the high command's 16 July report to the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, we see that the high command believed that the prolongation of the war past autumn was risky. This all spoke in favor of finishing off the White Poles in summer, and for this it was necessary to concentrate such forces and technical resources that could completely support our war aims. Once again, our optimistic evaluation of our situation on the Polish front told to a certain extent on our non-fulfillment of these requirements.

Meantime, the Polish bourgeoisie was exerting all its efforts: 16 age cohorts were called to the colors. People up to 35 years of age had already been mobilized. New formations were carried out at a high pace. France delivered weapons, equipment, aircraft, and instructors.

Did we possess forces sufficient for carrying out the mission assigned by the government? Figures speak to this. The Polish Army numbered from 131,000 to 143,500 infantry and cavalry. On our side, they were opposed by 87,763 infantry and cavalry. From figures previously cited, we know that given tougher organizational activity by the People's Commissariat of Military and Naval Affairs in carrying out the government's directives, we could have significantly increased our men and materiel.

Even those few forces which were operating against Poland nearly carried out their task. "The Red Army covered 500, and even 600, and in many places up to 800 kilometers, without a break and got as far as Warsaw. Warsaw was nearly considered lost for Poland. At least this is what the entire international press believed."<sup>10</sup>

"It turned out that the war enabled us to nearly achieve the complete defeat of Poland, but at the decisive moment we lacked the forces."<sup>11</sup>

"Our army showed that the great but impoverished Soviet country was just a few steps from complete victory in the summer of 1920."<sup>12</sup>

Some historians of the war with Poland express the opinion, on the mistaken actions of the military command, and maintain that it would have been strategically more correct to halt somewhere along the Polish border or along the Western Bug. In our opinion, only those who oppose strategy to politics can decide this way. In recounting the government's directive, we have already pointed out that the possibility of the Entente putting up new enemies against us forced the government to demand from the army the most rapid defeat of Poland and thus "the rapid and energetic advance on the heels of the retreating Polish White Guards forces" was demanded of the latter. Thus it is completely clear that the possibility of a strategic halt on the Bug River was excluded.

Aside from considerations of the possibility of the appearance of new enemies, politics could not but take into account and also took into account that grandiose growth of the revolutionary movement which existed at that time and which was described by Lenin in the following words:

"When the Red forces were approaching the Polish border, the Red Army's victorious offensive brought about an unheard of political crisis."<sup>13</sup> And further, "With the approach of our forces to Warsaw, all Germany began to boil. There we had a situation which could have been observed in Russia in 1905, when the Black Hundreds rose up and called to political life the broad and most backward strata of the peasantry, which today were against the Bolsheviki, but tomorrow demanded all the land from the landowners."<sup>14</sup> And further, "The offensive against Poland has brought about such a turning point that the British Mensheviks have entered into an alliance with the Russian Bolsheviki. This is what this offensive did."

The entire British bourgeois press wrote that the "action committees" are nothing less than soviets. And it was right. They were not called soviets, but they were the essentially the same thing.<sup>15</sup> And, finally, he pointed out that "You also know how the European crisis was reflected in Italy. Italy was a victorious power, but when the Red Army's victories brought forth a movement in Germany and a shift in British policy, the struggle in Italy became exacerbated to the point that the workers began to seize the factories and the factory owners' apartments and to call forth the rural population to the struggle. Italy is now in such a state which does not fit into any peacetime framework."<sup>16</sup>

We will add to this that our successful offensive demoralized to a significant degree, according to testimony from Polish sources, the Polish government and the Polish high supreme command, of which we will speak later.

It would not be too much to cite the appraisal given by the September All-Russian party conference.

The All-Russian RKP conference, having heard the report by the representative of the Polish communists, comrade Ulanowski,<sup>17</sup> who had just arrived directly from Warsaw, joyfully noted that the progressive workers of Poland were in complete solidarity with the RSFSR's actions and were evaluating the events of recent months the same way the Russian communists were evaluating them. The Polish worker-communists fully recognized the support by an armed hand for the sovietization of Poland and were not making even the slightest concessions to either nationalism or pacifism.

The conference concluded with satisfaction that individual "critical" voices of Polish communists, which were sounding in Berlin (articles in *Die Rote Fahne*)<sup>18</sup>, were not the voice of the Polish Communist Party.

In complete solidarity with the views of the Polish and Russian communists, the conference saw this as a pledge that the final victory would be ours, despite the burdens of the still impending struggle.

The conference sent fraternal greeting to the Polish worker-communists.

It is now necessary for us, in setting about an exposition of a consistent formulation of an operational plan for the operation along the Vistula, to go back somewhat to those basic instructions which the high command issued for the development of the political directive received by it.

The commander-in-chief's first instructions of a general type followed on 20 July in directive no. 4315/op. This directive instructed both fronts "to continue the energetic development of operations in accordance with the directives issued to them, not limiting them by the boundary indicated in Curzon's note."<sup>19</sup> On 21 July the commander-in-chief presented a report to the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council (no. 481), which was infused with caution to a significant degree. Fearing the entry into the war of Romania, "which already has sufficient forces and opportunities" for supporting Poland, the commander-in-chief believed that "our deep advance into Galicia would be very dangerous in this case" and thus proposed an operation with limited aims for the Southwestern Front, namely the defeat of the Polish right-flank army, "so as in this way to cut the Polish front off from the Romanian front and thus have the opportunity of turning part of the Southwestern Front's forces to the struggle with Romania." Further on, the commander-in-chief considered it possible, in the event of necessity, to further strengthen an eventual Romanian front by holding the Red 16th Army in reserve. This army could have been a reserve in the event of Latvia entering the war. The high command believed that the forces of the Western Front's three remaining armies would be sufficient for

the final defeat of Poland.<sup>20</sup> The archival records have not preserved for us the reply to the commander-in-chief's proposal. But the commander-in-chief's more detailed instructions to both fronts, which followed on 21 and 22 July; enable us to judge that the commander-in-chief's proposals basically received the sanction of the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council. These proposals found their expression in the commander-in-chief's directives to the commanders of the Southwestern and Western fronts, issued by him in Minsk on 23 July 1920.<sup>21</sup> The first directive in time was no. 4343/op to the commander of the Southwestern Front. In it the commander-in-chief assigned to the Southwestern Front commander the task of "inflicting a decisive defeat on the enemy's Polish Sixth and Ukrainian Armies, throw them back to the Romanian border and employ the cavalry army for this task." The directive demanded employing the cavalry army's forces for carrying out this task along a narrow front, along a definite axis and without scattering its forces. Besides this, the Southwestern Front was to capture the Kovel'—Vladimir-Volynskii area by 4 August with a powerful shock group along the right flank, while maintaining communications with the Western Front's left-flank armies and securing its own left flank.<sup>22</sup> On the following morning, the commander-in-chief, in directive no. 4344, assigned the Western Front the task of "inflicting a final defeat on the enemy and to capture Warsaw no later than 12 August."

The boundary line between both fronts was established through Ratno, Włodawa and Novaya Aleksandriya (Pulawy) on the Vistula. All of these locales were in the Western Front's sector. Although the high command's subsequent orders inserted a number of important changes in the Southwestern Front's tasks, insofar as the Western Front's main task subsequently remained unchanged and that the 23 July directive retained its significance for the Southwestern Front to the beginning of August 1920, it would not be too much to halt now for an analysis of both directives. This is all the more necessary, because they both figure in all works having as their theme the operation along the Vistula. From them, people begin their examination of the headquarters and command at the turning point of our Polish campaign. Different sides base themselves on them in their mutual accusations or justifications. In basing ourselves on the formulation of both directives' tasks, which were expressed so clearly that false rumors are out of place, we arrive at the following conclusions.

In the middle of July the high command considered it possible to make do with only the Western Front's available forces in order to completely defeat the enemy's main forces. However, as early as the beginning of August, the high command had fully comprehended Poland's powers of resistance.

How can one explain the fact that this time the high command fell into excessive optimism?

One may reply to this question with an entire series of considerations. First of all, in deciding to push the Southwestern Front toward the Romanian border, the

high command was taking into account the danger of the Romanian army hanging over the Southwestern Front's left flank until Brest-Litovsk was occupied and until the Southwestern Front's communications were secured to the north through the *Poles'ye*. Secondly, the commander-in-chief could count on the rapid denouement of the operation against the Polish Sixth Army, after which he could, in carrying out his previous decision, regroup the Southwestern Front's main forces toward Brest and Lublin. It was in these calculations, as we will see later, that the high command miscalculated. There arose more unforeseen frictions than one could have supposed.

In its July directive to the commander of the Western Front, the high command assigned its immediate territorial objective as the city of Warsaw. The Southwestern Front's goal was defined more broadly in the sense that it was offered a freer choice of objectives for launching its main attack. The city of L'vov does not figure in directive no. 4343/op as the main operational objective. As regards the cavalry army, it was only stated that it would launch its attack, "securing itself against L'vov," but it is beyond dispute that the directive shifts the center of gravity of the Southwestern Front's efforts so far to the south in comparison with Southwestern Front commander Yegorov's proposal of 22 July that L'vov must inevitably arise as the main objective of operations in carrying out directive no. 4343/op.

Thus both directives nos. 4343/op and 4344 may be seen, in their totality, as a compromise between the government's instructions in its directive of 17 July and the commander-in-chief's proposals in his report no. 481 of 21 July. The first result of such a compromise was the assignment of missions along two diverging axes. On the one hand, we have Warsaw, and on the other, Romania, as a distant object of operations, along the path to which the city of L'vov arose as an immediate objective. One should not dispute the importance and significance of such objectives as L'vov and Warsaw, particularly the latter.

We have already defined this locale as the connecting junction of all the Polish government's centripetal forces. Aside from this political significance, the city was at that time also the country's main materiel center. This is what General Sikorski has to say on that score: "Warsaw was also one of the main materiel centers of Poland. Its fall was equivalent to the loss of a general engagement. The choice of the city as the main operational objective threatened to shift the area of military operations far into the depths of the country and was actually a successful example of establishing one's strategic goal."<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, was it possible, given that correlation of forces which we cited in the beginning of the chapter, to assign ourselves two such major goals right away? We are forced to admit that we thought we could finish the war with a victorious attack on Warsaw. This attack was entrusted exclusively to the Western Front. Although directive no. 4343/op foresaw the movement of a powerful shock group from the Southwestern Front to the Kovel'—Vladimir-Volynskii area by 4 August, in accordance with the spirit of the directive, one can consider that



this group was more likely viewed as the connecting link between the internal flanks of both fronts rather than an active fist.

It was only in the following days, namely as early as the end of July 1920, that the first shifts are noted in the high command regarding a review of the Southwestern Front's tasks during the operation along the Vistula. It's possible that these shifts were the result of the impression of the enemy's increasing stubbornness on the Bug and Narew. In a wire conversation with the Southwestern Front commander on 28 July, the high command expressed the thought of transferring first the 12th Army and then the other wing of the Polish sector to the Western Front "in connection with the resolution of the Brest knot."<sup>24</sup> Of course, this transfer had to bring about a change in the missions of the armies that were part of that wing, with the switching of their work to actively supporting the Western Front, which, quite naturally, would place the question of the capture of L'vov on the back burner. However, this conversation had no further consequences at that time.

The situation that was arising by this time on the Southwestern Front would delay the resolution of the task by the front's armies, in accordance with directive no. 4343/op, for a certain time. The 1st Cavalry Army was engaged in stubborn fighting with the Polish Second Army and part of the Polish Sixth Army along the Brody axis. The Red 14th Army was encountering the same stubborn resistance. As we have seen, only the Red 12th Army was advancing more successfully. Thus it must be admitted that we had not been able to bring to a conclusion, due to circumstance beyond our control, that operation by the Southwestern Front with a limited goal, the ideological inspirer of which we considered our high command, and no one else, and the result of which was to have been the defeat of the Polish Sixth Army. Now that matter was being drawn out and, by the way, by 2 August the situation was already changing radically in comparison with the situation that existed in the latter third of July.

The substantial change in the situation was that Brest had fallen. This signified the arrival of the Western Front's armies at the western boundary of the *Poles'ye*; at that same time the Southwestern Front's 12th Army was rapidly pulling up to the Western Front's left flank. Romania was not getting actively involved in the war, while the resistance of the Polish forces along the line of the Western Bug River had increased significantly. It is quite proper that in such a situation the focus of our attention should have been chiefly concentrated on our Western Front, which was slated to decide the fate of the war. We believe that the high command quite correctly and in time embarked on precisely this path. Henceforth, in the high command's concept the Southwestern Front's Polish wing had to carry out a supporting role in the Western Front's operations, while helping the latter in every possible way.

Now, while reviewing the past events from the distance of nearly ten years' historical perspective, we can only express our regret that the decision, which was essentially quite logical and correct, was not carried out quickly and decisively. The paths of the preliminary resolution of the question of establishing the fronts'

cooperation were of an extremely synchronized character. At the same time, this question did not represent anything new or unexpected. It had been examined long before the time when we had to set about actually realizing it. Although the historian of modern times is in a less advantageous position in comparison with the historian of succeeding generations in this regard; that is, he does not have access to many of those archival documents which will be available to a future historian, but he has a great advantage compared to the latter. This consists of the testimony by living and reliable participants and eyewitnesses. In those cases when our guiding light in the archives is broken due to these and other reasons, we are forced to embark on that path. This is how we have acted this time. According to comrade Tukhachevskii's words, the question of coordinating the fronts arose as early as April 1920. At the end of April it was discussed at a session of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic under the chairmanship of comrade Sklyanskii.<sup>25</sup> Then, in the name of the government, it was proposed to unify the armies operating along the Polish front under a single command. The high command, while sharing this point of view in principle, insisted on carrying out this proposal only upon our armies reaching the Brest meridian, that is, it put off deciding the matter until that moment when the wooded and swampy area of the *Poles'ye* was behind us.

Following the fall of Brest, which, as is known, took place on 1 August, the commander-in-chief set about carrying out the decision to establish the coordination of the fronts in accordance with the decision taken at the session of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic at the end of April 1920. His directive no. 4578/op/987/sh of 3 August speaks to this. The directive called for the transfer of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies to the commander of the Western Front within the next few days and contains a number of instructions on establishing communications between the Western Front command and these armies.

In carrying out the transfer of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies to the Western Front, the boundary line between the fronts was to drop sharply to the south, passing through Berdichev—Staro-Konstantinov—Belozorka—Pomorzhan—Mikolayuv—Sambor—Wola Michowa, while all of these locales, with the exception of Berdichev and Staro-Konstantinov were to be within the confines of the Western Front. The directive did not change the missions of the Southwestern Front, or, to be more exact, of its Polish wing, which was still continuing to operate in the spirit of the commander-in-chief's directive no. 4343/op of 23 July, and this meant the actual sanctioning by the commander-in-chief of the continuation of the Lvov operation. The high command evidently believed that the Western Front command would have time to issue new orders to the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies upon establishing communications with them and, not wishing to limit its decisions or to impose its own on it, for the time being allowed events along the southwestern front to develop along their previous lines.

Subsequent events showed that in this case the high command had insufficiently weighed the element of time and those frictions which, in the conditions of our extended theaters, arise in shifting the operational axes of major troop formations.

Strictly speaking, as early as 3 August the moment had come for a significant change in the missions for the armies of the Southwestern Front's Polish wing. We do not have the right to make demands on the Southwestern Front command on the change in missions to its three armies from independent to supporting, since this was not mentioned by the commander-in-chief.

It is clear from comrade Yegorov's book, *L'vov—Warsaw*, that the Southwestern Front command viewed its role on the Polish front as an independent one from beginning to end and drew up its own plan for a deep invasion of Galicia, the first step in the realization of which was to be the seizure of the crossings over the lower San River. Comrade Yegorov believes that the coordination of both fronts on the Polish theater could have been realized best in this manner.

In planning to transfer two of the Southwestern Front's armies and subordinate them to the Western Front, the high command evidently, due to the considerations elaborated above, did not only not acquaint the Southwestern Front command with its point of view as to the possible further employment of these armies, but by his subsequent orders confirmed even further the Southwestern Front command's intention to continue the L'vov operation and even, if one may say this, itself prodded it to the south. The commander-in-chief's telegram no. 4592/op of 3 August, which demanded the 12th Army's sharp movement in the direction of Vladimir-Volynskii, that is, further to the south, in connection with the situation along the 1st Cavalry Army's front, testifies to this.<sup>26</sup> Thus the Southwestern Front commander's directive no. 707 (secret) 4433/op was an immediate consequence of this telegram and would turn the 12th Army's main forces sharply to the south in the direction of Vladimir-Volynskii and Tomaszow (Tomaszow Lubelski), while at the same time assigning the 1st Cavalry Army the task of defeating the enemy's L'vov group of forces as quickly as possible.<sup>27</sup>

This directive has great general significance. In it we must search for the reasons behind the late arrival to their new operational axes of those armies of the Southwestern Front which were to be resubordinated to the Western Front. The commander-in-chief's directive of 6 August, no. 4634/1001/sh, called for even the 14th Army to be included in the Western Front, which would mean, as comrade Yegorov says in his book, the complete elimination of the Southwestern Front's Polish wing and its headquarters.

Before going on to a further elaboration of events, we will halt on a description of the work of the headquarters during the previous four days (3–6 August). These days are the transitional stage to the moment when the idea of establishing the coordination of both fronts had finally and clearly formed in the consciousness of the high command. But here frictions, still only of a technical order, began to make

themselves known. The Western Front command, in its telegram of 7 August (no. 0209/op) pointed out that the establishment of direct communications with the three southern armies would require from ten to 14 days. He foresaw great difficulties in organizing these armies' rear services. Thus he requested that these armies be put at his disposal with all their support bases and communications equipment. On 8 August the Southwestern Front commander (telegram no. 150, secret, 4526/op) objected to this proposal, pointing out that this would be the same as paralyzing the entire headquarters of the Southwestern Front, which still had the responsible mission of fighting General Vrangel's army.<sup>28</sup>

Thus one may consider that even on 8 August the question of establishing the coordination of both fronts along the most important point of the fighting, which would decide the fate of the war and which was already definitely beginning to take shape along the middle Vistula, was still hanging in the air. At this time the Southwestern Front command (on the night of 7–8 August), in its directive no. 748/secret, undertook steps to realize its idea of a deep invasion of Galicia. It aimed the 12th Army's main forces (three rifle divisions) toward the front Tomaszow—Rava-Russka which was supposed to lead to the excentric application of the efforts of the Red Southwestern and Western fronts' internal flanks, while simultaneously he was undertaking measures to pull the 1st Cavalry Army into the reserve.<sup>29</sup>

The question of the coordination of the fronts was in the same situation when the operational plan for the Western Front's armies along the Vistula was finally taking shape and had already begun to find its definite expression.

The commander-in-chief, in his 7 August directive, directed the Western Front commander's attention to that circumstance that the Ivangorod (Deblin) axis was inevitable for the left-flank 16th Army in its further offensive, because it could temporarily not count on the assistance of the 12th Army, in view of its forthcoming sharp turn to the south for the purpose of pulling the cavalry army into the reserve.

In an 8 August directive (no. 4681/op/1023/sh), the commander-in-chief instructed the Western Front commander that the transfer of the Southwestern Front's Polish wing (12th, 1st Cavalry and 14th Armies) had already been decided.<sup>30</sup> Evidently this directive was the reply to a somewhat earlier wire conversation between the commander-in-chief and the Western Front commander. This conversation contained the plan for the Western Front's armies and the Western Front commander's quite timely instructions that the overall situation demanded the rapid unification of all the armies under a single command.<sup>31</sup>

In examining the Western Front's operational plan, one must keep in mind that the Western Front command, following its 7 August telegram to the commander-in-chief, which we mentioned earlier, was from day to day counting on the transfer to its control of the Southwestern Front's three armies (12th, 1st Cavalry and 14th).

In its plan for the Warsaw operation, the Western Front command proceeded from the following prerequisites:

1. The enemy's forces along the banks of the Vistula must significantly outnumber ours (he appraised them at up to 70,000 infantry and cavalry and his own at 40,000 infantry and cavalry), but we enjoyed a significant moral superiority.

This is what General Faury, a witness and participant of the events on the Polish side, says.

It's true that in this period the social psychology of Poland was undergoing a true depression; the working class, which had been propagandized by the communists, could have easily risen to help the Reds; the peasantry and that which in the east is known as the 'intelligentsia,' were tired. Everyone had become accustomed to easy successes and the war, which was going on somewhere along the far borders, no longer interested anyone.

The army was being defeated and had no support of any kind from the rear. It felt itself spiritually abandoned and even before the Bolsheviks' decisive offensive there were some symptoms of decline which seriously worried the Polish command. An enemy attack, launched in such conditions, was a real catastrophe.

2. At the beginning of August the main mass of the enemy's forces was grouped north of the Western Bug River, while falling back toward Modlin and Warsaw.

Proceeding from this, the left flank of the entire Polish group of forces along the Vistula was the most important and should be the immediate object of our operations, because given the unfavorable correlation of forces for us we could not undertake any other simultaneous major goal.

3. The overall concentration and reinforcement of the left flank was to be secured by the concentration along the Lublin axis of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies, the transfer of which to the Western Front had been raised by the latter's commander as early as the beginning of August, but the resolution of which was being delayed by the unreadiness of communications and was supposed to take place between 13 and 15 August.
4. If the enemy had elected to give battle on the Bug, then we would have had time, "according to the situation," to move the 3rd and 16th Armies to the south from the mouth of the Western Bug River.

A difference was noted between the commander-in-chief and the Western Front commander regarding the appraisal of the disposition of the enemy's forces in the period around 7 August. The commander-in-chief believed that the main mass of the enemy's forces was south of the Western Bug River, while the Western Front commander, just the opposite, put their location north of the Western Bug River.

Proceeding from its assumption, the high command was seeking to finish off the enemy's forces somewhere between the Western Bug and Vistula rivers, before they could recover, following a series of losses inflicted upon them and before they

could be reinforced, regroup themselves and base themselves upon the powerful line of the Vistula River with its defensive system in the form of the fortifications of Modlin (Novogeorgievsk), Zegrze, the Warsaw bridgehead fortifications, and the fortifications of Deblin (Ivangorod). Given the overall unfavorable correlation of forces that had arisen, winning time, for the purpose of employing our moral superiority, was acquiring a decisive significance.

Commander-in-chief S. S. Kamenev insistently carried out this idea in his directive instructions and wire conversations with the Western Front commander, beginning from 7 through 10 August. He proposed to the latter moving our 3rd and 16th Armies to the south, to the Deblin axis, accordingly stretching the front of our 4th and 15th Armies north of the Western Bug River.

As early as 8 August the Western Front commander had detected signs of some kind of enemy regrouping along his front and come to the conclusion that the enemy was determined to avoid forcing a general engagement between the Western Bug and Vistula rivers. The Western Front commander thus believed that shifting the 3rd Army sharply to the south would be a maneuver to no purpose. Actually, as we will later see, in accordance with Pilsudski's decision of 6 August, the Polish armies, in adopting a new grouping of forces for a counterblow, had begun rapidly falling back to the Vistula.

Based on these prerequisites, on 10 August the Western Front commander issued a directive assigning the front the following overall mission: "The enemy is continuing to retreat along the entire front. I order you to completely defeat him and, upon forcing the Vistula River, to throw him back to the southwest." Subsequently, in accordance with this directive, following the crossing of the Vistula, our shock fist was to turn sharply to the south, from which we can conclude that it was the Western Front commander's further intention to seize Warsaw and its fortifications from the rear, if by that time it had not already fallen to blows from the front. Our forces south of the Western Bug River were to be aimed as follows: the 16th Army's main forces would move to the sector of the Vistula River north of Warsaw—excluding Modlin—including Jablonna,<sup>32</sup> with the Mozyr Group to the sector of the Vistula River north of Deblin, where it was also to force the river (near Kozenice). The front's extreme right flank (4th Army) was supposed to cross the Vistula on 15 August, while the remaining armies were to do so on 14 August.

Thus we see that the idea of the Western Front commander's plan was quite active and assigned offensive tasks to all the armies. The Western Front command, which at that time was located in the city of Minsk, maintained control of all five of its armies (also counting the Mozyr' Group), to which it planned on soon attaching another two (12th and 1st Cavalry Armies), which, of course, would have complicated matters of control and communications. The forward movement of the front's headquarters could not be carried out in time in view of the difficulties of establishing communications with the Southwestern Front's armies.

In accordance with this plan, the following disposition of our forces would arise: a shock fist of three armies, numbering more than 40,000 infantry and cavalry, or about 80% of the Western Front's available forces (rounded out), was moving north of Warsaw along a 100–110 kilometer front. Units of the 16th Army's and Mozyr' Group's forces, which numbered about 20% of the front's available forces, attacked along a 100–170 kilometer front south of Warsaw. The most elongated sector here was that of the Mozyr' Group (4,193 infantry and cavalry, which had been reinforced on 12 August by the 12th Army's 58th Rifle Division, which raised its strength, according to a number of authors' data, to 6,600 infantry and cavalry), which reached 100 kilometers. This group, until the concentration of the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies to the Lublin axis, was essentially the group that was securing the operation of the entire front along the Ivangorod axis. The timely arrival at this axis by our two armies, the overall strength of which reached 26,225 infantry and cavalry (12th Army—11,225 infantry and cavalry; the 1st Cavalry Army—15,000 cavalry),<sup>33</sup> plus the Mozyr' Group's 6,600 infantry and cavalry, should have formed along the Lublin—Deblin axis a second powerful shock fist numbering 32,885 infantry and cavalry. Thus we have a very clear group of forces which fully corresponded to the intentions of the Western Front command. We thus had a powerful shock fist along the Modlin axis, numbering 40,000 infantry and cavalry. A less powerful but nevertheless mighty fist, numbering 32,885 infantry and cavalry, was along the Deblin axis, and connecting them a weak center in the form of part of the 16th Army's forces.

Subsequently, following the exposition of the opposing side's operational plans, we will attempt to render an overall analysis of the Western Front commander's plan, but for now we will simply note that the main goal which he assigned himself was not space or this or that geographic object, as a goal unto itself, but foremost the enemy's forces. But at this moment these forces, as we shall see below, were already fully resting on their chief sources of materiel supply. Thus their fate was already closely linked with the fate of the territory being defended and with its main materiel point—Warsaw. This is why the latter, which was not an end in itself for the Western Front command, became the main focus of the operation, insofar as it was pulling the main mass of the enemy forces onto itself.

As is clear from A. I. Yegorov's book, which we have repeatedly cited, the Southwestern Front command had assigned itself some quite broad plans for the Polish wing of its front. As early as 23 July it viewed the L'vov operation as the prelude to its deep invasion of Galicia, while striving to establish itself along the line of the San River from Przemysl to Radymno, and then by moving through Krasnik and Janow, to reach the Vistula River along the Annopol'—Zawichost sector.<sup>34</sup> This point of view remained unchanged within the Southwestern Front command up to the very moment when both right-flank armies actually passed to the control of the Western Front commander. But insofar as the L'vov operation had become drawn



out, the Southwestern Front command was actually unable to realize its intentions, for all of its orders in the days preceding the transfer of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies (4 and 7 August), were subordinated to the interests of the L'vov operation and not the arrival at the line of the San and Vistula rivers. A comparison of the ideological side of both commanders' plans represents a matter of major theoretical significance, insofar as it draws our attention to the old but constantly reappearing question of the interaction between maneuver and battle.

As regards his own plan, the Western Front commander was a committed partisan of resolving the crisis of the war through a decisive battle at the front level. He sought the enemy's forces in order to destroy them along those axes where he was most likely to find them, that is, along the axes leading to Warsaw, as the closest and most important object of action for both sides.

The Southwestern Front commander, according to the logic of his plan, set himself the goal of achieving far-removed objects on the ground, namely along those axes which, according to the conditions of the situation that had arisen, were acquiring secondary significance for the enemy, which he showed, as we shall see later, having nearly denuded the boundaries of Galicia of forces and having brought all of his free forces to the middle Vistula.

Thus the actions of the Southwestern Front's right-flank armies, had they managed to set about carrying out the Southwestern Front commander's plan, would have come down to the simple seizure of space which had little value for the enemy army at the time and the fate of which was being decided before the walls of Warsaw.

There was no point in thinking about a deep invasion into the heart of Poland through Galicia until the main enemy force, which had been concentrated along the axes covering Warsaw, had been defeated.

Overall, we believe that a campaign on Cracow, without the preliminary defeat of the main mass of Polish forces around Warsaw, would be the same as dividing up the hide of a bear while he is still alive.

In the final days remaining before the transfer of the Southwestern Front's right-flank armies to the control of the Western Front commander, the Southwestern Front command remained in the position of formally carrying out the commander-in-chief's directive. However, it is necessary here to note that the version that the Southwestern Front commander supposedly refused to carry out the commander-in-chief's directive to move the 1st Cavalry Army does not correspond to reality.

Now we should once again return to the question of the coordination of both fronts, insofar as it, following the issue by the commander of the Western Front of his directive for an advance to the Vistula, had entered upon a new, and this time final, phase of its development.

A conversation that took place between the commander-in-chief and the Western Front commander on the night of 10–11 August served as the stimulus for the final resolution of the question. The conversation itself was preceded by the Western

Front commander's directive no. 236/op/secret for an advance to the Vistula. The directive stated:

The enemy is continuing to retreat along the entire front. I order you to finally defeat him and, upon forcing the Vistula River, throw him back to the southwest. For which:

1. The 4th Army, while securing the front's right flank, is to capture the Jablonowo—Grudziadz—Torun area, forcing the Vistula River with its remaining forces on 15 August in the Wloclawek—Dobrzyn area. It is to leave one rifle division in the front reserve in the Ciechanow—Plonsk area.
2. The commanders of the 15th and 3rd Armies are to force the Vistula no later than 15 August. The commander of the 3rd Army is to launch an attack from the Zalubice area in the direction of Praga and to throw back from Warsaw that enemy retreating before the 16th Army.
3. On 14 August the commander of the 16th Army is to force the Vistula River with his main forces north of Warsaw.
4. On 14 August the Mozyr' Group is to capture the Kozienice—Deblin area.<sup>35</sup> The 58th Rifle Division is subordinated to the commander of the Mozyr' Group by order of the commander-in-chief.
5. Boundary lines: between the 4th and 15th Armies: Ojrzen—Plock—Piontek (inclusive for the 15th Army); between the 15th and 3rd Armies: Nasielsk—Dlutowo—Wyszogrod—Sochaczew (inclusive for the 3rd Army); between the 3rd and 16th Armies: Modlin—Blonie (inclusive for the 3rd Army).
6. The political situation demands the immediate and complete defeat of the enemy forces.

On the night of 10–11 August there once again took place a wire conversation between the commander-in-chief and the commander of the Western Front. It is of no less decisive significance for the operation than the previously cited directive, for after it the commander-in-chief issued a directive for the regrouping of the 1st Cavalry Army to Lublin. To be sure, one may espy again a difference in the views of the commander-in-chief and the Western Front commander as to the appraisal of the enemy's dispositions and intentions, insofar as the commander-in-chief still considered it possible to bring about a decisive engagement between the Vistula and the Western Bug by preventing the enemy from falling behind the Vistula River, but finally, after hearing the Western Front commander's considerations, the Western Front commander's operational plan was confirmed with the following words: "I grant you freedom of action, but retain the task of quickly defeating the Polish forces without getting carried away by a deep strategy, as in this regard I fear that we will not have the necessary time for such a type of decision."

We have decided to make a detailed analysis of the plans and decisions at all levels of our higher command after the exposition of the opposing side's plans. Then the positive and negative sides of these and other decisions will appear in greater relief.



## Establishing the Coordination of the Fronts

*Measures for Establishing the Coordination of the Internal Flanks of the Western and Southwestern Fronts. The Polish High Command's Operational Plan and the Disposition of its Forces. The Correlation of Both Sides' Forces Along the Different Sectors in the Warsaw Operation, in Accordance with Their Plans. A Comparison and Evaluation of Both Plans.*

On the night of 10–11 August the commander-in-chief put a limit on the cavalry army's actions against the Polish Sixth Army. The directive (no. 4738/op 1041/sh) issued by the commander-in-chief at 0300 on 11 August is characterized by a precise evaluation of the overall situation and assigned definite tasks to the Southwestern Front's Polish wing. In it the commander-in-chief quite correctly established the correlation of the specific weight of the Lvov and Warsaw operations and the center of gravity for applying the efforts of the Southwestern Front's Polish wing, which was being carried out by the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies and shifted their actions to support the Western Front's main operation.

In connection with this decision, the 12th Army was to launch an attack with its main forces in the general direction of Lublin, while the cavalry army's main forces were supposed to reach the Hrubieszow—Zamosc—Tomaszow area. "At the same time," the commander-in-chief later pointed out, "it is critically necessary to directly subordinate as quickly as possible, first the 12th Army, and then the cavalry army, to front commander Tukhachevskii. Further on, the commander-in-chief requested "an immediate conclusion on this matter" from the commander of the Southwestern Front.<sup>1</sup> The last phrase of the directive does not jibe somehow with the overall tone of the entire directive. At first glance, this seems unimportant, but fraught with consequences. It gives some people the formal right to maintain that directive no. 4738 was not of an executive character, but of a preliminary one.

But the high command itself evidently attached a completely different meaning to it. This follows from the commander-in-chief's second conversation with the Western Front commander, which took place at 0035 on 12 August (that is, on the night of 11–12 August). This conversation even more vividly underscores the commander-in-chief's idea of the coordination of the fronts and of their relative role in the campaign's decisive moment. "Right now," the commander-in-chief said, "the Southwestern Front had the task of defeating the enemy covering Lvov and for this purpose naturally turned Budyonny's army and the 12th Army south. Now, when you are sharply turning your units to the north for preparing for a final decision, it is necessary to shift the 12th Army and Budyonny to the north, lest our forces in the center get too thin," while further on the commander-in-chief emphasized the significance of the closest linking of the 12th Army's work with the Western Front's left wing, which is why he considered it necessary that the Western Front command now take control not only of the 58th Rifle Division, but of the entire 12th Army, "Otherwise, I think," the commander-in-chief said, "your center might not cope with its task and could perhaps break like a stretched string."<sup>2</sup>

The Western Front commander considered it possible to subordinate the 12th Army to him immediately. The Western Front commander was already able to communicate by Morse code through Berdichev and counted on acquiring more reliable communications with it as early as 12 August.

This conversation, in connection with the above-cited directive is also very significant and testifies, first of all, to the complete agreement of the commander-in-chief's and Western Front commander's views on the forms of employing the Western Front's right-flank armies.<sup>3</sup> It indicates the possibility of actually controlling these armies' actions, beginning from the night of 11–12 August.

Thus the overall operational situation regarding the possibility of immediately setting about to actually realizing the coordination of the fronts was developing so favorably that this could have been done fully even on 10 August, as A. I. Yegorov points out in his book (*L'vov—Warsaw*, pp. 171–172), and on 11 August.

But here, when the high command had adopted a precise decision, unconditionally securing our victory on the Vistula, such frictions in the work of the command apparatus appeared on the stage that the commander-in-chief's decision was reduced almost to nothing.

Many of the civil war's participants, due to the extremely limited number of published historical documents relating to the war, still have the impression that the Southwestern Front command refused to carry out the commander-in-chief's directive. Actually, this does not correspond to reality. We will still return to those shortcomings that concern the realization of this directive by the Southwestern Front commander, but they did not have decisive significance for us. In this instance, the still poorly organized field work by the headquarters played this role.

Let us turn to an examination of this extremely important matter, which placed firmly before us the problem of the necessity of training a flexible, energetic and enterprising army field headquarters. The commander-in-chief's decision, due to the poorly functioning headquarters apparatus, did not manage to exert its decisive influence in time on the fate of the entire campaign along the banks of the Vistula.

The commander-in-chief's directive regarding the cavalry army's regrouping was issued on the night of 10–11 August. The elementary conditions of staff work demanded in such conditions from the Field Staff and its operational directorate a number of measures to secure the realization of the commander-in-chief's new decision. This was all the more necessary because the new decision was supposed to overcome the "Lvov inertia" which for two weeks had been eating into the entire Southwestern Front's operational purposes. It was necessary to warn by wire the Southwestern Front headquarters about the new mission and the cavalry army, for it was to be subordinated to a new headquarters and to move along an unfamiliar axis. This was all the more necessary as the commander-in-chief was quite concerned for the Lublin axis and the Field Staff naturally should have manifested its organizational energy in this question.

However, the commander-in-chief's directive had to be put into code and dispatched to its destination without issuing any other kind of preliminary orders. As luck would have it, mistakes and distortions were made in the encoding. The fronts' headquarters, following a significant loss of time spent in unsuccessfully decoding the directive, requested the Field Staff to recode the message, which was done. At 1335 on 13 August these telegrams were sent in corrected code to Khar'kov and Minsk. If preliminary orders regarding the commander-in-chief's new decision were not issued, then it was necessary to see after the timely reception of the new directive by the front commanders. If a distortion in the code was noted, then its basic idea should have been immediately sent forth by wire. It is impossible to explain this by extreme secrecy. We see daily conversations between the commander-in-chief and the Western Front commander about these secrets. We see here a sad but instructive example of how the high command's decision was reduced to zero by the executive apparatus and the lack of precision in its work.

It is also necessary to admit as vexatious the circumstance of the commander-in-chief adding at the bottom of the directive a postscript (requesting the opinion of the Southwestern Front commander), which weakened its imperative character. However, the commander-in-chief's subsequent orders confirmed its binding force.

On the evening of 11 August the high command, while acting in the spirit of the decision already made by it, evidently considered it necessary to strengthen the impression of its directive no. 4738/op/1041sh, which is why in directive no. 4752/op/1044/sh it pointed to the necessity of pushing the 12th Army forward as quickly as possible to the Lublin axis, citing the fact that the Mozyr' Group was already at the Kock meridian.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, on 12 August the Southwestern Front was still continuing to develop its inertia in the spirit of the 23 July directive. The Southwestern Front command decided once more to energetically press on the L'vov junction, which it did according to its directive no. 764/secret/4626/op, ordering the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies to continue to carry out their tasks to take the L'vov junction in the most energetic manner and to move to the Tomaszow area, after which it was to push the cavalry ahead to quickly seize crossings over the San River along the Sieniawa—Radymno sector.<sup>5</sup> Thus from 12 August a definite lack of coordination began in the high command's and the Southwestern Front command's work, which disrupted the beginning of the coordination of the fronts. One should not, unfortunately, maintain that this lack of coordination was conditioned by purely objective reasons; they could have been avoided if our art of headquarters service during this time had been at the appropriate level.<sup>6</sup>

In his directive no. 767/secret/4639/op, the Southwestern Front commander, if one may express oneself thusly, fully loaded the 12th Army, which, as we shall see further on, continued to exert an influence on the 12th Army command throughout almost the entire operation on the Vistula, despite the fact that this army had already begun to receive the Western Front commander's directive, having been formally subordinated to him.

In directive no. 767, the commander-in-chief demanded that the shock group (that is, the 12th Army's main forces) capture the Tomaszow—Rava-Russka area and the crossings over the San River in the Sieniawa and Radymno area. The 12th Army, upon the occupation of Chelm, was to vigorously pursue the enemy along its right flank toward Krasnik in order to occupy as quickly as possible the crossings over the Vistula in the Annopol<sup>7</sup>—Zawichost area and over the San in the Razwadow—Nisko area.<sup>7</sup>

Thus both of these directives by the commander of the Southwestern Front actually return us to the situation of 4 August as regards realizing the coordination of both fronts. One might even consider the situation more difficult, because on 12 August the 1st Cavalry Army, even before receiving directive no. 764, itself undertook to commit its cavalry reserves into the fighting to the line of the Styr' River.<sup>8</sup>

On 12 August the Southwestern Front commander put forward, as a proposal, a new variant for employing the cavalry army, proposing to pull it back into the reserve to the Proskurov area in the event of Romania's entry into the war.<sup>9</sup> On the night of 12–13 August the question of formally subordinating the Southwestern Front's 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies was decided in the commander-in-chief's conversation with the commander of the Western Front, with the temporary transmission of the Western Front commander's orders to them through the Southwestern Front's headquarters. The Western Front commander planned to take the armies on at 2400 on 13 August, or even better, at 1200 on 14 August.<sup>10</sup>



The commander-in-chief's directives for carrying out this transfer (at 1200 on 14 August) followed during the night of 12–13 August (at 0310, no. 4774/op).

However, the question of establishing coordination between the fronts was fated to pass through its final frictions. Having received the commander-in-chief's coded directives nos. 4738 and 4752 at around 1630 on 13 August, the commander of the Southwestern Front reported that the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies had already set about carrying out the tasks assigned them on 12 August, which is why he considered impossible "the change of the main tasks for the armies under the present conditions." In expectation of a reply to his report, the commander of the Southwestern Front drew up a proposal for a directive to the front's armies for the subordination of the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies to the commander of the Western Front. But nothing was said in this directive about assigning the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies those new missions that would arise for them from the commander-in-chief's directive no. 4738/op of 11 August. At the same time, according to the precise sense of the directive, the Southwestern Front commander was supposed to assign such tasks. It stands to reason that upon receiving the new tasks, the armies would set about that regrouping demanded of them in connection with the new tasks as early as the night of 13–14 August. But the Southwestern Front command preferred to formally carry out only the commander-in-chief's last directive no. 4774 of 13 August regarding the subordination of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies to the commander of the Western Front. The Southwestern Front commander's directive no. 776/secret/4654/op regarding the transfer of the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies to the Western Front commander from 1200 on 14 August, was issued by him only at 0102 on 14 August, due to a variety of circumstances.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the formal realization of the question of the fronts' coordination, which had been foreseen as early as the end of April and which had come to full fruition on 3 August, was resolved only on the night of 13–14 August, and in an unfinished manner at that.

We have occupied the reader's attention for a long time with the matter of the fronts' coordination.

The researcher's thoughts constantly run up against this question as soon as he approaches the operation along the Vistula. Various researchers have illuminated this manner in various ways. This means that a preliminary and careful analysis of all the facts was necessary in order not to be guided by anyone's judgments or any authorities, and to arrive at one's own conclusions in this regard.

These conclusions must answer the following questions. Was the significance of the fronts' coordination clearly realized by our high command organs? Did there exist between them a unity of views on this matter? Was the decision to establish the fronts' coordination made in a timely manner? What forms did the decision take and for what reasons did it fail to yield practical results?

It is not difficult to answer the first question. The significance of the fronts' coordination was clearly realized by all of the higher command organs, beginning with the government which raised this question as early as April 1920, and ending with the commander-in-chief and the commander of the Western Front.

As for the second question, we have every right to say that there was no complete unity of views. The high command and the Western Front command quite consistently, from the beginning to the end of the campaign, held to that point of view, which is also supported by the majority of Polish authors, that the main theater of military activities was the northern theater, in which the Western Front's armies were operating. By the time of the campaign's turning point in this theater the chief focus of operations had become clear in the form of the Warsaw—Modlin area, which had drawn to itself, as we will see below, the main mass of Polish forces. In this area, due to reasons of a political and economic order, such an object as Warsaw stood out, but its capture could not have been the goal of the operation in itself. The fall of Warsaw was to have been the natural result of the rout of the enemy's forces covering this dead end. Thus the commander of the Western Front, in his 10 August directive which defined our armies' march-maneuver to the line of the Vistula River, did not say a word about taking Warsaw.

Given the correlation of forces that had come about in the Polish theater, we could not allow ourselves such a luxury as two independent operations in it such as an operation to seize the line of the middle Vistula, which would break the spine of the entire Polish defense and should have entailed the paralysis of all the state organism's functions, and an operation to seize Galicia.

It is clear that the operations of the Southwestern Front's Polish wing should have been subordinated to the interests and goals of the Western Front. Only this would have yielded us the necessary concentration of all our efforts on one truly important goal. Any other kind of decision would have entailed the dispersal of our efforts in space.

But the Southwestern Front command, as we now know, thought of the fronts' coordination in the form of two independent front operations along the Warsaw and Cracow axes.

As regards this project, we cannot but cite one historical analogy. Does this situation not remind us of the situation in which the *Stavka* of the Russian high command ended during the World War, when both of its fronts were also striving for independent operations on Berlin and Vienna, in which each of the fronts considered itself the main one?

It is known how the high command then took the role of conciliator and transformed itself not into a higher command organ, but into a sort of arbitration judge between them, and it is known, finally, those negative consequences for Russian strategy to which the Russian *Stavka's* policy led.

We note with satisfaction that our high command found within itself sufficient strength of will to choose at the decisive moment to take that path to which a clear operational recognition and the correct understanding of the situation as a whole was pushing it.

In noting here this positive service by the high command, we must, however, say that it was late in formulating its plan for defeating the enemy's armies, in other words, with formulating its idea for the coordination of the fronts. This idea should have matured earlier and we should have crossed the Western Bug River with the high command's already prepared plan. Did not the avalanche-like offensive, which gave rise to that optimism, influence here our lateness to a certain degree? And on the other hand, did not a certain overestimation of the significance of a possible Romanian entry and the drawing of the high command's attention to the Southwestern Front's Vrangeli' sector play a role here? We cannot answer these questions categorically right now as long as those men who can weave new threads into the canvas of history are silent.

In order to answer the third question as to whether the decision on coordinating the fronts was realized in time, we have to, on the one hand, get ahead of ourselves and, on the other hand, resort to a calculation of time and space.

As will soon be clear, the Polish high command, having devised a plan for a broad counter maneuver, while relying on the line of the middle Vistula, was securing it along the Lublin axis with a screen of 7,500 infantry and cavalry. This screen was deployed along the front Chelm—Hrubieszow. In his work, General Sikorski points out that this screen, with the exception of the 7th Infantry Division, consisted of only fictions, and not of troop units. He includes among these fictions the Ukrainian 6th Infantry Division, the strength of which was less than 1,000 men and the "Belorussian People's Army," which numbered no more than 1,600 men, as well as various Polish volunteer<sup>12</sup> formations which had been organized into operational groups but which did not represent, in General Sikorski's words, "regular troops, either in quality or strength."<sup>13</sup> General Sikorski points out quite correctly the great risk to the Polish counter maneuver, which was being secured from the east by such an unreliable screen.

We had the 12th Army<sup>14</sup> against this screen on 12 August, approximately along the front Wlodawa—Ustilug, at a distance of 25–35 kilometers, that is, one day's march. Thus if the 12th Army had immediately concentrated its efforts along a single definite axis, assigning itself the immediate task of pushing aside the Polish screen, then it could have set about carrying out this task within a day, or at most two days. But as we know, it had the task of turning sharply to the south to the Hrubieszow—Rava-Russka front. The practical realization of this mission would lead to the turning of the 12th Army's main forces parallel to the Polish screen's front, while only indirectly touching it in the Hrubieszow area.

As early as the morning of 12 August the main mass of the 1st Cavalry Army's cavalry divisions were in the Radziechow—Toporow area, that is, 70 kilometers from the Red 12th Army and 100 kilometers from the Polish screen along the Lublin axis.

Comrade Yegorov is absolutely correct when he says that once the decision to employ the cavalry army along the Lublin axis had matured on the night of 10–11 August, then as early as the morning of 11 August it could have and should have received instructions from the high command through the Southwestern Front headquarters as to its new designation. But this was not done. We, however, are now interested in another matter. Namely, from what line and from which area was the 1st Cavalry Army's operational influence on the Polish counter maneuver to begin and was it really that important to catch this counter maneuver—before the beginning of its development, as opposed to catching it during the process of its development?

Comrade Yegorov believes that in order to thwart the Polish counter maneuver the 1st Cavalry Army should have arrived right at the line of the Wieprz River, behind which the main Polish shock group of forces (Fourth Army) was concentrating, and determines the distance by air which the 1st Cavalry Army had to cover at 240–250 kilometers. Further on he believes that even by beginning its movement on 10–11 August (with allowances made for enemy resistance), the 1st Cavalry Army could not have reached the line of the Wieprz River earlier than 21–23 August. Comrade Yegorov believes that aside from the previously mentioned Polish screen, the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division near Zamosc,<sup>15</sup> the 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division near Lublin and, finally, the 18th Infantry Division, which had disembarked from trains, also near Lublin, could also have offered resistance to the 1st Cavalry Army.

It became known from subsequent events that it was precisely these divisions that were part of Pilsudski's shock fist. Proceeding from comrade Yegorov's reasoning, the dispersal of this fist would have thus begun far earlier than the 1st Cavalry Army's reaching the Ivangorod—Kock area, where the Polish Fourth Army was concentrating.<sup>16</sup>

From this it is clear that the approach of the 1st Cavalry Army to the line of the Wieprz River alone would have had a direct effect on the enemy's operational freedom. And we believe that it would have begun to be felt as early as the 1st Cavalry Army's arrival at the front Hrubieszow—Zamosc.

Let's now look and see, was it necessary for us to move the 1st Cavalry Army to this area before the start of the Polish offensive? Yegorov himself lists those benefits which we could have derived from this. Their essence consists in the fact that the cavalry army's threatening advance would have imposed upon the enemy an improvised regrouping and would have dispersed its southern shock fist by half.

But if the 1st Cavalry Army had reached the designated area later, that is, if it had reached the line of the Wieprz River at the moment when all of the Polish shock groups had begun to move along the offensive axes assigned to them, then the 1st

Cavalry Army, in conjunction with the 12th Army, would only have had to overcome the fine cobweb of the Polish screen in order to end up in the undefended rear areas of the southern Polish armies. Do we really need to discuss what kind of brilliant prospects would have opened here for the 15,000-man cavalry mass?

Everything that has been said should be the basis for our following assertions. First of all, the cavalry army, with greater or lesser success, could have been committed into the fighting not only before the start of the Polish counter maneuver, but at the moment of its development. Secondly, in order for the effect of the 1st Cavalry Army's appearance to begin to tell upon the enemy's operational freedom, and mainly upon his state of mind, it was in no way necessary for it to come up directly against Kock or Deblin. For this it would have been sufficient for it to appear in the Hrubieszow area no later than 15–17 August.

Proceeding from the given prerequisites, it is necessary to clarify, could the 1st Cavalry Army have appeared in this area by the designated time, on the condition that it began its movement on 14 August? Considering that the air distance from the Radziechow area to the Hrubieszow area is 100 kilometers and that the daily movement of cavalry is 30–35 kilometers, we arrive at the conclusion that the 1st Cavalry Army could have reached the Hrubieszow area by the close of 16 August.

This means that the operational cooperation of the internal flanks of both our fronts, in that conception which had formed with the commander-in-chief on 11 August, was possible and realizable even in conditions of the late receipt by the Southwestern Front of the commander-in-chief's directive of 13 August. General Sikorski confirms this idea in his work, pointing out that the interference by the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies in the operation along the Vistula was possible and would have played a major role in it.<sup>17</sup>

If the commander-in-chief's directive had begun to be carried out on 12 August, then Pilsudski's counterblow might not have taken place altogether.

Thus the answer to the last question is quite clear. We gave a partial reply to the second half of the last question in the preceding rendition. Therefore, here we will make a short summary of the reasons which prevented us from realizing the coordination of the fronts. These reasons, for the most part, were subjective, that is, they depended upon the free will of people who, in any event, were linked to the matter of uniting the fronts' activities. Reasons of a subjective order, which might not have been and which could have been eliminated, but which created an entire series of frictions which finally thwarted the plan for the cooperation of our fronts, come down to the following: the belated formulation, both by the commander-in-chief and by the front commanders, of the question of cooperation, the belated but quite realizable, in terms of time and space, decision by the commander-in-chief as early as 11 August. Then there is the poor organization of the art of staff work, which led to a situation in which the commander-in-chief's very important directives of 11 August became known to the Southwestern Front commander only on 13 August.

We must consider this reason the main one. This is the failure of the Southwestern Front commander on 13 August to carry out that part of the commander-in-chief's directive, in which he was instructed with the task for a new regrouping of the 1st Cavalry Army.

To these initial causes must be added, by getting a little ahead of ourselves, the following, which began to tell as early as the time of the transfer of the 1st Cavalry and 12th Armies to the commander of the Western Front.

These consisted of: the 1st Cavalry Army's procrastination in carrying out the Southwestern Front commander's directive to withdraw from the fighting for L'vov<sup>18</sup> and to concentrate it, after four days' march, in the Vladimir-Volynskii area;<sup>19</sup> in the stubborn drive of the Red 12th Army's command to develop its main attack not along the Lublin axis, as the Western Front commander demanded, but to the southwest, in the direction of the front Tomaszow—Rava-Russka—Kamenka, that is, to carry out the Southwestern Front commander's previous directives.<sup>20</sup> Finally, we will point out those mistakes which, in our opinion, should be laid at the feet of the Western Front commander. The Western Front command should have waged a more decisive fight for the 1st Cavalry Army's timely movement to Lublin, even when the cavalry army had not yet been subordinated to it. A great deal undoubtedly depended upon the command's demands persistence. But the Western Front command failed to manifest this at the most decisive moment of the operation.

Let us now turn to the opposing side's plans, decisions and worries. It is only by making them manifest to the reader that we can render an all-round evaluation of both sides' plans and decisions and to compare them.

In order to save the Polish state, the Polish high command decided to exert all of its efforts. The call up to the colors of everyone capable of carrying a weapon up to 35 years of age and the intensified intake of volunteers should have significantly increased the Polish armies' thinned-out cadres. The agitation carried out by the clergy among the backward elements of the soldiers and the popular masses was supposed to raise the draftees' morale. The energetic measures in the organizational and propaganda fields were followed by the same sort of decisions in the operational sphere.

The entire course of the preceding campaign indicated that the enemy had to break decisively with his preceding methods of operations. The idea of the necessity of a preliminary rebound for gaining freedom for a complete regrouping of its forces had been maturing in the Polish generals' consciousness. The first hints at the formulation of this idea are contained in the Polish General Staff's "General Defensive Instructions" of 4 August 1920: here it already speaks of accepting a general engagement, relying on the line of the Vistula River. General Weygand,<sup>21</sup> Foch's former chief of staff during the World War, who arrived in Poland on 25 July 1920, carried out this idea more precisely and insistently. He developed quite consistently<sup>22</sup> the idea of creating a new and firm front, pulled so far back into the

depths of the country that they could form the necessary reserves for employment in an active maneuver from both flanks. General Weygand shared completely the opinion of the chief of the permanent French military mission, General Henrys,<sup>23</sup> on the necessity of creating a powerful army on the northern wing of the Polish front in light of the danger which threatened the state's capital in the event of it being turned from the north.<sup>24</sup> We have cited all of these details in order to show that the Polish plan of operations did not arise immediately and was not the creative act of a single person, as certain of our authors think, trusting too much Pilsudski's book *1920*. Marshal Pilsudski was under the impression of the failure of his plan for developing an active counter maneuver from the line of the Western Bug River. The low morale and confusion of those around him had an influence on him. It's difficult to say how his plan would have turned out had it not been for the guiding hand of the two French generals. He eloquently speaks to his state of mind and spirit in his book, *1920*, in the following expressions:

"All our combinations had yielded an insignificant number of forces, the senselessness of information, and the insanity of impotence, or extreme risk before which logic fell back. Everything appeared grim and hopeless to me. The only bright spots on my horizon were the absence of Budyonnyi's cavalry in our rear and the helplessness of the Red 12th Army, which was not in a state to recover following the defeat in Ukraine." Thus Pilsudski, not taking in the situation as a whole, as Weygand and Henrys were doing, saw before him only the immediate danger along the immediate approaches to Warsaw, which attracted his chief attention. We are inclined to search in this for the psychological prerequisites of that plan of operations which he finally created.

This plan called for the active maneuver of only the Polish front's southern wing. The following prerequisites lay at the heart of Pilsudski's plan: the Red armies' main attack on Warsaw would come south of the Western Bug River, while the armies moving north of the line Grodna—Belostok—Warsaw would cross over to the southern bank of the Bug somewhere in the Malkin (Malkinia Gorna)—Brok area. According to Pilsudski's calculations, one could expect only a secondary attack by the Reds north of the Western Bug River, which would be expressed in attempts to turn his left wing along the East Prussian border.<sup>25</sup>

The plan's idea consisted of the following: while resting the left flank and center of the Polish front on the fortifications of Modlin (Novogeorgievsk), Zegrze, the Warsaw bridgehead, and the line of the Vistula River, Pilsudski decided to concentrate in the Deblin (Ivangorod) area, under the cover of the lower course of the Wieprz River, a shock fist known as the "central group of armies," gathering it by regrouping his forces in the main theater and part of his forces in the Ukrainian theater, and attacking with it the left flank and rear of the Red armies attacking the Warsaw fortifications. The armies of the Ukrainian theater, which were dispatching part of their forces to the main theater, received strictly defensive tasks for the duration of



this operation, which came down to maintaining the area of the city of Lvov and the Eastern Galician oil basin in Polish hands.<sup>26</sup>

Proceeding from these prerequisites, Pilsudski outlined in a directive of 6 August as his main defensive line Orzyc River—Narew River—the bridgehead fortifications of Pultusk—the bridgehead fortifications of Warsaw—the line of the Vistula River—the Deblin (Ivangorod) fortress—the line of the Wieprz, Seret and Strypa rivers.

For convenience of control, Pilsudski unified the three armies in the main theater having defensive tasks (Fifth, First and Second) under the name of the “Northern Front,” while he entered into the command of the central group of armies (Fourth and Third), while continuing to exercise overall control of the Northern and Ukrainian fronts.

The mission of the “central group of armies” was that the Polish Fourth Army, upon deploying along the front Deblin (Ivangorod)—Kock, was to go over to the offensive in the general direction of Novo-Minsk. The Polish Third Army, while covering the entire broad front from Kock to Brody (excluding both locales), was supposed to support this offensive by an attack on Lukow with two of its infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade, while holding its other forces as a screen along the Lublin axis against our 12th Army.

In carrying out this plan, the final disposition of Polish forces was to be as follows: the Northern Front (from Torun as far as Deblin), with 72,000 infantry and cavalry; the central group of armies, with 37,000 infantry and cavalry, from which 7,500 infantry and cavalry must be subtracted for the passive screen along the Lublin axis; the Ukrainian front, with 22,000–34,500 infantry and cavalry.<sup>27</sup> In all, the enemy in both theaters disposed of between 131,000 to 143,500 infantry and cavalry. Of these, 109,000 infantry and cavalry would take part either directly or indirectly in the Warsaw operation, which yielded the enemy a more than two-to-one superiority at the time of the operation along the Vistula.

In translating this correlation into percentages, we see that the enemy allotted to the secondary Ukrainian theater from 17–27% of his available forces, while he concentrated 73–83% for the main operation, or its support. However, in turning to a percentage evaluation of the distribution of forces according to active and passive tasks within the confines of the operation itself, we see here a violation of the principle of activity. That is, only 27% of all forces are designated for active operations, while 73% of all forces initially received passive tasks. In such a distribution one sees the influence of fear for the combat resilience of the Polish armies, the morale of which had been undermined by extended failures and retreats and fear for the possible loss of Warsaw before the results of the active maneuver from the Deblin axis could be felt.

The entire operation as a whole was secured not only by a screen along the Lublin axis, which was given the task, limited in time, of holding until 18 August, but also by the possibility of subsequently, upon the arrival of the “central group of armies” at the front Siedlce—Novo-Minsk front, of shifting its communications

from the Deblin to the Warsaw axis out of fear of an attack by our armies against the Lublin—Deblin area.<sup>28</sup> From the disposition of forces according to active and passive tasks, it follows that the initial variation of Pilsudski's plan in no way pursued the task of a destructive engagement, but was completely infused with defensive ideas; its activation had a limited goal—to delay an immediate attack on Warsaw by the main mass of Red forces.

But Pilsudski's basic plan underwent an entire series of additional and serious changes from 6 through 12 August, both under the influence of changes in the overall situation, which took place as the result of the unrelenting pressure of the Red armies, as well as under the influence of the French general Weygand on the will of the Polish high command.

Thus we consider it possible to not halt right now on an examination of this plan's first variation, but to do this after we examine the history of its subsequent changes in connection with and depending upon changes in the overall situation.

Meanwhile, the Polish armies had set about during the night of 6–7 August in carrying out Pilsudski's plan in its initial edition.

Relying on, as its turning point, General Roja's<sup>29</sup> group along its extreme left flank,<sup>30</sup> they first fell back to the line Liwiec River—Siedlce—Lukow—Kock, and on the night of 11–12 August the Polish forces located south of the Western Bug River continued their regrouping. At this time, the Polish Fourth Army, which had to sharply move to the south from the Siedlce area to the line of the Wieprz River, while carrying out a flank march, was in a particularly difficult situation.

But while still in the process of carrying out a regrouping, the enemy began to make changes to its initial plan, insofar as combat reality had bared the incorrect nature of Pilsudski's initial prerequisites. Only on 8 August did the enemy begin to guess the location of some kind of large Red forces north of the Western Bug River. On this day he managed to confirm the location there of units of the Red 4th Army, which were continuing to advance to the west.

This information confirmed General Weygand's fears for the northern wing of the Polish front. He had believed from the very beginning that Pilsudski's plan was based upon an incorrect picture of the disposition of the Red forces. He believed, according to all the signs, that the Reds' powerful fist was located somewhere north of the Western Bug, but had not yet fully realized their intentions.<sup>31</sup> For the time being one could only consider as being established the fact that the Red 4th Army was carrying out some kind of movements in a westerly direction, which evidently had the object of turning the left wing of the Polish front.

This turning movement especially forced General Weygand to worry, because this maneuver by the Red 4th Army could have had not only operational, but strategic consequences. The Polish forces located north of Warsaw, particularly the Fifth Army, were based on Torun, that is, their line of communications ran parallel to the front and their base was located along their flank.<sup>32</sup> This meant that

the slightest pressure on their communications would become extremely sensitive for them. But these communications had meaning not only for the Polish Fifth Army, but for all of the Polish armies in general, which can now be considered to be indisputably established.

According to General Sikorski's testimony, during these days Danzig was the main base of the Polish armies. Here, under the protection of the French fleet, the intensified unloading of munitions and military materiel and equipment needed for the further continuance of the war, was going on.<sup>33</sup> In light of the fact that Pilsudski had shifted the entire focus of his attention to the near approaches to Warsaw, while underestimating the significance of the Danzig corridor, General Weygand evidently believed himself forced to more decisively take the reins of overall operational leadership into his hands.

Thus on 8 August, at a meeting between Pilsudski, Rozwadowski<sup>34</sup> and Weygand, the first amendment was made to the 6 August plan. It consisted of taking Weygand's point of view of the necessity of creating a powerful shock group along the left wing, north of the Western Bug River, as a guide to action.<sup>35</sup> It was decided to create this group in the Pultusk—Modlin area, initially consisting of the 18th Division<sup>36</sup> and the recently formed Siberian<sup>37</sup> Brigade.<sup>38</sup> What is interesting in this regard is that evaluation of the situation from which the Polish high command proceeded in issuing its order of 9 August, which was supposed to carry out the decisions of the 8 August meeting. Having espied some kind of movements by the Red armies toward the Western Front's right flank, but not yet realizing their significance, the enemy proceeded from the assumption that the 6 August order for the regrouping had become known to the Reds. Thus they took this regrouping as the Western Front command's desire to shift its left flank away in time from the attack being prepared against it from the south, to base it on the line of the Western Bug River along the Brok—Brest sector, and to make this sector the base of its maneuver and to attack with a powerful maneuver group, consisting of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies, along the Lublin axis against the flank and rear of Pilsudski's southern shock fist, while at the same time the northern group of its armies would develop an attack on Zegrze, Modlin, Warsaw and the Danzig corridor.<sup>39</sup> This assumed plan of operations by the Red command, more likely its project, coincided quite closely, as we see, in idea to the Western Front command's actual scheme. Such a form of operation, as General Sikorski admits, was the most dangerous for the enemy and, in his words, was an example of the fact that in war we often espy in the enemy's actions that which seems most dangerous for us and imagine such dispositions of forces and intentions on his side which are the most logical response to our own decisions.<sup>40</sup> According to General Sikorski's opinion, the decision adopted on 8 August, given the slightest indications of the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies' offensive along such a threatening axis for the Poles as the Lublin—Deblin axis, might finally triumph over the action plan of 6 August, forcing the enemy to renounce his attack from behind the Wieprz.<sup>41</sup>

In reinforcing the Polish Fifth Army with the 18th Infantry Division and the Siberian Brigade, which according to the initial plan were supposed to be part of the already powerful group of forces defending the Warsaw bridgehead, the Polish high command assigned the Fifth Army a whole series of complex tasks. It was supposed to halt the continuing turning movement by the Red armies in the space between Modlin and the German frontier, to secure the Modlin—Mława railroad line and to prevent the Reds from entering Pomerania (the Danzig corridor). Subsequently, upon the overall assumption of the offensive, the army was supposed to launch an attack against the Reds' right flank, throwing it back from the Narew River to the south, which General Krajowski's<sup>42</sup> shock group, consisting of the 18th Infantry Division and the 8th Cavalry Brigade, was to carry out. Due to the course of events, in the coming days the majority of these tasks fell by the wayside or was subjected to significant changes. But the idea of developing an attack by both flanks of the Polish front, instead of only a single flank attack from the south along a stabilized Polish front, to the Prussian border itself remained and was carried out. This testifies to the fact that General Weygand's guiding idea, upon which he had so intensely insisted throughout the preceding days, had triumphed. The Polish Third Army's tasks were refined in an order on 9 August. Having dispatched two of its divisions to Pilsudski's "central group of armies," this army was to launch a short attack against the Red 12th Army's right flank in order to confuse the Red command and thus secure its freedom of action. Then the direction of the "central group of armies" attacks were established from behind the Wieprz River and, finally, foreseeing the possibility that the 1st Cavalry Army might be turned from the L'vov to the Lublin—Deblin axis, possible measures were adopted to contest this danger, which was that the Polish Ukrainian front's cavalry was ordered, in the event that such an advance by the 1st Cavalry Army was discovered, to hold its advance through attacks against its flank and rear. But, once again, this order proceeded from the prerequisites that the Reds' main attack would proceed against Warsaw from south of the Western Bug River.<sup>43</sup> Thus one may consider that the plan of action took its final shape in the Polish supreme headquarters only on 9 August. It was the fruit of the collective creativity of Marshal Pilsudski, General Rozwadowski and Weygand. The technical polishing of the plan belongs to the first of these generals and the second was the author of the very important corrections made to the initial action plan. Thus one may consider that the Polish high command's final operational plan of 9 August was the symbiosis of the operational ideas of Marshal Pilsudski and General Weygand, but in no way was it the fruit of the former's independent operational creativity, as one might think on the basis of Pilsudski's book, *1920*. We could conclude with this the elaboration of the history of the birth and formulation of the Polish plan of action. But for a full picture and a clarification of that specific weight and significance which the representatives of the French Army, mainly General Weygand, played in guiding the actions of the Polish armies, we consider it necessary to halt on the development

and formulation of the Polish northern shock wing's, that is, the Fifth Army, plan of action. According to the plan of 9 August, the Polish Fifth Army was to go over to the offensive on 15 August. General Sikorski, who on the night of 10–11 August, before entering upon the actual command of the army, raised a proposal directly to the Polish general headquarters in Warsaw (that is, evidently to General Rozwadowski and Weygand) for the following changes to the 9 August plan: to shift the army's base from Torun to Modlin; to renounce the formation of a separate shock group under General Krajowski and to turn the entire army into a shock fist.<sup>44</sup> Both proposals were accepted and confirmed. Upon entering upon the command of the Fifth Army on 11 August, Sikorski found it far from concentrated. General Baranowski's group (Roj's former group), the 17th Infantry Division and the 8th Cavalry Brigade were fighting along the front Pultusk—Przewodowo Poduchowne—Gonsocin—Lopatin. The 18th Infantry Division had only just concentrated along the railroad in Modlin. The Siberian Brigade was on the march from Warsaw to Zegrze, but was turned to Modlin by Sikorski. The 18th Infantry Brigade and Koc's<sup>45</sup> group were falling back together with the left flank of the neighboring Polish First Army from the south. The 17th Infantry Brigade was still in the Lukow area. Thus Sikorski still had to carry out the concentration of his forces before he could go over to active operations, as he did not think of carrying out his task other than through an offensive, because he considered his forces irregular and of little use in defense. On 11 August he saw the situation quite close to what it really was. He believed that significant Red forces of as yet undetermined strength were carrying out a maneuver, as yet indefinite to him, in the western direction. The fall of Pultusk followed in such a situation. This meant the loss by our enemy of the line of the Orzyc and Narew rivers which, according to Pilsudski's design, were supposed to be the jumping-off line for the unfolding of the Polish counterblow. Amendments had to be made to the 9 August plan under the influence of the enemy's will. This meant, in particular for the Fifth Army, the necessity of pulling back its concentration area further to the south. Thus Sikorski decided, while securing himself with three screening groups: the 17th Infantry Division along the lower Narew, Baranowski's group in the Nasielsk area, and the 8th Cavalry Brigade along the Modlin—Ciechanow axis, to concentrate his remaining forces in the Nasielsk—Modlin area. By the close of 11 August the Red 4th Army's deep turning movement to the west, approximately in the direction of Plock, and the presence of another powerful group of Red armies north of the Western Bug River (the Red 15th and 3rd Armies), which had another task from the Red 4th Army, and which was moving to the south, had become clear to Sikorski. On the night of 11–12 August Sikorski reported his impressions to the Polish general headquarters. As one should have expected, the headquarters of the Polish Northern Front and general headquarters paid great attention to the last part of the report, because it seemingly confirmed the opinion that had taken a strong hold of generals Rozwadowski and Haller that the northern group of Soviet

armies, while facilitating the attack on Warsaw from the east, would turn sharply to the south to the front Modlin—Zgerze. Evidently the news of the fall of Pultusk caused a good deal of commotion in Polish general headquarters and the foundations for the decisions of 6 and 9 August were greatly shaken. It is possible to conclude this based on the fact that General Weygand admitted that it was necessary to draw up hard guidelines for the subsequent work of Polish operational thinking. They found their full expression in Weygand's "note" of 11 August 1920 to the chief of the Polish General Staff, Rozwadowski. This note may be essentially viewed as the final formulation of the Polish plan of action. In taking account of its significance, we will cite this remarkable document in full:

On the eve of the general engagement, I consider it necessary to refine the points to which I should like to direct your attention and that of the chief of state (that is, Pilsudski) upon his arrival here.

The success of the adopted plan depends upon maintaining in our hands the defensive line Warsaw—Gora Kalwaria. The Fifth Army will be able to carry out its mission of withstanding and then thwarting the enemy's turning movement on the condition that the northern sector of the Warsaw front from Modlin to Serock remains firm.

Winning time for the concentration of the Fifth Army and the development of its maneuver makes the same demands on the eastern sector of the Warsaw front, from Serock to Gora Kalwaria.

On the basis of information available to me of orders issued and proposed for issue, I am forced to confirm the following:

1. The northern sector of the front Modlin—Serock will be defended by a single brigade and several battalions. The control of these forces has been poorly organized and they may be subjected to an attack by the entire 15th and part of the 4th Red Armies.
2. The Fifth Army, the last force which we can oppose to the enemy's turning movement, should be employed only upon concentrating its forces and along a well chosen axis. The necessity of concentrating forces and the knowledge of the direction of the activities of the enemy's 4th Army exclude the possibility of the Fifth Army's premature assumption of the offensive. Otherwise, this may lead to a situation in which this army, upon gaining a local and temporary success, will be thrown back upon the Warsaw bridgehead, which will enable the enemy to continue his turning maneuver.

I further assume that as soon as the maintenance of the Modlin—Serock front is achieved, the Fifth Army must open it and deploy under the cover of the Wkra River to the northeast of Modlin, resting its right flank on Modlin, while holding the enemy's turning movement, if it has made itself known, and while preparing for an energetic offensive to the northeast at the appropriate time for this.

This morning, general, I pointed out to you the discordance of views regarding the Fifth Army's missions existing between yourself and the Northern Front command (Haller) and I am not aware of whether you have issued the corresponding written orders for this case. Following my meeting yesterday with the French general attached to General Haller, I must confirm to you that discord still exists and that it threatens the successful conduct of operations.

On the other hand, delay in transferring the 18th Infantry Division and the 17th Infantry Brigade, the retreat of the 17th Infantry Division, and the order that the Siberian Brigade<sup>46</sup> received requires, in my opinion, constant observation and the intensification of activity in order to guarantee the timely concentration of the Fifth Army.<sup>47</sup>



Finally, I will allow myself to direct your attention to the numerous fords which, it seems, lie below Modlin. They may create uncertainties which we should avoid.

We should remind ourselves yet again about the final variations and changes in the Polish plan of action which in time had already coincided with the beginning of the general engagement, but which for the coherence of the overall picture should be examined here. General Weygand's clear conception found an unfortunate and not very intelligible interpretation, according to Weygand's "note," in General Rozwadowski's order no. 8576/III of 12 August. In this order Rozwadowski assigned the Fifth Army the mission of "delaying the enemy's advance through Pultusk and Golymin Stary" and "securing the unimpeded retreat of those units of the Fifth Army which were fighting around Pultusk and Nasielsk." Simultaneously, the Fifth Army was supposed to defend the line of the Wkra River as far as Golymin Stary inclusively and, while opposing the Red cavalry, to penetrate to Sierpc, thus securing its communications with Torun. For this, it was necessary to dispatch the 18th Infantry Division to Raciaz and the Siberian Brigade to Plonsk.<sup>48</sup> It goes without saying that the accomplishment of all these orders, which essentially consist of the desire to cover with a cordon the unoccupied space between Modlin and the Prussian border, would have led to the complete dispersal of the Fifth Army's forces. In his turn, the commander of the northern Polish front, General Haller, taking no account of the Red 4th Army's turning movement, foresaw only an attack by the main mass of the northern Red armies along the front Wyszogrod—Modlin—Zgerze for the purpose of capturing Warsaw as quickly as possible. Thus in his operational order no. 3702/III of 12 August, in which he laid out in detail the missions for each of the Fifth Army's units, while completely bypassing the army command, General Haller planned to simply deploy the Fifth Army in a single line with an exclusively defensive mission along the front Dembe—Nasielsk—Borkowo—Joniec, that is, in a half-circle in front of Modlin, while at the same time throwing the 8th Cavalry Brigade to Sochocin.<sup>49</sup> According to General Sikorski's just observation, this order reflected in itself the panicky feelings reigning in Warsaw.

These orders attested to the continuing difference of views between Rozwadowski, Haller and Sikorski. The latter found powerful support in the person of General Weygand, and on the insistence of the latter both of these orders were revoked that very same day.<sup>50</sup>

Only on 12 August did General Sikorski get the opportunity to set about carrying out his regrouping plan. The essence of this plan was in the following: under the cover of the screens by Baranowski's group, which was to come under the leadership of Colonel Sosnkowski, and the 17th Infantry Division, the 18th Infantry Division, the Siberian Brigade, and the 8th Cavalry Brigade were to deploy in the second line, with their right flank resting on the Modlin fortress. Several independent volunteer battalions, with three armored trains and a company of tanks, would remain in the latter. Upon the occupation of the second line by the troops, parts of the screens



were supposed to pass through the line and enter the army reserve which, following the reorganization of the volunteer units would consist of the following: the 9th Infantry Division, 17th Infantry Division, and a volunteer division (consisting of various volunteer groups).<sup>51</sup> Sikorski would preserve a powerful group of forces along his right flank in the form of the 18th Infantry Division and cavalry for the purpose of actively resisting the Reds' turning movement. The entire disposition of the Polish Fifth Army would be covered by the line of the Wkra River.

On 12 August the final link was added to the Polish general headquarters' overall plan of action by the Polish war minister, General Sosnkowski. General Sosnkowski, who due to his position was responsible for the delivery of military hardware and equipment from France, and who was concerned more than the others for the security of Polish communications with the sea, energetically set about forming General Osikowski's<sup>52</sup> "lower Vistula group" and fortifying the bridgeheads of Wyszogrod, Plock and Wloclawek, while concentrating various volunteer detachments in these locales.<sup>53</sup>

We now have the opportunity to set about comparing and analyzing both plans in their essentials. But first we will look at to what correlation of forces the plans of both enemies led to in their final formulation.

North of the Western Bug River our shock group of northern armies, numbering 37,742 infantry and cavalry, was to meet 25,836 infantry and cavalry of the Polish Fifth Army and the "lower Vistula group," with 452 machine guns, 172 light and heavy guns, nine armored cars, 46 tanks, and two armored trains. To the south of the Western Bug River our 16th Army, numbering 10,328 infantry and cavalry, was supposed to reach the middle Vistula along a 120-kilometer front from the mouth of the Western Bug to Kozenic, and encounter up to 33,000 infantry and cavalry from the First and part of the Second Polish Armies, the situation of which was to be reinforced by the fortifications of the Warsaw bridgehead and the line of the middle Vistula. Finally, the initial 6,600 infantry from the Mozyr' Group, according to the proposal by the Western Front commander, would subsequently be reinforced by 26,225 infantry and cavalry from the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies, which the commander of the Western Front had been heavily counting on since 3 August and, in calculating time and space, had a right to count on, for a total of 32,825 infantry and cavalry (of which 15,000 were cavalry), would encounter the 29,500 infantry and cavalry of the Polish "central group of armies." Thus despite the enemy's overall numerical superiority along the Vistula, we should have had a numerical superiority along the decisive flank axes. This was to be achieved thanks to the fact that the Western Front commander had been extending the 16th Army opposite the powerful Polish center, which had a purely passive mission in the Warsaw area.

The guiding idea of the Western Front command's plan was an attack by a powerful right wing against the powerful group of Polish forces in the Modlin—Warsaw area,

with the accompanying paralysis of a possible Polish counter maneuver from behind the Wierz through an offensive by another shock group along the Lublin—Deblin axis, which was to be the best security of the operation. The defeat of the enemy's forces would lead to the fall of the line of the middle Vistula, with the capital of Warsaw, which would signify the fracturing of the spine of the entire Polish defense. Now, when we know from Sikorski's book that the Polish Army's basing actually rested on the Danzig corridor, it seems excessive to us to trade polemics with authors who maintain the opposite. The French General Weygand guessed the entire threatening significance of this plan for the enemy; the depressed mental state of the majority of Polish generals had been too concerned by the fate of Warsaw and the scope of their operational horizon did not extend beyond the near approaches to the city.

When we drew a picture of the disorder and confusion in Polish military thinking in the days preceding the eve of the general engagement, and when Marshal Pilsudski so eloquently acquainted us with his own worries in his book, then the reader should be completely clear as to the worthiness of the actions of our Western Front, which was taking full advantage of the element of our superiority of morale. The forcefulness and rapidity of our movement, as General Sikorski admits, were completely demoralizing the Polish armed forces in the morale and material sense. A powerful group along the right wing was simultaneously securing the operation, reliably covering our main communications from Grodna to Belostok, upon which the majority of our armies were based. Finally, we should note the sober evaluation of the terrain element and its qualities. The forcing of the Vistula River along the sector opposite Warsaw was tied to great difficulties, which the reader may espay himself from the description of the theater of military activities cited by us in a previous chapter. The forcing of the Vistula below Warsaw was more easily realized, if only thanks to the presence of bridges at Wyszogrod, Plock and Wloclawek.<sup>54</sup> Having renounced a frontal attack against Warsaw from the east, which was unprofitable for him for several reasons, the Western Front command, according to the terrain conditions, should have adhered to precisely that plan which it chose. Aside from those advantages which it would receive in forcing the Vistula River, this plan would lead the main mass of the northern Red armies to the elevated Mazowiecki plateau, which was favorable for maneuvering large troop masses, from which there remained but one step to the line of the Vistula River, and from there to Warsaw, which had been completely demoralized by this movement, as well as to the line of the Danzig railroad. This movement would have brought the Red armies around the angle of the Vistula, Western Bug and Narew rivers, which were so dangerous for them, and the fortifications there.<sup>55</sup> We cannot add anything to these arguments by General Sikorski.

But we have also said that we were not able to fully carry out this plan. A significant part of it in the form of an attack along the Lublin—Deblin axis (12th and 1st Cavalry Armies), fell out as the result of an entire series of unfavorable frictions for us. We

will only add that we would have won a good deal if the Field Staff had foreseen and eliminated the technical difficulties and carried out preliminary work for the formation of a southern group (14th, 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies) and organized its control. Then the Western Front commander could have shifted his field staff apparatus from Minsk by 12–14 August to somewhere near Malkin, which would have greatly simplified the problems of controlling the northern group of armies.

The task of a historian is hard if he is forced to write history while its participants are still alive, but while evaluating ongoing events and the activities of people with the dispassionate style of the historian, we assign ourselves the task of studying the experience of the civil war for its employment in the revolutionary wars that await us. We have halted in such a detailed manner on an analysis of the Reds' actions, because the maneuver nature of war requires decisiveness and courage, and particularly precision in the work of the Red Army organisms' control apparatus. We must develop these qualities across the board. At the same time, our loss of the campaign on the Vistula leads some authors, perhaps unnoticed by them, to proclaim the slogan of caution as the highest principle of operational art. By a rendition of the course of events along the Vistula, we are striving to prove the necessity of decisive and bold actions for achieving a great success. We thought that the mobility of armies, their capability for bold regroupings, their capability for overcoming their own operational "inertia," combined with bold and firm leadership and the heroism of the troops are the truest means of organizing victories.

The significant accumulation of unforeseen and extremely unfavorable "frictions" on our side did not yield us the desired success in the general engagement on the Vistula. If critics wish to condemn our plan of operations, finding it too risky, then it must, by not limiting itself only to pointing out shortcomings, either put forward new variants of decisions or indicate amendments to the decision adopted on the basis of data known at the time.

Comrade Shaposhnikov,<sup>56</sup> in his work, *On the Vistula*, examines the possibility of two other decisions: a direct attack on Warsaw by the main mass of Red forces directly from the east, or the defeat of the enemy's Lublin—Deblin group of forces (the central group of armies), with the subsequent crossing to the left bank of the Vistula in the Deblin area. But, as we now know from Sikorski's book, the first combination could not have gone better toward meeting the enemy's wishes, especially those of General Weygand. It would have led to a frontal attack by our powerful center against the powerful defensive angle: the Warsaw bridgehead—the Modlin fortress—Zgerze, while our weak flanks, hanging in the air, would have been subjected to a double enveloping attack from Deblin and Nasielsk (The White Poles' Fifth Army). The maneuver by the enveloping Polish groups would have been greatly speeded up in time and space and, in the final analysis, would have threatened to create a Cannae,<sup>57</sup> Sedan<sup>58</sup> or Tannenberg<sup>59</sup> situation for our dense center. This means that this variant must fall by the wayside. However, comrade Shaposhnikov himself admits that the

consequences of such a desperate attack would have been difficult to foresee, and that “we could not have chosen this axis for the main attack.”<sup>60</sup>

The second variant would have required, first of all, a complete regrouping of the Western Front’s armies toward their left flank. For this regrouping there was, first of all, neither time nor space. It had to have been begun beforehand, maybe even before crossing the Western Bug River, and did this make sense if the transfer of the armies of the Southwestern Front’s Polish wing to the commander of the Western Front had already been decided in principle? Finally, let’s assume that it was even possible to carry out such a regrouping. Then, exactly the same sort of threat would have arisen for our right wing as existed for the left wing. The difference was that an attack against the Western Front’s right wing would immediately have begun to threaten the Western Front’s communications line running through Belostok and Grodna. Besides this, the group of forces suggested by comrade Shaposhnikov would have strengthened the Western Front’s left wing by only 6,000 troops and would have led to the nearly equal distribution of its forces. Comrade Shaposhnikov himself agrees that in the decision adopted by the commander of the Western Front, the principle of a “partial victory” was most sharply apparent, but was, on the other hand, connected with a risk and that the second variant “did not reveal a rapid decision of the operation.”<sup>61</sup> Further on, comrade Shaposhnikov adds: “However, both the political and strategic situations, in connection with the situation on other fronts, demanded a quick decision, and we are not inclined to condemn any risky plans.”<sup>62</sup>

General Sikorski, in his book, *On the Vistula and the Wkra*, proposes his variant of the decision. It comes down to the fact that having established ourselves along the lateral railroad line Chorzele—Ostroleka—Malkin—Sokolow—Siedlce—Lukow—Parczew—Lubartow—Lublin, we should have halted and regrouped toward our left flank.<sup>63</sup> In this manner does General Sikorski refine comrade Shaposhnikov’s second variant, and thus everything said by us regarding this variant relates to it, with the following addition: the regrouping proposed by General Sikorski was difficult due to the state of transportation and dangerous due to its proximity to the already stabilizing front of the Polish armies, the assumption of the offensive of which could completely thwart our regrouping.

In turning to an analysis of the enemy’s plan, we will note, first of all, once again that it included all the elements of extreme risk and was the fruit of collective creativity, with the heavy participation of General Weygand. First of all, Weygand’s interference broadened and refined its boundaries, laid out a clear goal, activated the entire plan and, with the creation of the northern shock wing, somewhat softened that risk which infused Pilsudski’s initial scheme.

We have tracked in detail the birth, formulation and refinement of this plan from 4 through 12 August. Undoubtedly, General Weygand’s broad operational outlook facilitated to no small degree the realization of this plan. In our place, we have noted how Weygand put a stop to the attempts by generals Rozwadowski and Haller to

transform the Polish northern shock group into a thin operational cordon. Weygand found a very capable executor in the person of General Sikorski.

Pilsudski admits his risk was excessive and this is quite just. Basing ourselves on Pilsudski's own admission, we are inclined to consider the initial variant of his decision of 6 August more like a gesture of desperation than a well thought-out plan. Pilsudski saw nothing aside from the immediate goal—the saving of Warsaw at any price. The counter maneuver by the “central group of armies” was essentially one of the forms of active defense and not a broad offensive concept. After all, the goal of these armies was only the destruction of the immediate danger threatening Warsaw from the east; to be sure, the direction of the attack was chosen successfully, but its realization, from beginning to end, hung in the air, which is why Pilsudski himself was absolutely amazed by the results achieved. An amazingly fortunate event, almost unprecedented in the annals of history, saved Pilsudski's scheme from complete ruin. Pilsudski's plan unfolded as a decisive general engagement mainly because the split, which was opening between our Western and Southwestern fronts, offered the opportunity for this. General Weygand evidently held out little hope for Pilsudski's success and personally, from the very beginning, was intensely busy with organizing the fight in the Warsaw—Modlin area.



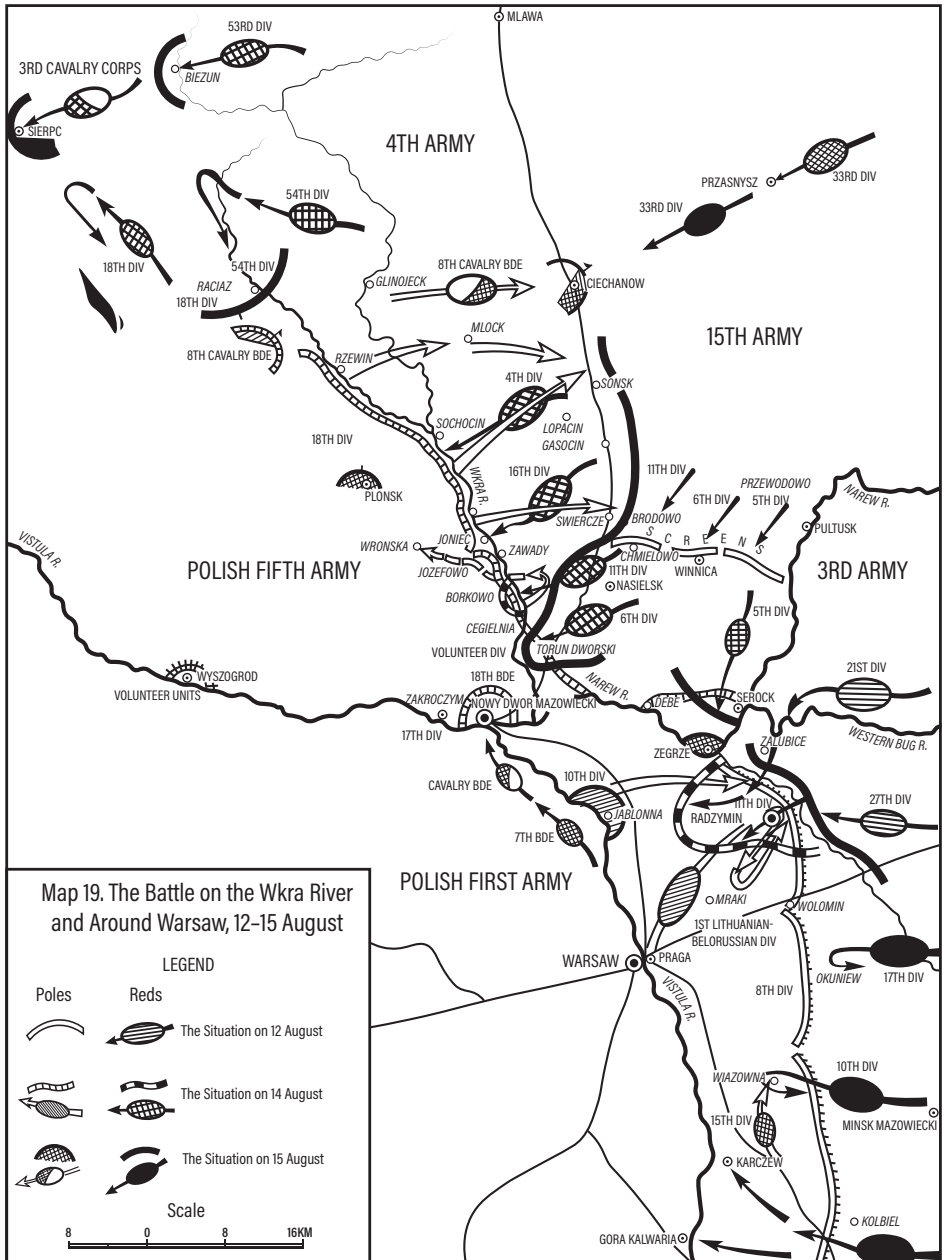
## The General Engagement Along the Vistula and Wkra Rivers

*The March-Maneuver of the Western Front's Armies to the Vistula River. The Beginning of the General Engagement. The Fighting Along the Wkra and Around Radzymin. The Attempt by the Red 4th Army to Aid the 15th Army. The Seizure of Ciechanow and its Results. Combat Activities During 15 August. The Maturation of the Crisis of 16 August. The Red Command's Orders for 17 August. The Red 12th Army's Actions. The Turning Point in the Battle of 17 August. The Red Armies' Withdrawal from the Line of the Vistula River. Plans for a New Regrouping. The 4th Army on the Lower Vistula. The Organization of the Pursuit by the Enemy. Overall Conclusions. The New Front Line Along the Neman. The 1st Cavalry Army's Offensive on Zamosc. A Brief Survey of the Events on the Southwestern Front. New Tasks for Both Sides' Strategy. The Rovno Operation. The Neman Operation. The Pinsk Episode. The Retreat by the Southwestern Front's Armies. The Armistice. The Elimination of the Counterrevolutionary Bands in Ukraine and Belorussia*

In carrying out their march-maneuver toward the line of the Vistula River, the Western Front's armies reached this line in that grouping of forces that had formed as the result of the preceding battles along the line of the Narew and Western Bug rivers, as a result of which the march-maneuver's form took on the appearance of a movement, echeloned from the right, not only of individual armies, but of divisions in the armies. For example, the 16th Army's right-flank 27th Rifle Division ended up echeloned a day's march ahead of its army's other divisions. The equalization of the march movement required time, which, while observing the necessity of forcing the Vistula River on 14 August, there might not be enough of.

By this time the enemy had managed to break contact with our forces and was carrying out his regrouping along a significant part of the front. On 12 August only the Polish Fifth Army's screens and the vanguards of the Red 15th and 3rd Armies were in direct combat contact and were waging a stubborn fight with each





other along the front Goladkowo—Winnica—Chmielowo. But the enemy had no combat contact with the Red 4th Army, and the 3rd Cavalry Corps moving along its right flank on this day and our units were continuing their movement to the west unhindered. This is why the general engagement on the Vistula began to develop from individual battles that arose as our divisions consecutively approached the new line of the Polish front. Further on, new outbreaks of fighting, which had already arisen as the result of the enemy going over to the offensive, were added to them. Having noted that combat contact was not broken off with the 15th Army and the right flank of the 3rd Army; one may consider that the general engagement developed on the basis of the struggle for the line of the Wkra River, with the gradual spread of the fighting front to the south. One of the new engagement's new episodes that arose was the fighting for Radzymin. By the close of 12 August, along the immediate approaches to Warsaw, in the area of the town of Radzymin, the Red 3rd Army's 21st Rifle Division, which had been transferred to the southern bank of the Western Bug River from Zalubice in accordance with a 10 August directive by the Western Front commander, in order to throw the enemy, who was falling back before the 16th Army's front, back from Warsaw, ended up in contact with the Polish 11th Infantry Division. The 16th Army's right-flank 27th Rifle Division also arrived here. The army's remaining divisions were still located at a distance of approximately one day's march from the Warsaw bridgehead.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this, the 16th Army command planned to attack the Warsaw bridgehead with all of its forces, intending to reach the front Jablonna—Marki—Wolomin—Wawer—Okuniew—Karczew—Osieck—Kolbiel only on 14 August.

However, on 13 August the 21st and 27th Rifle Divisions, on the initiative of their commanders, got themselves involved in a stubborn fight for the town of Radzymin, despite the absence of coordinated control of both divisions on the battlefield, because each of them was operating according to the orders of their commanders, the offensive élan and will to victory of the troop masses and individual commanders was so great that the front of the enemy's first defensive line was broken through and the line of battle began to rapidly approach the suburbs of Warsaw—Praga and Jablonna. Meanwhile, while moving its defensive line to the east of the town of Radzymin to a completely accidental and poorly prepared defensive line, the Polish command was guided not by tactical, but more likely by psychological motives. It was attempting in all possible ways to keep the population of Warsaw from being concerned by the impression of the nearby fighting, perhaps fearing an explosion from within of those revolutionary forces which, while hidden, existed within the walls of the capital itself. The threat of the collapse of all these calculations and the immediate danger that had arisen for the capital nearly thwarted the entire Polish counter maneuver.

At the same time that fighting was raging for Radzymin, the most important sector of the Polish front on the bridgehead was beginning to waver, because the

shortest road from Radzymin to Warsaw did not exceed 23 kilometers,<sup>2</sup> at the same time a Polish radio station intercepted an order to the Red 16th Army assigning its general attack on the Warsaw bridgehead for 14 August. In General Sikorski's words, this order had the effect of a thunderbolt on Warsaw.<sup>3</sup> The order confirmed General Haller's idea that on the morning of 14 August Warsaw would be attacked concentrically by three Soviet armies, that is, the 15th, 3rd and 16th Armies. Thus General Haller hurried to see to it that the Polish Fifth Army went over to the offensive at dawn on 14 August, in order to pull back part of the Red forces from Warsaw through this offensive and saw to the commitment into the fighting on the morning of 14 August, in order to eliminate the Radzymin breakthrough, all of the remaining free reserves of the front and the First Army, numbering overall two divisions (the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry and 10th Infantry).

Haller particularly insisted on the fastest possible commitment of the Polish Fifth Army into the fighting, fearing that the Red 3rd Army would manage to cross entirely over to the southern bank of the Bug before the results of the Fifth Army's offensive could take effect. Sikorski evaluated the situation differently. He was not forgetting that "the forces of the Red 4th Army and the 3rd Cavalry Corps were hanging over the Fifth (Polish) Army like a storm cloud, threatening it with encirclement, and in the event of a rapid attack against our (Polish) rear, threatening to completely rout the Polish northern wing."<sup>4</sup> According to Sikorski's calculations, all of this could have taken place in the space of three days.<sup>5</sup> His armies were not yet ready for an offensive. Following lengthy disputes, he managed to gain a delay for starting the offensive to midday on 14 August.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the general engagement was beginning in favorable conditions for us. The breakthrough by two Red divisions near Radzymin yielded not only a major tactical success, which promised to develop into an operational one, but also yielded an incomparably greater moral success. It was the latest thunderbolt against the psyche of the Polish high command. Forgetting about the "storm cloud" in the form of the turning wing of the Red Western Front, the command was once again striving by all measures to save only Warsaw from the storm hanging over it. This told upon the hurried commitment into the fighting of the Polish Fifth Army, the actions of which, in General Haller's view, were not self-sufficient, but were only to facilitate the favorable resolution of the Radzymin crisis.

It seems to us that in such a situation the Red command should have sought to take the Radzymin success to the scale of a partial victory. There were opportunities for this. From 13 August we could have begun to draw together the axes of movement of the 16th Army's other divisions toward the Radzymin fighting. This concentration would have led to the consistent and final realization of the Western Front commander's idea of launching an attack by the 16th Army's powerful right flank north of Warsaw. The nature of the Radzymin battle dictated the particular necessity of establishing unity of control on the battlefield. This could have been

done by including the 21st Rifle Division in the 16th Army. At the same time, our forces did not increase any further along this very important sector of the battle for the enemy. The 16th Army's divisions that were successively moving toward the Warsaw bridgehead also entered the fighting consecutively along some definite sector of the battlefield, which was the result, in our view, of the extremely distant location from the battlefield of the 16th Army's command, the headquarters of which was in Wysokolitowsk, 120 kilometers from the front line.<sup>7</sup>

Bowing to General Haller's insistent demands, by midday on 14 August General Sikorski had deployed along the 25-kilometer front Borkowo—Zawady—Sochocin the first echelon of his attack, consisting of the 18th and Volunteer Infantry Divisions, the 18th Infantry Brigade, the Siberian Brigade, and the 8th Cavalry Brigade. The 17th Infantry Division remained in reserve. The 17th Infantry Brigade (9th Infantry Division) and the 9th Cavalry Brigade were on the march from Warsaw to Modlin. The right flank of the entire group rested on the Modlin forts. All of these forces were supposed to go over to the offensive at midday on 14 August to the northeast, with its immediate objective as Nasielsk. Here we see the manifestation of initiative by Sikorski, who interpreted his mission more broadly than was put by Haller. The latter believed that the Polish Fifth Army's attack to the east would threaten the flank of the Red 3rd Army, which was supposedly crossing the Bug; Sikorski, while proceeding from considerations that the Red 15th Army's axis of movement was directed toward Plonsk, and that of the 3rd Army on Nasielsk, calculated on hitting with an oblique attack the boundary between the Red 15th and 3rd Armies, thus threatening the powerful group of Red forces in the Ciechanow area with a flank attack.<sup>8</sup>

This decision by General Sikorski turned the battle along the Wkra River into a meeting engagement. The fighting around Radzymin, beginning from this day, took on the same character; thanks to the commitment into the fighting here of powerful Polish reserves. It was only along the sector of the Red 3rd Army's center that the engagement had the form of an offensive battle on our part. Here the Red 3rd Army managed to capture Serock on 14 August, but its offensive rush would be halted by the Zgerze fortifications.

The day of 14 August may be considered the day of the beginning of the general engagement along the entire front. The Mozyr' Group entered the fighting along the extreme left flank. It attacked the security units of the Polish "central group of armies" along the front Zelechow—Kock—Lubartow and even captured a crossing near Kock. But the center of gravity of events on this day continued to lie along the Polish northern wing. Only our 4th Army, which was continuing its lunge to the Vistula, remained operationally free along it, while the 4th Army's headquarters was located in the town of Ciechanow, which lay in the unoccupied space between the flanks of the Red 15th and 4th Armies. Shuvayev,<sup>9</sup> the commander of the 4th Army, who was concerned by the delay encountered by the 15th Army in the attempt by

some of its units to cross the Wkra River on the night of 13–14 August, this time made an attempt to manifest personal initiative. While holding in place his right flank along the line Lidzbark—Biezun—Sierpc, and advancing the 3rd Cavalry Corps to the front Lipno—Wloclawek, the commander of the 4th Army decided to turn two of his divisions (54th and 18th Rifle) in the direction of Raciaz and Plonsk to assist the 15th Army. In order to do this, both divisions would have to turn 180 degrees and attack to the east, with the enemy between themselves and the army headquarters.

The energetic accomplishment of this maneuver was fraught with threatening consequences for the Polish Fifth Army. Its main force might have ended up pressed from the front and rear between our 4th and 15th Armies. In order to evaluate the entire difficulty of the Polish Fifth Army's situation due to this maneuver, if it had been carried out, we will turn to the events taking place along this sector on 14 August. Here the Polish Fifth Army's offensive had not developed completely and had not yielded decisive results. As often happens during the development of a major meeting collision, local successes were interspersed with local failures. The Polish Fifth Army's left-flank group (General Krajowski's 18th Infantry Division) crossed over the Wkra River, occupied Rzewin station and had begun to move on Mlock, into the gap between the internal flanks of the Red 4th and 15th Armies, but its right flank, which had remained behind on the Wkra River along the line Sochocin—Joniec was, in turn, attacked by two of the Red 15th Army's right-flank divisions (4th and 16th Rifle). This forced General Krajowski to concentrate all of his forces against these divisions. The 15th Army's remaining divisions were themselves carrying out stubborn attacks against the Polish Fifth Army's positions along the Wkra River, together with the 3rd Army's right flank. They not only cut short the attempts by the Polish Fifth Army's Siberian Brigade, which would have been able to cross over the Wkra River, to develop its further attack, but on the evening of 14 August the Poles' Siberian Brigade was defeated in a counterattack by the 11th Rifle Division and on its heels the 11th Rifle Division broke into Borkowo station, capturing a number of prisoners and a battery.<sup>10</sup> The Siberian Brigade fell back with heavy losses to the Wronsk—Jozefowo area. Further south, units of the Red 3rd Army enjoyed a local success, seizing two forts in the inner ring of the fortress: Menkocin and Torun. The fall of these forts caused a great deal of confusion in the fortress. The fighting was no less stubborn in the Radzymin area. The enemy was able to retake it, but after midday it once again fell into the Reds' hands. Counterattacks by the Polish First Army's reserve, the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division, were unsuccessful and the front reserve (10th Infantry Division) had not managed to enter the fighting at this time. Thus on 14 August the Polish front had been penetrated through our efforts precisely along those lines, the firm retention of which General Weygand believed to be a necessary condition for the unfolding of the counter maneuver by the "central group of armies." The Red

15th Army forced the Wkra River along a significant part of its course along the Polish Fifth Army's sector. In the Radzymin area we continued to drive a deep wedge into the depths of the Polish front. The Polish reserves were already beginning to dry up along the northern wing of the Polish front, while we still disposed of the Red 4th Army, which had not yet entered the fighting and which by this time had extremely profitably won the external flank of the Polish northern wing.

In such a situation, General Rozwadowski appealed to Pilsudski to accelerate his offensive, beginning it on 15 August. But Pilsudski left the previous deadline for beginning the offensive—16 August—in place.<sup>11</sup>

It would not be a mistake to say that by the close of 14 August the crisis was maturing along the entire northern wing of the Polish front and in the center (Radzymin). On our part, we needed just one more effort and some kind of new forces in order to transform the totality of local successes into a single, overall success and in this fashion achieve a local victory in the north before the consequences of Pilsudski's dangerous counter maneuver from the south could have an effect. This is why in these conditions the turn of two of the Red 4th Army's divisions on Plonsk was acquiring such important significance for us, as it meant drawing the army into the focus of the general engagement on the Wkra River, upon which, as is now clear to the reader, the fate of the entire Polish front essentially depended. The Polish Fifth Army's situation was becoming complicated by the course of the fighting around Radzymin, which for the time being was unfavorable for the enemy. This focal point had already drawn in from Jablonna the last front reserve—the 10th Infantry Division. Meanwhile, the location of the 10th Infantry Division in Jablonna was securing the Polish Fifth Army's flank and rear during its offensive on Nasielsk.<sup>12</sup>

On 15 August General Sikorski set himself two goals: to restore the situation along the Wkra River by committing his reserves into the fighting, and to continue to develop the attack with his left flank (18th Infantry Division, 8th Cavalry Brigade) from the Sochocin area to Golymin Stary and Przewodowo-Poduchowne, that is, as before, operating into the gap between the internal flanks of the Red 4th and 15th Armies. He ordered all of his cavalry, supported by a single infantry regiment, to be thrown at Ciechanow.<sup>13</sup> Sikorski was able to detach only a single infantry regiment (4th Pomorze) and a naval battalion to secure Plonsk. It was subsequently planned to dispatch to Plonsk the 9th Cavalry Brigade, which was moving to join Sikorski and the lead echelons of which were expected in Modlin by the evening of 15 August. General Sikorski, by committing all of his divisions along the Wkra River into the fighting, was hurrying to win the battle at any price before the Red 4th Army could fall upon his rear.<sup>14</sup> Actually, on 15 August the enemy cavalry did break through to Ciechanow. In saving itself, the 4th Army command began to wander among its various divisions, thus losing its already unreliable communications with the front command. On the one hand, as a result of this, the front command's orders began to arrive at the 4th Army after a great delay and their fulfillment was late according

to the situation, while on the other the pulling in of the still-available reserves to the north increased, because the 15th Army's reserve, the 33rd Rifle Division, received orders to throw the enemy out of Ciechanow.

On 15 August the fighting along the Wkra River began to take on a course unfavorable for the 15th Army; the enemy pressed it along the entire front in an entire series of extremely stubborn and bloody battles. By the close of 15 August the Polish Fifth Army's front ran along the line of the Mlawa—Modlin railroad along the Sonsk—Swierze sector, then it turned sharply to the southwest, and east of Borkowo it shifted to the line Menkocin—Studzianka—Cegielnia. As a result of the fighting on that day the Red 15th and 4th Armies' divisions were thrown back to the left bank of the Wkra River. Only the 6th Rifle Division (3rd Army) was still continuing to fight stubbornly along the line of the northern Modlin forts. On this day the Red 4th Army was grouped in the following manner: the 12th Rifle Division was engaged in local fighting with a small group under Colonel Gabicht on the outskirts of Lidzbark. The 3rd Cavalry Corps' main forces occupied the Sierpc area, having moved up powerful detachments to Bobrowniki, Wloclawek and Lipno. The 53rd Rifle Division was behind it in the rear. The 18th and 54th Rifle Divisions had concentrated in the Raciaz area. Thus it is indisputable that on 15 August the enemy had achieved a local success along the Wkra River, but it was insecure as long as the Red 4th Army continued to hang over the flank and in the rear of the Polish Fifth Army. For the second time a happy circumstance revealed on this day our intentions to the enemy. In the evening his radio station intercepted army commander Shuvayev's order to the 18th and 54th Rifle Divisions to attack toward Plonsk, while coordinating their actions with the Red 15th Army's frontal attack. Further on, Shuvayev ordered the 53rd Rifle Division to remain in the Biezun—Sierpc area, in order to secure the attack on Plonsk from the north, while the 3rd Cavalry Corps was given the same task in the Lipno—Wloclawek area in the event of active enemy operations from the Torun area; that is, these were the same orders that we know were issued by Shuvayev as early as 14 August.

This intelligence placed the Polish Fifth Army in an extremely difficult situation, because it had committed all of its reserves into the fighting along the Wkra River. Plonsk itself did not represent any kind of defensive advantages. To be sure, Sikorski was promised new reinforcements in the form of the 8th Infantry Brigade (from the Second Army), but this reserve could arrive at Modlin no earlier than dawn on 17 August. In his book, *Along the Vistula and Wkra*, General Sikorski writes in this regard:

The rapid and consistent utilization of our weakness along the army's left wing by even two of the above-listed Red divisions would have led to the destruction of our weak screen in Plonsk and would have led to the beginning of a new battle, first by two and later, in the event of the Western Front commander's order being carried out, six enemy divisions against the rear of the Polish forces tied down in a frontal battle with the Red 15th and 3rd Armies. The offensive by the Red 4th Army and 3rd Cavalry Corps, coordinated with the operations of the Red 15th and



3rd Armies and linked with the Red 16th Army's frontal attack against the Warsaw bridgehead, could have yielded truly decisive results for the engagement along the Vistula.<sup>15</sup>

Upon learning of the danger threatening the Polish Fifth Army, the command of the northern Polish front (General Haller), planned to limit itself to the successes achieved along the Wkra River and to leave a screen there, while the Polish Fifth Army's main forces would be turned in the direction of Plonsk. But the Polish Fifth Army command was striving to develop its success, which it wanted to consolidate by the occupation of Nasielsk, in spite of the danger threatening it from the Plonsk area. Sikorski's decision was supported by General Weygand and led to an extremely original situation along the Polish Fifth Army's sector on 16 August, to which we will return later on, while we will now turn to the events along the other sectors of the far-flung battlefield.

The absence of overall control of the battlefield continued, as before, to unfold unfavorably for us in the area of the Radzymin sector. Here on 15 August was attempted a complex regrouping, which had the goal of freeing up the 21st Rifle Division, which the 3rd Army command wanted to bring in again to the northern bank of the Western Bug River for operations against Zgerze, although this division would have had to change its front on the battlefield by 90 degrees. This maneuver was not successful, because at the moment of the regrouping there followed a counterattack by two Polish divisions (Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry and 10th Infantry) against the base of our wedge, the head of which poked forward toward Jablonna. As the result of stubborn fighting, our units lost Radzymin and fell back behind the Rządza River. Their subsequent attempts to once again take the initiative along this sector led only to several stubborn but indecisive battles.

The attempts by the Red 17th and 10th Rifle Divisions to attack the strongest sector of the Warsaw bridgehead ended in the same failure on this day. The 10th Rifle Division's energetic attack against the central sector of the Polish bridgehead against the numerically stronger Polish 15th Division had as its result the temporary seizure of the village of Wianzowna, for the retaking of which it required the committal of the Polish 15th Infantry Division's reserves into the fighting. This attack<sup>16</sup> evidently so influenced the psychology of its command that in the following days this division, having already gone over to the offensive, operated languidly and indecisively. The 16th Army's left-flank 8th Rifle Division enjoyed a local success along its sector. It reached the Vistula River along a front from Karczew to Magnuszew, occupied the enemy's bridgehead fortifications at Gora Kalwaria and carried out an energetic reconnaissance of the crossings over the Vistula. (See Map 15 of the plate section)

On 15 August, along the 12th Army's sector, there occurred events which were the prologue to Pilsudski's counter maneuver. On this day the Polish Third Army's right-flank units threw back across the Western Bug River in the Hrubieszow area units of the Red 12th Army that had crossed it, by which they secured the beginning of the development of the "central group of armies" counter maneuver.

The order to begin carrying it out followed during the night of 15–16 August. Pilsudski initially dispatched three divisions from the Polish Fourth Army to the front Siedlce—Novo-Minsk, while securing this attack from the right by directing the Third Army's shock fist (two infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade) to the front Brest—Biala, echeloned from the left. On 17 August the Polish First Army was supposed to support this maneuver by an offensive with significant forces on Novo-Minsk. In the execution by the command of the Polish First Army, this task was expressed in the dispatch of several battalions from the Polish 15th Division, with armored units, for an attack on Novo-Minsk. At the same time, Pilsudski set about to gradually disband the Polish Second Army behind the Vistula, while dispatching part of its forces to reinforce the Polish First and Fifth Armies.

Despite the lack of clarity in the overall situation, which was beginning to turn unfavorably for us along the entire combat front, the Western Front command on 15 August and during the night of 15–16 August did not relinquish the initiative and sought to wage active operations along both flanks. Believing that the Polish “central group of armies” had concentrated to the east of its actual location, namely in the Siedliszcze—Dubienka—Krasnystaw area, the Western Front commander ordered the commander of the 12th Army, upon concentrating its main forces in the Dubienka—Korytnica—Hrubieszow area, to attack the enemy in the general direction of Siedliszcze. The Mozyr' Group was supposed to assist this maneuver by an attack with no less than one-and-a-half divisions from the north and was to dispatch for this purpose the 58th Rifle Division, which was ordered to develop an offensive from Wlodawa to Chelm. The fighting here was purely local and did not reflect directly on the course of the entire operation, which is why we will touch upon it separately.

The discovery of a powerful bridgehead on the eastern approaches to Warsaw was confirmed by data on the concentration of major enemy forces behind the Wieprz River,<sup>17</sup> and forced the Western Front commander to introduce decisive changes in the 16th Army's activities. It was ordered to shift the center of its activities toward its left flank and pull the 8th Rifle Division into the front reserve in the Lukow area and to render support to the Mozyr' Group. With these orders the Western Front command sought to increase the security of his left flank after it had become convinced of the lateness of the 1st Cavalry Army's arrival to the Lublin axis. At the same time, seeing in the Polish Fifth Army's offensive a sort of realization of his wish for the opportunity to inflict a decisive defeat on the enemy east of the Vistula River, the Western Front commander decided to “encircle and destroy the enemy group that had gone too far.” Thus on 16 August the Western Front commander demanded the reinforcement of the group of forces along the 3rd Army's right flank and issued instructions to turn the 4th Army's main forces toward the front Sochocin—Zakroczym (in the Modlin area). With this order the attack by three of our armies (4th, 3rd and 15th) was to be concentrically directed against the left

flank of the main Polish forces. We were unable to carry out the latter in time due to the enemy's raid on Ciechanow, and the 4th Army's right-flank units continued to carry out the previously received orders and were energetically striving to reach the Vistula River. At the same time, the Red 15th Army was supposed to go over to the offensive in the general direction of Plonsk. (See Map 16 of the plate section)

16 August was the day of the maturation of the crisis of the entire engagement along both of its flanks. On this day the struggle for the enemy's final establishment on the line of the Wkra River ended in his favor, while in the south the counter maneuver by Pilsudski's "central group of armies" began to develop successfully.

On 16 August all of the efforts of the Polish Fifth Army's main forces were directed at capturing Nasielsk. At the same time, the 15th Army's 33rd Rifle Division successfully threw the Polish 8th Cavalry Brigade out of Ciechanow and this brigade lost communications with its army for an entire day. Then the 33rd Rifle Division began to develop the offensive on Sonsk to turn the left flank of General Krajowski's group. Here it defeated and nearly destroyed the White Poles' 42nd Infantry Regiment.<sup>18</sup> At the very same time the attack by the Red 18th Rifle Division on Plonsk revealed itself. Thus as early as the morning of 16 August the Polish Fifth Army's left flank was in an extremely difficult situation and even on this day the possibility of our local victory was not excluded.

Thanks to an accidental coincidence, the vanguard of the enemy's 9th Cavalry Brigade arrived in Plonsk from Modlin almost simultaneously with the vanguard of the Reds' 18th Rifle Division. The former entered the town at the very moment when its garrison (the 4th Pomorze Regiment and a naval battalion) was already ready to abandon the town upon hearing of the approach of the Red forces. The arrival of the 9th Cavalry Brigade's vanguard calmed things down and the defense of Plonsk was organized.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, by castling to the left, the units of the Polish 18th Infantry Division managed to delay the development of the offensive by the Reds' 33rd Rifle Division. Through these measures the situation along the Polish Fifth Army's left flank was saved, which gave the enemy the opportunity to capture Nasielsk at the close of the day on 16 August. The capture of Nasielsk meant the enemy's breakthrough of the boundary between the Red 15th and 3rd Armies.<sup>20</sup>

With the commitment of the 33rd Rifle Division, we no longer disposed of any more available reserves in order to oppose the growing intensity of the enemy's efforts, and both of our armies had to fall back ten kilometers to the east of the Mława—Modlin railroad line. The loss of Nasielsk was compensated for to a small degree by the retaking of Hrubieszow by the 12th Army, which was our purely local success on this day.

On 16 August, evidently due to those same reasons which predominated on the Radzymin battlefield, the last opportunity had been missed to inflict a separate defeat on the Polish Fifth Army, on the condition of the development of a energetic attack on Plonsk, which required the unified leadership of the 18th and 54th Rifle Divisions

on the battlefield. But the Red 4th Army command, which had not yet received the Western Front commander's instructions of 16 August, after some hesitation once again decided to continue its lunge to the lower Vistula and moved the 3rd Cavalry Corps toward it. This led to the entire Red 4th Army operating along diverging axes and the final loss of control over it. At the same time, the enemy's Plonsk screen was still being reinforced. On 17 August the entire 9th Cavalry Brigade and a significant part of the 8th Infantry Brigade (from the Polish Second Army) arrived at Plonsk. Thus it was becoming quite difficult to count on the success of the 18th and 54th Rifle Divisions' uncoordinated attacks. Having calmed down over the fate of Plonsk, the Polish Fifth Army command decided on 17 August to concentrate all of its attention and forces on the development of the success achieved around Nasielsk. This decision fully corresponded to the situation. By this time the 15th Army had not yet lost its combat capability and through local counterattacks continued to dispute each inch of land with the enemy, who was forced to expend a great deal of effort in order to finally crush its resistance. The offensive by the enemy's "central group of armies," which had just begun, immediately began to develop with a success unforeseen by the enemy.<sup>21</sup>

The Mozyr Group was thrown back to the east and the enemy was approaching the front Lukow—Biala, while at the same time occupying Garwolin in the 16th Army's sector. The size and significance of this offensive were initially underestimated by the 16th Army command, which believed that "for the time being, only" the enemy's "small forces are operating," and the withdrawal of the Mozyr' Group was explained by the exhaustion and overexertion of its units. Thus on 17 August the 16th Army command planned to continue the regrouping along its left flank and to reoccupy Garwolin.

The Western Front commander then ordered the commander of the 12th Army to take the Chelm—Lubartow area with his main forces. The 12th Army command decided to carry out this task by dispatching two of its divisions to the front Wlodawa—Sawin—Rejowiec, while dispatching, as before, two other divisions to the front Tomaszow—Rava-Russka. Thus the 12th Army's front would stretch to 180 kilometers and it began to operate with two groups of equal strength along diverging axes. In view of this, the Polish screen along the Lublin axis managed to carry out its assignment to the end. At the same time, the 1st Cavalry Army was pinned to the Lvov axis.

Throughout 17 August the offensive by the Polish Fifth Army on Pultusk developed slowly, while encountering the Red 15th Army's fierce counterattacks. Nevertheless, the White Poles managed to capture Pultusk at the end of the day.

On this day the "central group of Polish armies" crushed the 16th Army's left flank. By the close of 17 August units of the Polish Fourth and First Armies linked up in Novo-Minsk. On the night of 17–18 August the Western Front command, which had been informed for the first time by the commander of the 16th Army of

the offensive by the “central group,” was already realizing that events were developing along the Deblin axis which in their scope exceeded those which two days earlier had arisen along the Wkra River, which is why it decided to halt the offensive, break free of the enemy and, upon regrouping during the march back, prepare for a counter maneuver calculated to create a significant concentration of forces on its left flank along the boundary with the 12th Army.

The Western Front commander’s directive no. 406/op of 17 August essentially indicated the group of forces to secure our retreat from the line of the Vistula River. The 16th Army was to be pulled back to the Liwiec River, while detaching two divisions to the reserve on the left flank so that, thus having brought it nearer to the lagging 12th Army, to establish cooperation between them.

At the same time, the 4th Army was to concentrate in the Przasnysz—Ciechanow—Mlawa area for an attack against the rear of the enemy operating against the 15th and 3rd Armies. The 15th Army was to launch an attack on Plonsk to secure the 4th Army’s regrouping, and the 3rd Army was to defend along the Narew and Bug rivers, while the Mozyr’ Group was to once again go over to the offensive against Biala. We were unable to realize the complex maneuver of regrouping on the march back, with the casting of our divisions toward the left flank, because the operational freedom of the majority of our armies at this time was tied down by the unceasingly developing offensive by the enemy, who ended up earlier than our divisions in the Drohiczyn area, where the Western Front command planned to form a new shock fist.

The high command, while taking into account the overall situation, planned to gather the reinforcements which it was dispatching to the Western Front, in the Brest area, but the fall of this city interfered with the realization of this plan. The overall situation, which was unfavorable for us, was further complicated by the local successes of the 4th Army’s 3rd Cavalry Corps, which captured a bridge over the Vistula River near Wloclawek and having occupied the village of Bobrowniki, threw its reconnaissance units to the left bank of the Vistula. From here it was dispatched to the town of Plock and on the night of 18–19 August it was engaged in a successful fight to take it, but was not able to complete it because at dawn on 19 August it received new orders from its commander to move on Plonsk in connection with the previously mentioned directive by the Western Front commander of 17 August for the new concentration of the entire 4th Army in the Przasnysz—Ciechanow—Mlawa area.

The two-day delay proved fatal for the 4th Army, because due to this it ended up isolated from our other armies at the moment when the enemy had gone over to the energetic employment of its success. On 18 August the enemy carried out a new regrouping of its forces, while the Second and Fourth Armies were formed from the former Third, Fourth and Second Armies; the Second Army was to be given the sector through Miedzyrzec (Miedzyrzec Podlaski) to Belostok, the Fourth Army through Kaluszyn, Mazoweckie (Wysokie Mazoweckie) to Grajewo, and the

First Army through Wyszkow, Ostrow (Ostrow Mazowiecka) and Lomza. The task of these three armies, which were to change the front of their offensive due north, was to encircle as large a part of the Western Front's forces as possible. The Fifth Army received orders to destroy the Red 4th Army by shifting sharply to the north in the direction of Ciechanow and Mlawa, and, finally, the Third Army was directed against the Red 12th Army. The Red 3rd and 15th Armies, which had exhausted their efforts in the preceding fighting, were unable to successfully resist the new enemy pressure and began to move to the east under pressure from the attack against them. Because the 4th Army was echeloned forward of these armies, all of the enemy's attacks fell upon it and, while avoiding them, was pressed against the East Prussian border and, having twice broken through the enemy ring, was finally forced to cross into East Prussian territory with its main mass of forces on 26 August 1920.<sup>22</sup>

One may consider that with this episode our operation along the middle Vistula, which had unfolded as a broad general engagement, was completed. In this engagement both sides had the mission of destroying the enemy's forces.

The question remains open: why did our local successes against the northern wing of the Polish armies not unfold into a single, decisive general success? In order to answer this question, we should sum up our partial conclusions. The reasons that interfered with our ability to take advantage of our local successes were as follows: the absence of unified leadership on the Radzymin battlefield and around Plonsk; the deviation of the Red 4th Army's main forces to the end from the Modlin fighting (Wkra River), which even further increased against us the unfavorable correlation of forces; the series of favorable accidents for the enemy in the form of the timely interception by him of the Red 16th and 4th Armies' orders;<sup>23</sup> finally, the absence a rapid reaction by some army headquarters to the galloping change in the situation in conditions of maneuver war and the intolerable remove of the Western Front's headquarters from the combat line, which was mentioned earlier. This brought in its wake a certain slowness in our operational leadership, which increased due to the great distance of our field headquarters from the areas of the most decisive fighting. Let us not also forget the law of numbers, which enabled the enemy to develop longer than us the consistent intensification of his efforts along the most decisive sectors of the battle. All of these mistakes testify to our still weak acquaintance with the technique of controlling large troop masses. No matter from which point of view or measurement you approach the operation on the Vistula, one thing is indisputable: the Red command at all levels extremely expertly and skillfully employed the moral superiority of its forces. From this point of view, the engagement on the Vistula is one of the classic examples of military history. But the chief strategic reason for our defeat on the Vistula remains the divergence of the two fronts along eccentric axes at the same time the enemy was being reinforced with new formations by concentrating forces along the decisive axis. The concentration of the fronts for the engagement on the Vistula, which had been correctly planned by the high command even before



the start of operations, as well as following a series of deviations, and which was adopted and laid out by it in the directive of 11 August, was not carried out due to an entire series of frictions despite the fact that it could have been realized in time and space. This campaign, which was lost by us, teaches us better than anything how one should lead in war and how to prepare the army in peacetime.

Finally, we cannot pass over in silence that influence which the disruption of our rear services exerted on the operation on the Vistula.

This is the lesson which we must draw for the future from the history of the operation on the Vistula. While retaining in full measure the daring of our revolutionary military thought, we must be able to combine it with the mastery of the art of military affairs in all its details.<sup>24</sup> This is that path which history shows to us.

The sharp deviation of the main mass of the enemy's forces to the north forced him to subsequently expend significant time on a new regrouping. This offered the Western Front's main forces the opportunity to establish themselves along the Neman River and along the line Volkovysk—Pruzhan'y—Kobrin.

At the moment when the Warsaw operation was approaching its conclusion, the long-awaited offensive by the 1st Cavalry Army, undertaken at the commander-in-chief's insistence, began. It was only on 19 August that the cavalry army emerged from the stubborn fighting to take Lvov and received orders, while operating in the direction of Krasnystaw and Lublin, to capture Krasnystaw within four days. By 25 August the cavalry army had reached the Sokal' area and on 27 August had begun fighting with units of the Polish Third Army, but it was not supported by the 12th Army. Throughout 28–30 August the 1st Cavalry Army attempted to capture the town of Zamosc, but being attacked by superior enemy forces from south and north and not being supported by the 12th Army, it began to fall back behind the Western Bug River. On 1 September the enemy, having concentrated significant forces, continued his offensive from the Hrubieszow area, while the fighting spread to the 12th Army's sector and, following six days of stubborn fighting, the 1st Cavalry Army on 6 September once again fell back to the area of Vladimir-Volynskii.

While the crisis of the campaign was maturing along the banks of the Vistula River, the Southwestern Front's 14th Army was engaged in stubborn fighting within the confines of Galicia with the Ukrainian and the Polish Sixth Armies, while striving to capture the city of Lvov. The fighting along the approaches to the latter was distinguished by its particular persistence. However, the favorable outcome of the Warsaw operation for the enemy was also reflected on the situation and the enemy's increased activity within the confines of Galicia, which forced the 14th Army to partially reduce its front and go over to an active defense along the front Busk—Rogatin—Gnilaya Lipa River—Dnestr River, where the fighting, along with partial shifts in the front, did not lessen throughout the entire first half of September.

When the Red Army's failures around Warsaw began, on 22 August 1920 the bureau of the Petrograd Committee of the RKP published a release. It stated that



“Our valiant Red Army units, which have been exhausted by ceaseless fighting, have been forced to fall back somewhat.” The party’s Petrograd committee and the presidium of the Petrograd executive committee decreed to carry out a mobilization in 72 hours of the very best members of the Petrograd organization, numbering 1,500 men.

On 25 August the first departures of the mobilized men took place and the party’s central organ, *Pravda*, wrote: “Petersburg, that leader of the revolution, was always the city of heroes. It remains that now. When Piter’s workers received the news about the Red Army’s defeat around Warsaw and of its retreat, the Piter workers did not lose their heads and did not wait.”

The All-Russian Central Council of Professional Unions declared a new mobilization. The Moscow Committee of Unions decreed the mobilization of 600 men from the most steadfast and self-sacrificing members of the unions, factory committees and local committees, etc. On 26 August mobilization began through the unions and in Petrograd. The provinces did the same; in little Malaya Ladoga the party organization mobilized 16 crucial workers, and in Novgorod they mobilized a cavalry detachment of communists, while Yaroslavl’ mobilized 52 men, then another 110 and then another 140 crucial union workers.

On 23 September 1920 the All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b) began its sessions in Moscow. The Central Committee’s report cited the figures of the latest mobilizations.

The first party mobilization in the transportation industry yielded 5,905 men, the second mobilization for Ukraine and the Western Front yielded 4,537, a third 5,060 for reserve units, 1,100 for the Vrangeli’ front, and 148 for the Turkestan Front, including 109 Poles, Lithuanians and Belorussians, 37 Galicians, and 102 Muslims, and finally the last mobilization for the Western Front was carried out fully and yielded 5,000 men. In all, 23,420 people were mobilized. This testifies to the fact that the pace of the party mobilization during the Polish campaign was even more intense than during all of the preceding campaigns. At the same time, one almost never encountered indications that the communists had “turned around” the feeling at the front, or had created a “turning point,” etc.

The reason for this is the fact that the Polish war did not mark a “turning point” in the Red Army soldiers’ feelings. From the large amount of correspondence of that time, one may take for an example the letter by a crucial mobilized worker from Petrograd. The letter had already been written following the Warsaw defeat and stated, by the way:

Such an excellent attitude by the Red Army soldiers toward the communists. We, both on the march and in trains, and then in the units, did not see a single dirty look and did not hear a single unfriendly word. The Red Army soldiers are very dissatisfied with the retreat. Many of them only reply to the question as to the cause of the retreat: “I can’t understand how this happened; after all we were within eight kilometers of Warsaw.” Others added: “It’s nothing,

we'll fix things, and we'll still get Warsaw..." When they had to fight they fought desperately. When they had to fall back, they fell back, and while they lost something or other they did not lose their faith in victory.

This picture sharply differs from that initially encountered during Yudenich's or Denikin's offensives. As regards the units at the front, there was evidently no talk of the necessity of overturning their attitudes.

The very direction of the party's and professional organizations' activities during the Red Army's withdrawal from Warsaw shows where the forces should be dispatched now, so that the party and unions could help the front. Both in Moscow and in Leningrad, weeks were conducted, when the various unions deducted the produce of their work for the front: soap from the chemical workers, rusks from the food workers, buttons, aluminum spoons, nails for shoe soles, and field utensils, and thousands and thousands of sets of linen from the clothing industry workers.

At the third All-Russian Congress of Leather Workers, comrade Lenin said: "Gigantic energy and spontaneous action will be required, namely from the workers and the unions and primarily from those workers who are close to those branches of industry connected with defense. *Our chief difficulty in the ongoing war is not a shortage of human material, but a shortage of supply...*" Comrade Lenin proposed "imitating the example of our workers from Piter, who recently manifested again and again enormous energy, beginning with the supply and support of the Red Army soldiers. The main topic of our conversations, gatherings and reports must be: *everyone to help the Red Army.*"

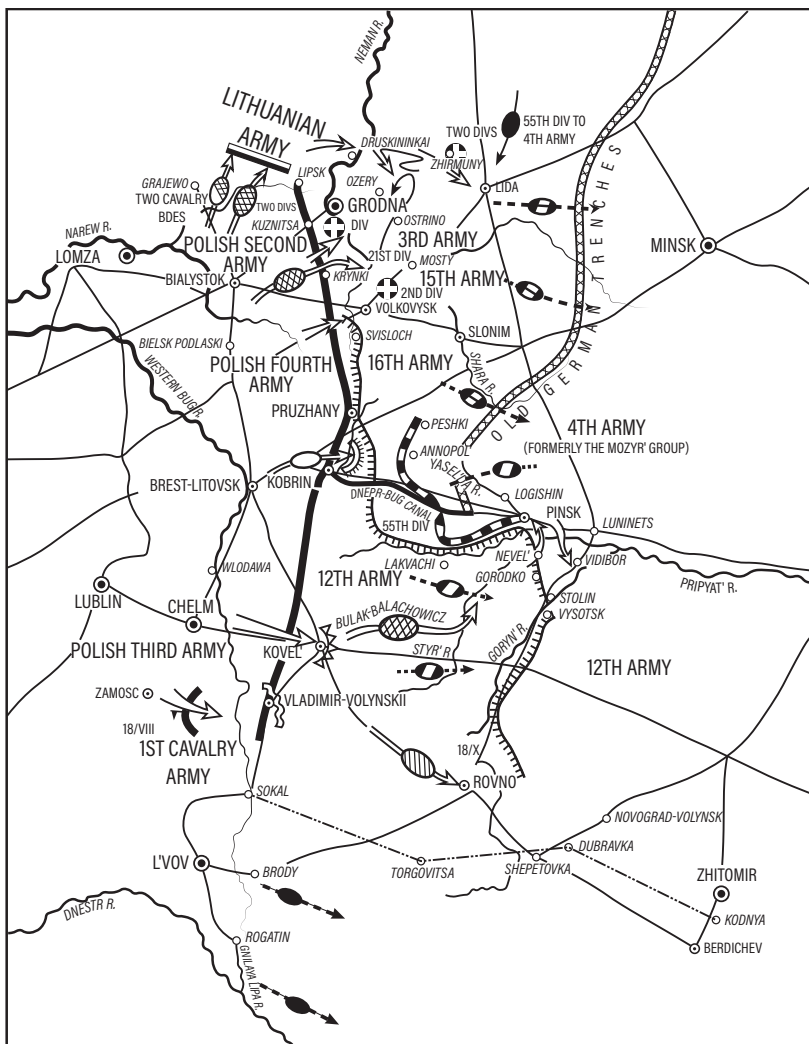
The organizational work of the communists at the front *retained all of its strength and significance*, but new circumstances—"we have sufficient people, but lack supply"—placed before the party in a new way the tasks of aiding the front, adding something new to the slogan: everything for the Red Army. That circumstance, that the party organizations and unions have embarked upon this path, had an enormous influence on the second half of the campaign, along with an entire series of factors, about which we will speak below.

One of the first political results of our Warsaw operation was the prolonged character that the peace negotiations, which had begun in the city of Minsk, began to take on. The Polish peace delegation sought to place the entire blame for the ongoing war on Soviet Russia and on 23 August 1920 declared our peace terms unacceptable. At the same time, under the influence of military successes, the political physiognomy of the Polish government changed and it became filled with reactionary elements, which also conditioned the Polish delegation's intractability. The Soviet Russian and Ukrainian delegations, having put forward their peace terms, proposed that the Polish delegation do the same, although the latter, evidently waiting out the outcome of the fighting, declined to do this. Given this state of affairs, on 30 August, with the agreement of both governments, the peace conference's sessions were moved to Riga.

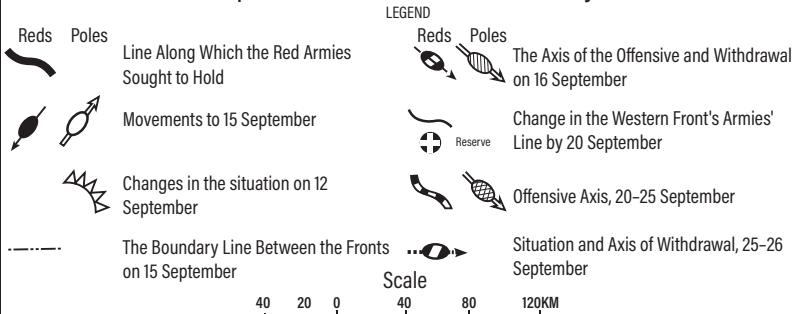
The turning point in the campaign, which this time was in favor of Polish arms, also defined the new goals which the strategy of both sides set until the end of the campaign. For the enemy, they consisted of the desire to secure for itself the greatest amount of territory by the time a preliminary peace was signed, and for us the desire to retain that portion of territory thought of by the Soviet government as the indivisible part of the fraternal union republics of Belorussia and Ukraine.

During the extended peace negotiations, the Western Front's armies, which had become quite disrupted during the retreat, tried to establish themselves along the front Lipsk—Krynki—Pruzhany—Kobrin—Vladimir-Volynskii. The Western Front command planned to restore its organizational formations along this line, to bring them up to strength and to once again assume the offensive. The Western Front commander calculated that by 15 September his front would once again be fully combat-ready and even planned to "initially carry out a preparatory operation along the left flank," with the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies. However, these plans did not meet with the commander-in-chief's approval, and could not be realized because the enemy himself preempted us in seizing the initiative along the southern sector of the Western Front. Here the Polish Third Army, which had been reinforced once again as the result of the overall regrouping of the Polish forces that took place on 18 August, eliminated successfully for itself the 1st Cavalry Army's separate operation on Zamosc. Upon throwing the 1st Cavalry Army behind the Western Bug River, it did not limit itself to this success, but continued to develop it, pressing our weak 12th Army to the east. Thus the Polish Third Army penetrated between the internal flanks of the 12th Army and the new 4th Army. This was the new name of the former Mozyr' Group, which was covering the Kobrin axis.

Thus from the beginning of September the enemy's offensive along the Rovno axis began to take shape. The Western Front command, in turn, was contemplating a new counter maneuver along the Brest axis; on 12 September the Western Front commander ordered the reinforcement of the 16th Army's left flank by shifting its army reserve (17th Rifle Division) to the Pruzhany axis. The 4th Army was to be reinforced by the 55th Rifle Division, which was moving to the Western Front commander's disposal from Petrograd. This division was to be moved to the Kobrin axis. Following this, the 4th Army was supposed to attack toward Kobrin and Wlodawa, while the 12th Army was supposed to throw the enemy back in the direction of Brest-Litovsk. However, on the day this directive was issued the enemy broke through the thin front of the 12th Army's units and captured the town of Kovel' in their rear, after which he began to energetically widen the gap between the 4th and 12th Armies' internal flanks, while forcing the latter to constantly fall back to the east. The 4th Army, following stubborn but indecisive battles around Kobrin, also began to gradually fall back to the east. Finally, the lack of stability along the 12th Army's front was also reflected in the situation along the 14th Army's



Map 20. The Pursuit of the Red Army



right flank, which was forced to fall back from the Lvov axis. On 14 September the enemy captured Vladimir-Volynskii.

In appraising the situation along the 12th Army's sector as the beginning of a new and serious enemy operation, the high command sought to pull the 1st Cavalry Army into the reserve in the Rovno area as quickly as possible. It believed that only an attack by a reserve, concentrated in the depth, would be able to prevent the enemy from entering Ukraine. The decision by the Western Front commander, who was also striving to move the 1st Cavalry Army to the Rovno area, anticipated the commander-in-chief's idea and was approved by him.

At the same time, on 15 September the commander-in-chief established a new boundary line between both our fronts: Sokal—Torgovitsa—Rovno—Dubrovka (along the Novograd-Volynsk—Shepetovka railroad)—Kodnya station (the Zhitomir—Berdichev railroad). In the event of the Poles going over to the offensive against the Western Front's armies and until the completion of its readiness, the commander-in-chief pointed out the necessity of gradually pulling back the front's reserve divisions, without committing them into the fighting before they were fully ready.

The continuing and rapid rollback of the 12th Army was rendering doubtful the possibility of organizing a counter maneuver from the Rovno area. On 16 September the 12th Army began another withdrawal behind the Styř river, in connection with which the concentration of the 1st Cavalry Army was to be shifted to the area of Berdichev and Zhitomir, and on 18 September Rovno had already been abandoned by our units.

The immediate result of the enemy's Rovno operation was the distraction of the Western Front command's attention toward its left flank. The operation, which was carried out by the forces of the Polish Third Army alone, yielded such amazing results because it had to deal almost exclusively with the 12th Army, which was of little combat value and was occupying a broad front to boot. Neither the Western Front command nor the high command was interested in committing the 1st Cavalry Army into the fighting; quite the opposite, they made every effort to pull it into the reserve. Insofar as the enemy had not materially changed the strong left-flank group of forces, which was the result of his organization of the pursuit of our armies following the crisis of the Warsaw operation, now he set himself the immediate objective of "defeating the Soviet forces concentrated in the Grodna—Lida—Slonim—Volkovysk quadrangle."

In the last third of September the overall line of the Western Front's armies ran as follows. The right flank of the Red 3rd Army began north of Lipsk, where it was connected to the Lithuanian Army's left flank. Further on, the front line ran through the village of Krynki, along the Svisloch' River as far as the village of the same name, moving from there to Pruzhany and excluding Kobrin; then the front line along the 4th Army's sector, which rested on the Pripyat' River, moved sharply

along its course to the east as far as the town of Pinsk, moving from there through the villages of Grodna and Vysotsk to the left bank of the Goryn' River, where the 12th Army's sector began. The enemy was almost everywhere in combat contact with our units along the sector from Lipsk to Kobrin. South of Kovel' his forces were predominately concentrated along both sides of the Rovno—Novograd-Volynsk road. Thus the wooded and swampy sector to the north of this road, as far as the line of the Pripyat' River, and the same gap between the Styr' and Goryn' rivers, was almost free of enemy forces.

The chief role in the Neman operation was to fall to the Polish Second Army. It was supposed to tie down the forces of our 3rd and 15th Armies opposing it through an attack along the front Grodna—Mosty and, with a powerful maneuver group through the village of Druskeniki, get around our Western Front's right flank, capture Lida, defeat the Western Front's reserves located there, and thus cut off the path of retreat for our units located in the Grodna area along the left bank of the Neman. The Polish Fourth Army, which was operating along the Kobrin axis, was supposed to assist this operation along its left flank.

In its turn the Western Front command, while supposing that the enemy had shifted part of his forces against the front's southern wing, believed the situation suitable for inflicting a "decisive defeat" on the enemy and placing the Polish Army in a very difficult situation. The Western Front commander thought to realize this decision in the following manner. Upon defeating the enemy's Belostok—Bielsk group of forces, the front's main forces were to change their axis to the southwest, approximately on Lublin. Thus this operation was to also develop as a decisive attack along the right flank.

The enemy's desire to carry out the assigned missions signified the start of the Neman operation—the final major operation in the main theater of the war. The enemy preempted us with his attack, because Pilsudski's directive on assuming the offensive was issued on 19 September. The essence of the enemy plan, as is clear from the above, came down to turning our Western Front's right flank, along with the simultaneous breakthrough of its front in the direction of Mosty. But because the Western Front command, in preparing for its attack, retained, as before, the 15th Army's "ramming" designation, while holding it along a narrower front and grouping in its rear a reserve of two divisions, the enemy's attack hit the line of greatest resistance and not only did not yield the expected results, but even led, following a series of stubborn battles, of which many developed as meeting collisions for the capture of the line of the Svisloch River, to the exhaustion of the Polish shock fist's strength. In the Volkovysk area on 24 September we even had a local tactical success, which was proof of the sufficient combat capability of our new levies.

Just as indecisive for the enemy were the battles along our 3rd Army's front, which was holding the line of the Neman River. A deep turning movement along

Lithuanian territory by a flanking group, consisting of two Polish infantry divisions and two cavalry brigades, decided the fate of the operation, after which the Lithuanian Army was defeated and fell back on Vil'na. Although our 3rd Army could have put up to three rifle divisions against this turning movement, we could only bring them up consecutively and commit them into the fighting along the army's right flank, because one of them—the 3rd Army's reserve—was located along its left flank, while the other, which had been placed at the disposal of the 3rd Army commander,<sup>25</sup> was being brought up by forced marches to the new axis. We were unable to eliminate the enemy's flanking movement with the 3rd Army's available forces by regrouping them to the right flank on the march back. The 3rd Army, and after it the Western Front itself, had to begin on 25 September their withdrawal to the line of the old German trenches.

At the very height of the Neman operation there followed the general decision by our high command which was to completely alter the relative significance of the Polish and Vrangel' fronts in our strategic assessment. On 24 September, in his directive to all the front commanders, the commander-in-chief established as the main current task "the final elimination of Vrangel' in the shortest time possible." In connection with this, the Western Front's main task was the restoration of its combat forces and the preparation for a decisive attack against the White Poles together with the Southwestern Front. This attack was foreseen for no earlier than the middle of November. The Southwestern Front was to have the task of winning time until the arrival of major reinforcements, which would be sent following the elimination of Vrangel'.

The enemy, simultaneous with the Neman operation, while taking advantage of the 4th Army's exposed position, undertook a local operation against it as well. By 25 September this army's front was extended forward toward Kobrin and ran along the line of the villages of Peshki and Antopol'; from here it turned sharply to the east along the Dnepr—Bug Canal and further on shifted to the Pripyat' River near the village of Lakhvichi. The 4th Army's front line continued along the Pripyat' River as far as the mouth of the Yasel'da River. The 10th Rifle Division, consisting of two brigades (28th and 29th) was moved forward to the right bank of the Pripyat' River for actively securing the Luninets railroad junction; while searching for contact with the enemy, the division's main forces moved up to the area of the villages of Grodna and Vysotsk.

On 26 September Bulak-Balachowicz's powerful detachment, while moving out from the town of Kovel' by woods and swamps along the Styr' River, crossed the Pripyat' River near the village of Nevel' and unexpectedly broke into the town of Pinsk, where the 4th Army's headquarters was located. Control of the army was disrupted for several days. Comrade Shuvayev, the army commander, with his chief of staff (comrade Mezheninov), set out for their main forces to the Antopol' area and began to pull back their army (65th and 57th Rifle Divisions, 30th Rifle Brigade,



and the 17th Cavalry Division) behind the Yasel'da River to the northeast toward the village of Logishin. The 10th Rifle Division command planned to develop an attack on Kovel', but lacking the opportunity to operate directly against Pinsk due to terrain conditions, received the task from the front command to transfer one brigade for the immediate defense of Luninets from the west, and to pull the other to the Stolin—Vidibor area.

Bulak-Balachowicz's detachment (about 1,000 infantry and cavalry) was inactive for several days in Pinsk. On 30 September it was relieved there by a brigade of the Polish 18th Infantry Division, after which it began to develop the offensive in the general direction of Vidibor. The enemy's raid on Pinsk had as its consequence a large gap between the internal flanks of our Western and Southwestern fronts. Somewhat earlier the enemy managed to finally press back our units from the confines of East Galicia. The powerful strategic exhaustion of our armies by the preceding fighting, the impossibility of reinforcing them in a timely manner due to the shortage of time and the poor condition of the railroad communications in their rear,<sup>26</sup> as well as the shift of the center of our efforts to the Vrangel' front determined the further withdrawal nature of the campaign along both our sectors of the Polish front all the way up to the conclusion of an armistice, and then peace with Poland.

As early as 23 September an extraordinary session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in order to avoid a winter campaign, which would be a heavy burden on the toiling masses of Russia and Poland, admitted the possibility of softening the initial terms of peace. In accordance with the new terms, the independence of Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia and Eastern Galicia would be established, while regarding the latter the Soviet government would recognize a plebiscite according to bourgeois-democratic and not Soviet principles. Further on, the Soviet government would renounce all of its demands regarding the Polish Army and its armaments, as well as the Volkovysk—Grajewo railroad sector. The state boundary, according to our new proposal, was to be set east of the line established by the Supreme Allied Council on 3 December 1919, while Eastern Galicia would remain to the west of it.

In its turn, the new Polish government began to experience pressure from the parties supporting it regarding the quickest conclusion of peace. The Polish national democrats loudly demanded the ending of the "Ukrainian escapade," basing their arguments on the fact that the Soviet government had an endless supply of human material; the Polish Party of Socialists (PPS) came out for recognizing the ethnic boundaries of Poland and for friendly relations with the RSFSR; the British and French press recommended moderation to Poland in its demands. Finally, on 12 October treaties for an armistice and the preliminary terms of peace between the RSFSR, on the one hand, and Poland on the other were signed in Riga. According to these terms, the independence of Soviet Ukraine and Belorussia was recognized and the state boundary was established approximately where it stands now, and mutual

sovereignty was recognized. Poland took upon itself, on the basis of equal rights for all nationalities, to offer all rights securing the free development of their culture to persons of Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian nationality on Polish territory. Both sides renounced mutual interference in the internal affairs of the agreeing states and compensation of military expenditures and losses. Besides this, the Polish government renounced the support of the counterrevolutionary organizations of Vrangél', Petlyura and Savinkov. The mandatory and mutual return of hostages, mutual amnesty and the recompense for Poland for property removed from the country beginning on 1 August 1914 through 23 October 1920, was established. This treaty was ratified by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, on 24 October by the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, and on 26 October by the Polish *Sejm*.<sup>27</sup>

Following the conclusion of peace, the Red Army still had to eliminate those White Guard organizations which, while operating jointly with the Polish Army, now found themselves within the confines of our demarcation line. Such organizations were: Bulak-Balachowicz in Belorussia and Petlyura's detachments in Ukraine. These and others were successfully eliminated by Red forces during November 1920.

In conclusion, one should note that the Polish government, as the result of the 1920 campaign, did not achieve its basic goals, which inclined to the expansion of the Polish state in the east to the line of the Polish political borders of 1772. In accordance with the preliminary peace terms, Poland received territory of 59,650 square kilometers and a population 4,477,000 less than that which the Soviet government proposed to it in January 1920.

Naturally, no one will seek to deny that the Red Army suffered a defeat in the Warsaw operation, but this was only an operational loss. The final result of the war very decisively differs from the results and terms of January 1920, which in turn gives us the right to assess the outcome of the Soviet-Polish war as a significant victory for Soviet strategy and policy. The war was halted at that moment when the forces of Polish militarism were incomparably closer to exhaustion than the forces of the Red Army. Poland could not embark upon a new campaign without greater risk than in April.

## The 1920 Campaign on the Crimea—Tavriya Front

*General Vranghel's Assumption of the Command of the Remnants of the "Armed Forces of South Russia." His Government's Internal Policy. A Brief Survey of the Crimean Theater of Military Activities. A Description of Vranghel's Army and its Reorganization. General Vranghel's Plan of Campaign. The Disposition of the Red Side's Forces. The Development of the Operation in the Summer of 1920 in Northern Tavriya. The Red 13th Army's Failure in June. The Entry of Vranghel's Army on the Continent and its Initial Successes. The Disposition of the Enemy's Forces. The Red Command's Plan. The Raid by Zhloba's Cavalry Corps. Vranghel's Struggle to Broaden his Bridgehead. Conclusions.*

General Vranghel', who entered upon the command of the "Armed Forces of South Russia" upon Denikin's giving up power, was unable to change and did not wish his foreign and internal policy to differ from that of his predecessor, but only sought to change the forms of its conduct.

Let's take as an example the area of agrarian policy. Here Vranghel' made concessions to the peasantry over the landowners' land, but only by redeeming it over 25 years.

What significance could this law have for the Crimean peasantry, 40% of which (on the average) was landless and which in order to secure the possibility of day-to-day survival became tenants on private lands for a share of the harvest, or as agricultural laborers. The peasant who owned his own land sat on such a miniscule allotment (not exceeded one-half *desyatins*, on the southern shore of the Crimea), could of course not even think of participating in the purchase of private land holdings. This means that Vranghel's land law could be utilized not by the peasantry as a whole, but only by its *kulak* upper crust.<sup>1</sup> As regards the working class, Vranghel's internal policy was distinguished by a bitter struggle against the workers' organizations and the union movement.

As before, a regime of speculation, embezzlement, bribe-taking and administrative arbitrariness flowered in the rear. Having retained all of the negative aspects of the former government of General Denikin, the new regime in the person of General Vranghel' took them to their extreme degree of expression.

The condition of Vrangél's rear may be excellently described by General Slashchyov's document, which was delivered by him on 12 September to General Vrangél'. In this report, which is mentioned in Vrangél's notes and in Slashchyov's memoirs, the latter demanded the introduction of extreme taxation of the bourgeoisie and the introduction of public hangings for speculators.

It's not surprising that in Vrangél's rear, despite the cruel repressions, even during the period of his army's successful operations in the Northern Tavriya, the situation remained extremely tense. Comrade Mokrousov,<sup>2</sup> the organizer of the uprising movement in the Crimea, who landed in the middle of August on the southern shore of the Crimea, during several days (as the White chronicles admit), was at the head of detachments numbering several hundred rebels. The Red partisans harried Vrangél's rear directly adjacent to Sevastopol' and Simferopol'.

A hidden struggle was going on in Vrangél's very army between the "youth" and the "old men." One of Vrangél's historians, the not-unknown V. Nemirovich-Danchenko,<sup>3</sup> in his book, *In the Crimea Under Vrangél'*, cites the quite characteristic opinion of someone who, as he maintains, was a time-honored General Staff officer, who reproached Vrangél' for the young people in his headquarters and for the "*wunderkindern*," lacking knowledge and seeing the sole law of victory in adventurous daring. The high command's authority was strengthened and supported by the advancement of their own and the removal and the deprivation of responsibility of the unsubmitive and capricious (for example, the struggle between Vrangél' and Slashchyov). It was on this basis that such phenomena as protectionism, careerism and place holding prospered.

In the place of Vrangél', a convinced monarchist who was forced to trim his sails and cover his personal convictions and attitudes of the army with foggy and general slogans which, in his opinion, were capable of attracting to the army and his ideas the sympathy of the population, the majority of which was anti-czarist, and in this situation the historian cannot but espy the signs of doom for the entire Vrangél' movement.

On 12 June 1920, when Vrangél's army had already developed its operations in the Northern Tavriya, a plot by the Duke of Leuchtenberg was uncovered in Sevastopol',<sup>4</sup> which embraced significant circles of naval officers and which worried Vrangél', not so much for its monarchist ideas as for the efficacious nature of the plotters' program, which raised the question of immediately replacing Vrangél' with the former Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich,<sup>5</sup> or even the "inexperienced" duke. The punishment for the plotters came down to the fact that the unlucky duke, accompanied by his security agents, safely left for Constantinople, while the remaining plotters were removed from their positions and part of them sent to the front. The "democratic" army met even these measures by the "democratic" Vrangél' quite coldly as an excessively severe punishment.

In the beginning of June the civil administration of General Vrangél's territory was formed. V. A. Krivoshein,<sup>6</sup> an associate of Stolypin<sup>7</sup> and a long-serving agriculture minister in the czarist government, was made its head.

Vrangél's goals in the field of politics and strategy grew along with his territorial successes. Initially, they came down only to the desire to sit things out in the Crimea and to conclude, with the aid of Great Britain, peace with the Soviet government on the basis of equality.

Subsequently, following his first combat successes, Vrangél dreamed of once again igniting the civil war within the confines of the Soviet Union, relying for this on the Don and Kuban' Cossacks and the Ukrainian *kulaks*. But Vrangél's political wager, as we will see, was a losing one.

In the military-geographical sense, the Crimea-Tavriya theater presented sharp differences from the Ukrainian and Belorussian theaters of military operations.

A considerable difference existed between the separate parts of the theater itself. Its continental part (northern) was distinguished by its plain-steppe and open terrain, which was very favorable for operations by significant masses of cavalry. The population was quite dense and was grouped in inhabited locales, which were large but located far from each other. The network of dirt roads was quite developed, with railroads poorly developed. The population was sufficiently homogenous as to nationality; in the class sense, it was overwhelmingly peasant, with quite a significant *kulak* stratum.

Its Crimean sector, which was connected to the continental part of the theater like an appendage on two narrow appendages in the form of the Chongar and Perekop isthmuses, was also plain and steppe as the Northern Tavriya along a significant part of its length, but without being abundant in local resources. The Perekop and Chongar narrows tied troop operations in this theater to specific operational axes leading to the main ports on the Black Sea—Sevastopol' and Feodosiya. The extreme southern part of the theater—the southern Crimean coast—was sharply mountainous in character, but during the course of the campaign ended up outside the area of the main military operations.

The Perekop and Chongar isthmuses, given their existing fortification and the dominance of the enemy fleet in the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, could have presented significant difficulties for troops attempting to penetrate into the Crimea from the north. Due to their narrowness, they also had to unfavorably influence the operations of troops trying to exit the Crimea into the continent by constraining their deployment. The above-enumerated features of these isthmuses defined the accurate military name for the Crimea as the "Crimean bottle," and the Chongar and, mainly the Perekop isthmuses were the neck of this bottle.

The basis of the enemy's armed forces in the Crimean theater was the former "Volunteer" Army, which General Vrangél renamed the "Russian" Army. In transforming itself into a professional army of hirelings, the Volunteer Army rapidly

acquired their characteristic features. Discipline in this army soon began to take on a very original form: the electoral principle began to establish itself in it, not only regarding lower, but higher commanders as well. The latter, in order not to lose their popularity, had to close their eyes to the troops' pillaging and excesses.

Individual generals waged a bitter struggle between themselves for primacy.

General Vrangeli, upon entering upon the command in April<sup>8</sup> of the remnants of the Volunteer and Cossack armies, as his first duty finally erased the traces of oppositionist attitudes among the Cossack troops, removing from power those generals whose rivalry he feared.

With the formal agreement of the weak-willed Don *ataman* Bogayevskii,<sup>9</sup> who had been transformed by Vrangeli into a parade figure, Vrangeli removed General Sidorin from the command of the Don Corps, the corps' chief of staff, Kel'chevskii,<sup>10</sup> and the head of the political section (and there was such an administration), Count Du-Shail,<sup>11</sup> who had conducted a campaign against Vrangeli in the newspaper *The Don Courier*, and handed them over to a military-field court. The latter sentenced both generals to hard labor and, General Vrangeli, taking advantage of this, magnanimously pardoned the rebels by limiting himself to driving them from the army. Simultaneously, General Vrangeli began to take measures to bring General Slashchyov to heel.

Having thus strengthened his position, Vrangeli set about energetically reorganizing his armed forces and putting them in order. The entire army was organized into four corps. In view of the great shortage of horses, the Don and Kuban' cavalry was temporarily turned into infantry. Vrangeli's reorganization work continued throughout April and May and went about almost unhindered, because at this time the forces and attention of the Soviet command had been distracted by events taking place on the Polish front. Thanks to this circumstance, Vrangeli managed by the end of May 1920 to bring unhindered the strength of his armed forces to 20,000 and more infantry and cavalry.

In the beginning of June 1920 Vrangeli's army, under the cover of Slashchyov's corps, which was holding the Perekop and Chongar isthmuses, was completing his reorganization: the Red 13th Army (the Latvian, 52nd, 3rd and 46th Rifle Divisions and the 85th and 124th Rifle Brigades), numbering only 12,765 infantry and cavalry, was deployed against Slashchyov's corps along the front Skadovsk—Genichesk—Kirillovka and then to Nogaisk. The army's 15th Rifle Division was supposed to be part of the Ukrainian right bank's forces and reached Kakhovka at the end of April, while the Comrade Blinov 2nd Cavalry Division was stationed in the area of the village of Petrovskoye.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout May 1920 the 13th Army made several attempts to force the isthmuses and to invade the confines of the Crimea, but all of these attempts were beaten off by the enemy. In the beginning of June it was preparing to repeat this operation on a broader scale, but was preempted by the surprising animation of Vrangeli's army.

This animation in General Vrangel's army was the result of causes not so much political or strategic as economic. The enormous mass of refugees which had crowded into the Crimea, had completely destroyed its food supplies, which placed on the agenda the question of the possibility of the further physical existence of Vrangel's very army, which by this time numbered 22,000 infantry and 4,600 cavalry (rounded out).<sup>13</sup>

Thus as early as the middle of May, General Vrangel', as he writes in his memoirs, had drawn up a plan for a summer campaign, which came down to the following: 1) the movement of the army to the line Berdyansk—Pologi—Aleksandrovsk<sup>14</sup>—Dnepr River; 2) operations to capture the Taman' peninsula for the purpose of creating new seats of struggle along the Kuban'; 3) the movement to the line Rostov—Taganrog—the Donets coal area—Grishino station—Sinelnikovo station; 4) the clearing of the Don and Kuban' of Reds (the Cossacks were supposed to furnish troops to continue the struggle).

Fortress-type fortifications were to be erected on the Crimean isthmuses for the purpose of securing the main base of the White south's armed forces—the Crimea.<sup>15</sup>

In undertaking his operation to break into the continent, Vrangel' went contrary to the wishes of the British government, which is why the latter formally renounced any responsibility for the subsequent fate of the remnants of the "Army Forces of South Russia."

On 5 June the 13th Army was positioned as follows: the army's main forces were along the Perekop axis. The group under comrade Raudmets,<sup>16</sup> the commander of the 52nd Rifle Division (the Latvian Division, 52nd Division, the 124th and 85th Rifle Brigades, and the 3rd Division), which was concentrated here, occupied the front Preobrazhenka (12 kilometers northwest of Perekop)—Pervo-Konstantinovka, was preparing for its latest offensive. This group's units, which had been severely worn down in the April (in the middle of April the Whites carried out a tactically successful landing on the group's right flank in the area of the port of Khorly) and May fighting, had not yet been brought up to strength. (See Map 17 of the plate section) Along the Sal'kovo axis the very weak 46th Division was blocking the enemy's exit from the Chongar peninsula in the area of Sal'kovo station and the exit from the Arbat spit near Genichesk.

Military operations along both isthmuses had taken on a positional character. Both sides had entrenched and had partially girded their front with wire. The 13th Army's main units, which had already been morally broken down to a significant degree in the unsuccessful fighting to capture the isthmuses, were losing their combat capability even more so due to the unaccustomed positional "stalemate." The operational coordination (particularly as regards communications) of both groups was not secured. The northern shores of the Sivash between the groups were occupied by a weak and extended cordon of the 124th Brigade (42nd Division). Several days before the beginning of decisive events, Blinov's cavalry division, which had been



directed to the Novo-Nikolayevka—Novo-Pokrovka—Gromovka area to the army reserve, where it had concentrated by 3 June, arrived in the area, on the march, from the Caucasus Front. The 13th Army, as opposed to Vrangeli's army, had not made use of the break in combat operations in order to pull back a significant part of its forces into the rear for the purpose of putting them in order and to rest and refit. The units, which were crammed around the isthmuses, continued to be held in a state of combat tension and were losing their strength in petty undertakings of a purely positional nature. If one were to evaluate the disposition of the 13th Army's units before the decisive events, then one must admit that the army was completely unprepared for defending Northern Tavriya. At the same time, the 13th Army and front command, which hesitated over an extended period to undertake a decisive offensive, at the same time, despite the events on the Polish front, did not consider it possible to go over to a temporary defense involving the army's regrouping. The echelonment of the army in depth was absent. The rear services were organized poorly. The Perekop group was based on Kakhovka and partially on the single Sal'kovo—Melitopol' railroad, on which the army's remaining units were also based. The main communications lines leading to this main railroad ran as far as Melitopol' along the Sea of Azov, upon which the Whites' fleet continued to dominate. The army's withdrawal plan, despite the extremely difficult conditions of such a withdrawal, which would have to be carried out in a space limited, on the one hand, by the Dnepr River, and on the other by the sea, had not been worked out by the command, which continued to carelessly look only forward. On the eve of decisive events, the 15th Division, which had arrived from the Caucasus Front and was designated for reinforcing the Perekop group's shock fist, was once again removed from the army and sent to the Polish front on orders from the front commander.

The 13th Army's situation was also worsening due to the fact that the Makhno movement, which had raised its head in its immediate rear, was also distracting a part of its forces to deal with it and in this manner dispersed the command's will and attention.

Vrangeli's plan, which was enumerated in his directive of 3 June, consisted in, upon landing General Slashchiov's II Corps in the Melitopol' area for an attack against the rear of the Reds' Perekop group, simultaneous with an attack by the I Army Corps (General Kutepov) and the composite corps (General Pisarev)<sup>17</sup> through the isthmuses to defeat the 13th Army and to throw it behind the Dnepr. In order to carry out this plan, Vrangeli's army occupied the following jumping-off position:

Pisarev's composite corps (the Kuban' Division and the 3rd Cavalry Division) was grouped along the Chongar axis;

General Abramov's<sup>18</sup> Don Corps (2nd and 3rd Don Divisions and the Don Brigade) remained in the high command's reserve in the area of Dzhankoi station;

General Kutepov's I Army Corps (the Drozdovskii, Kornilov and Markov Divisions, and the 1st and 2nd Cavalry Divisions) had concentrated along the

Perekop isthmus; the chief task of defeating the opposing 13th Army's main forces was entrusted to this corps, which consisted of Vrangél's best units and which in its time was the shock core of General Denikin's Volunteer Army;

General Slashchyov's II Army Corps (13th and 34th Infantry Divisions and the Terek-Astrakhan' Cavalry Brigade), which had embarked on transports in Feodosiya, set out, accompanied by the fleet's combat vessels to the Kirillovka area (near Melitopol'), to carry out the landing operation. Vrangél' placed great hopes on the actions of the landing corps (the landings carried out in the middle of April in the area of the port of Khorly and in the same area of Kirillovka were a sort of rehearsal for General Slashchyov's landing operations).

In his notes Vrangél' puts the overall strength of his army by the start of decisive operations at about 25,000 infantry and cavalry (against the Reds' 15,000–16,000 infantry and 3,000–4,000 cavalry, according to his evidently somewhat exaggerated data), while the composite and Don Corps had almost no horses and had to act as infantry.

The operation unfolded as follows:

General Slashchyov's corps, which had been loaded onto ships (about 28) in Feodosiya, was sighted at 0200 on 6 June in the Sea of Azov and at 1000 the landing began from these ships south of Kirillovka, while the village of Yefremovka had been occupied to secure the landing.

In order to distract the Reds' attention from the main landing site near the village of Kirillovka, the enemy carried out demonstrative landing operations along the Perekop group's right flank. After midday two steamships towing barges were spotted eight kilometers south of the village of Alekseyevka in the Karkinit Bay and, having shelled the settlement of Khorly, dropped anchor.

Undoubtedly, General Slashchyov's immediate objective was the seizure of Melitopol' and thus the cutting of the single route upon which the 13th Army's forces were based; at the same time, the actions of Slashchyov's corps were supposed to ease the exit from the "Crimean bottle" of the remaining corps of Vrangél's army.

The 13th Army command, upon receiving information of the landing in the area of the village of Kirillovka and in the area of the settlement of Khorly, reacted to this in the following manner (13th Army order no. 078 of 6/VI).

The commander of the group of forces along the Perekop axis was ordered to hold the positions blocking the exit from the Perekop isthmus and to unfailingly keep an eye on the shore of Karkinit Bay and to have in reserve no less than one rifle brigade against a possible enemy landing in the Kalanchak area.

Comrade Nesterovich's<sup>19</sup> group (124th and 85th Rifle Brigades and the 42nd Cavalry Regiment) was to remain in the Pervo-Konstantinovka—Vladimirovka—Strogonovka area and, in the event of the enemy going over to the offensive, to operate against his flank and rear and to deprive him of the opportunity of exiting from the Perekop isthmus. This group was entrusted with observing the shoreline

of the Sivash along the Pervo-Konstantinovka—Lake Over'yanovka sector and maintaining close contact with the 46th Rifle and 2nd Cavalry Divisions.

The chief of the 46th Rifle Division was ordered to stubbornly defend his positions near Sal'kovo and to eliminate the enemy landing near the village of Kirillovka. In order to carry out the latter task, the 138th Rifle Brigade, which was in the army reserve, was to be once again transferred to the commander of the 46th Rifle Division, as well as the garrison of Melitopol' and the armored trains operating along the internal front; the 138th Rifle Brigade was to be dispatched to the Bol'shoi Utyug area, and the 2nd Cavalry Division, while remaining in the army reserve, was supposed to concentrate in the area of the village of Petrovskoye no later than midday on 7 June.

In their turn, on 7 June the I Army Corps (General Kutepov) and the composite corps (General Pisarev) of Vrangel's army, while supporting their infantry units with cavalry, tanks and armored trains, moved onto the continent through the Perekop and Sal'kovo isthmuses.

The enemy was seeking to defeat our units for the purpose of throwing them from the Perekop sector and to turn our Perekop group's flank from the east.

Fighting flared up along the Sal'kovo axis in the area south of Rozhdestvenskoye and Rykovo.

The enemy's amphibious attempt, which landed near Kirillovka, to break through to Volkaneshty was beaten back.

A number of stubborn battles took place, predominantly meeting ones, in which the Reds' divisions, which had regrouped during the course of these combat events, sought to delay the enemy's offensive through counterattacks and to throw him back into the Crimea. The liveliest fighting flared up along the Perekop axis. The Reds' 3rd Division and 85th Brigade, which had fallen back to the east (Pervo-Konstantinovka and Vladimirovka), launched fierce counterattacks, while striving to cut off from the isthmus the Whites who had broken through to the north. During the day Pervo-Konstantinovka changed hands twice and by night remained in the Reds' hands, despite the fierce resistance of the Whites who committed into the fighting their reserve—the Drozdovskii Division and tank units which took part in the breakthrough of the Reds' Perekop fortifications. By evening the Latvian Division had fallen back to the Chaplinka area, having lost tactical coordination with the Pervo-Konstantinovka group. Here we see that some of the battles turned out successfully for the Reds. Combat operations during the first period were broken down into three independent centers—Perekop, Sal'kovo and Melitopol', without these centers' immediate tactical coordination.

In order to eliminate the Whites' breakthrough, the 13th Army command took the following measures (the 13th Army commander's order no. 079 of 7/VI).

The group of forces along the Perekop axis was entrusted to restore the situation as soon as possible and through an attack in the flank and rear to destroy the enemy

who had surged forward. Upon completing this task, it was to carry out the earlier directives, while preventing the enemy's exit from the Perekop narrows and his carrying out of a landing along the shore of Karkinit Bay.

The 46th Rifle Division was to eliminate through decisive and energetic actions the enemy who had broken through along the Sal'kovo axis, attacking him from the Gromovka—Novo-Troitskoye area in the flank and rear. At the same time, the commander of the 46th Division was ordered to eliminate the enemy who had landed near Atmanai and Kirillovka. The Comrade Blinov 2nd Cavalry Division, upon concentrating in the area of the village of Petrovskoye, was to be subordinated to the commander of the 46th Division.

It was only on 8 June, having somewhat moderated the pace and intensity of its offensive to the north, that the Whites' I Corps managed to break the resistance of the Reds' Pervo-Konstantinovka group, creating through a flanking movement by General Morozov's<sup>20</sup> 2nd Cavalry Division a threat to its open right flank, which was left hanging due to the withdrawal of Raudmets's group. On the other hand, on 8 June the Whites' situation was growing worse along the Chongar axis, despite the fact that the breakthrough of the Sal'kovo position, which had been accomplished the previous evening with the assistance of tanks, had not demanded particular intensity from General Pisarev's corps. The 46th Division, whose main forces had fallen back to the northwest following the loss of the Sal'kovo position, established tactical cooperation on the night of 7–8 June with the Comrade Blinov 2nd Cavalry Division, which had been transferred to the Petrovskoye area and subordinated to the commander of the 46th Division. General Pisarev's flank screen got into a stubborn fight with these units in the Novo-Mikhailovka area, at the same time that the corps' lead units were already arriving at the line Yuritsino station—the village of Rozhdestvenskoye.

On the night of 8–9 June the Blinov Cavalry Division, having broken through the Whites' screen, broke into Novo-Mikhailovka in a bold raid, seizing machine guns and several hundred prisoners, including the headquarters of the 3rd Cavalry Division (General Revishin was captured).<sup>21</sup>

Despite these individual tactical successes, the 13th Army's operational situation continued to remain extremely tense. Unit control had been disrupted. The Pervo-Konstantinovka group, the 46th Division and the Blinov Cavalry Division had only radio communications with the army, which frequently did not work due to the movements of the headquarters. The delivery of combat supplies was disrupted.

The reverse transfer of the 15th Division, which had already had time to cross the only bridge near Kakhovka to the right bank of the Dnepr, was drawn out. The division was actually committed into the fighting when (on 10 June in the area of the Black Valley) the weakened 52nd and Latvian Divisions were almost incapable of active operations.

On 10 June Slashchyov, who had been moving very slowly despite the obvious numerical superiority of his forces over those composite units which had been put up against him by the 13th Army commander,<sup>22</sup> finally occupied the city of Melitopol'. General Slashchyov continued to fight during 10–12 June in the Melitopol' area, while spreading quite slowly to the west and barely beating off the constantly increasing pressure of the 13th Army's units (comrade Latsis's<sup>23</sup> group) from the north.

On 9 June the situation along the Chongar axis continued to remain difficult for the Whites. It was along this sector that Vranghel' gradually committed his reserve, the Don Corps, into the fighting.

On 10 June the Blinov Cavalry Division defeated the Kuban' Division with a vigorous attack and, having taken prisoners and a battery, came close to seizing Novo-Alekseyevka. This episode wraps up the heroic resistance of the individual units of the 13th Army.

The seizure of Melitopol' led to the final disruption of the army's command and control. The units' operational cooperation became impossible. The 13th Army headquarters searched for its forces by radio. During this time, 10–12 June, the situation of the 13th Army's forces, which could no longer be controlled, might have become truly catastrophic, but the combat elan of Vranghel's forces had already begun to slacken in the fighting. Instead of a vigorous pursuit, Vranghel's forces barely followed up behind the retreating Reds. Vranghel's headquarters expended a great deal of time in order to get control over its scattered units and to secure their operational coordination.

On 12 June the Whites' Perekop group seized Kakhovka and Aleshki, while the 52nd and Latvian Divisions fell back near Kakhovka to the right bank of the Dnepr, destroying the crossing behind them, and the 13th Army's remaining units were in a general withdrawal to the northeast between the Dnepr and Melitopol'. On 12 June Vranghel' issued a directive for the pursuit, in which Slashchyov, instead of an attack against the rear of the retreating Red forces, was given the task of holding Melitopol'; the remaining forces were to hold their captured territory and continue the pursuit. Thus having achieved major tactical successes and having seized a significant amount of territory, Vranghel' nevertheless did not achieve his main goal—the defeat of the 13th Army and its retreat behind the Dnepr.

In the development of the operation to enter the continent, which was favorable for the Whites, the decisive role was played by Slashchyov's landing. It is necessary to note that the landing site was chosen successfully. It was near the 13th Army's forward bases in Melitopol' and close to the single main railroad along which the entire supply of the 13th Army was carried out.

Lacking the opportunity to delay the enemy along the exits from the Crimean bottle, the 13th Army had ended up in a difficult situation. Slashchyov's corps, which occupied Melitopol' on 10 June, could have pinned it with a flank attack to

the flats of the Dnepr's lower course, along the sector where there were no crossings. However, this did not happen: while waging a series of stubborn rearguard battles, the 13th Army, in the difficult conditions of a flank march, escaped from the trap being set for it.

On 23 June the enemy's front line on the continent ran in a half-circle along the line Nogaisk—Bol'shoi Tokmak—Popovo station (all locales inclusively), and then along the left bank of the Dnepr River as far as the village of Aleshki, inclusively.

Vrangel's forces were consecutively based in the following manner: the 2nd (Mounted) and 3rd (Infantry) Don Divisions of General Abramov's Don Corps, from the Sea of Azov to Gnadenfel'd; the 13th and 34th Infantry Divisions of General Slashchyov's II Army Corps from Val'dgeim through Bol'shoi Tokmak to Popovo station; the Drozdovskii Infantry Division and the Second Cavalry Division (General Morozov), under the overall command of the chief of the Drozdovskii Division, General Vitkovskii,<sup>24</sup> in the area of the village of Mikhailovka; the Kuban' Cossack Division, which had suffered greatly in the fighting in the first half of June and the core of which was located in the village of Bol'shaya Belozherka, was carrying out reconnaissance and security duties along the left bank of the Dnepr (across from the Dnepr flats and Nikopol'); to its left was the Caucasus Brigade, with its core in Verkhonii Rogachik. The Markov and Kornilov Divisions continued to remain opposite Kakhovka in the Dmitrovka—Natal'ino area. General Barabovich's<sup>25</sup> 1st Cavalry Division, which had also not yet been mounted on horses, guarded the sector from Kakhovka to the mouth of the Dnepr. The enemy temporarily halted along this line, having in mind to consolidate, refit and bring up its rear services.

The plan by the front and 13th Army command came down to the following: the army's right-bank group (the Latvian and 52nd Rifle Divisions) were to develop an offensive from the Berislav area in the general direction of Kakhovka and Perekop; comrade Fed'ko's<sup>26</sup> group (3rd, 46th and 15th Divisions, 2nd Rifle Brigade and two brigades from the 23rd Rifle Division), upon deploying along the front Sherebets—Orekhov—excluding Pologi, were to launch attacks in the general direction of Melitopol'. The actions of these two groups were supposed to tie down the enemy's main forces.

Taking advantage of this circumstance, Zhloba's cavalry group, which had been concentrated by 27 June in the Gusarka—Popovka—Bel'manka—Tsare-Konstantinovka area, was directed toward Melitopol'. By 2100 on this date the cavalry corps' units had reached the following: the 1st Cavalry Division had reached Tsare-Konstantinovka, and the 2nd Cavalry Division had reached the Popovka—Aleksievka area.

Comrade Zhloba's cavalry corps was reinforced by the Blinov 2nd Cavalry and 40th Rifle Divisions.

Comrade Zhloba's shock group was assigned the immediate task of defeating the Don Corps and to subsequently take the Melitopol' area as soon as possible.

The seizure of Melitopol' would put comrade Zhloba's shock group in the rear of the main forces of the enemy's Tokmak group, cutting it off from the Crimea.

Following the defeat of the Don Corps, the 13th Army commander planned to throw the cavalry shock group in the direction of Perekop, and the units attached to it to Sal'kovo.

The offensive by comrade Zhloba's shock group began on 28 June. At 1400 the cavalry corps' units left the Tsare-Konstantinovka—Bel'manka area, with the objective of occupying the villages of Verkhonii Tokmak and Chernigovka. By 1900 the entire cavalry corps had concentrated in the village of Chernigovka. By this time the 40th Rifle Division, which had been attached to the corps, occupied the villages of Andreyevka and Sofiyevka (the first 12 kilometers and the second 20 kilometers southwest of Berestovka) following a stubborn fight, while dispatching reconnaissance to the line Saltych'ye—Yeliseyevka—Rozenfel'd.

However, despite the incomplete concentration of the cavalry group and the insufficient readiness of the army's remaining units for the planned offensive, the high command hurried the army along and the army hurried the troops. One should note that as early as 25–26 June Vrangl' learned from his intelligence sources about the arrival of Zhloba's cavalry group. Thus, as is now clear, the operational surprise in the cavalry corps' activities, upon which the Red command was counting, was excluded. The result of hurrying all these events was only a certain tactical surprise for the enemy, who was not expecting such an early attack. This tactical surprise had as its consequence the fact that it thwarted the regrouping planned by Vrangl', the goal of which was the creation of two powerful shock groups against the disembarking and concentration area of Zhloba's cavalry group (the main goal was to take the Reds' breakthrough cavalry in a pincer attack) under the cover of weak screens, which had been left along the Aleksandrovska and Berdyanska axes.

On 28 June, having seized machine guns and prisoners from the 3rd Don Division, Zhloba's cavalry group broke through the Don Corps' front and occupied Chernigovka.

On 29 June units of the cavalry corps made a fighting advance by 0800 to the line Nikolaidorf—Shparrau and, while developing the offensive further, by 1400 had reached the Klefel'd—Aleksandrskron—Shardau—Mariental' area (all locales are on the Yushanly River). The enemy, with up to a cavalry division, supported by armored cars and a squadron of 12 planes, left the Mikhailovka area for a decisive offensive against the flank and rear of the cavalry group. Under the pressure of these forces, the corps' left-flank units were forced to fall back to the Gnadenfel'd—Shparrau line. Following a corresponding regrouping, the cavalry group's units, in their turn, launched a counterattack and once again threw the enemy back toward the Yushanly River. Aviation took part in these battles on the enemy's side, constantly striking the Reds' cavalry with machine gun fire and bombs.<sup>27</sup>



On 30 June the enemy carried out an offensive with infantry units from Rikenau to Nikolaidorf, but following a brief fight fell back to the heights six kilometers west of Nikolaidorf.

In order to eliminate the resistance of the enemy operating in the area of Morgenau and Rikenau, the cavalry group command decided to carry out a night raid. By 2200 units of the 1st Cavalry Division were approaching Rikenau and, upon not finding the enemy there, occupied Fridensdorf, Morgenau and Rikenau without fighting. By 2400 on 30 June units of the cavalry corps were stationed for the night as follows: the 1st Cavalry Division in Paul'sgeim and Mariyanval', the 2nd Cavalry Division in Kontenusfel'd and Gnadelfeld, and the Blinov 2nd Cavalry Division in the Shparrau area.

On 1 July the fighting continued in the same area. On the night of 1–2 July units of the 1st Cavalry Division carried out a raid against the Blyumenort—Tige—Orlov area, hacking to death up to 400 enemy infantry.

At 1300 on 2 July, units of the cavalry corps' 1st and 2nd Cavalry Divisions and the Blinov 2nd Cavalry Division carried out an offensive in the general direction of Pragenau and Astrakhanka. Having several times during the day encountered resistance by the enemy (around Pragenau and Likhtfel'd), who held fast to individual inhabited locales in order to win time, and holding off the pressure from comrade Zhloba's cavalry with machine gun and artillery fire, the cavalry group spent the night in the Tigerveide—Likhtenfel'd—Aleksandron—Pragenau area.

Thus Zhloba, who was concerned by the enemy's planes (by the way, we should note that his cavalry proved to be completely unprepared for fighting aviation), continued to fight stubborn battles in the valley of the Yushanly River. His cavalry advanced only 30–40 kilometers in four days. Having achieved significant success on the first day, the cavalry group in the subsequent days got distracted by petty undertakings and actually stood in place, instead of avoiding unnecessary fighting and decisively and purposefully breaking through into the enemy's deep rear, which had already been seized by panic (as early as 29–30 June he had already set about evacuating Melitopol'). This slowness enabled the enemy to complete unhindered his regrouping for eliminating the breakthrough, which given Zhloba's more decisive actions, might easily have been thwarted.

The extremely slow and sluggish advance by Zhloba's cavalry group, the low combat capability of comrade Fed'ko's group, the brief attacks successfully launched by the Whites' II Corps along the front Yanchekrak—Shcherbakova, and the unsuccessful and sluggish attempts by the Berislav group throughout 29–30 June to expand its bridgehead in the Kakhovka area, all enabled the enemy to complete his regrouping unhindered. The operation's control on the part of the 13th Army commander was made more difficult by the conduct of Zhloba, who did not report to the army headquarters any kind of information as to his actions. The 40th Rifle Division,

which was formally subordinated to Zhloba, was not controlled by the latter and operated independently, also extremely slowly and sluggishly.

Having decided upon a bold operation, the 13th Army command did not decide upon (and it had no time for this) the bold regrouping that flowed from this decision, but continued, for the most part, to retain along the army's entire front the cordon formation that had been adopted in the previous fighting. The bold operational design ended up being thwarted by the insufficient preparation of the operation itself.

By the evening of 2 July Vrangeli's units that had been designated for eliminating Zhloba's cavalry group were stationed, according to data from White sources, in the following manner: the 2nd Don Division (1,500 infantry and about 100 cavalry) had concentrated with its main forces in the Orekhovka area; the 3rd Don Division (2,000–3,000 infantry) occupied the area of the village of Astrakhanka; units of the I Army Corps occupied the following areas: the Kornilov Division (1,800 infantry) the Orlov—Tige—Rozenrot—Lindenau area, the Drozdovskii Division (2,500 infantry) and the 2nd Cavalry Division (1,500 cavalry) the Gal'bshtadt—Molochnaya area. Units of the 13th Infantry Division were concentrating in the Bol'shoi Tokmak area. Armored trains were cruising the Fyodorovka—Stul'nevo railroad sector; aviation, under the command of General Tkachyov,<sup>28</sup> was supposed to assist with intelligence gathering and strafing attacks from the air. According to Vrangeli's data, the units detached against Zhloba had about 70 guns (not counting the guns on the armored trains).

Thus the overall strength of the Whites' shock group reached 10,000–11,000 infantry and cavalry, almost double the strength of the cavalry corps.

Zhloba's cavalry group, which was still not aware of the seriousness of the situation, was preparing, following a day's rest, to resume the offensive on 3 July. Vrangeli's forces, which had encircled Zhloba's cavalry group in a half-ring, in their turn, had orders to go over to a general offensive on 3 July, by enveloping Zhloba's flank both from the north (toward Val'dgeim) and from the south (in the general direction of Gnadenfel'd). The situation had matured for decisive operations. Exhausted by the summer sultriness, the Tavriya plain was to become on the morning of 3 July the arena of historic events.

On the morning of 3 July a meeting engagement began in the Klefel'd—Aleksandrskron area between Zhloba's cavalry and the 3rd Don Division. The successful actions of the Reds' cavalry, which had begun to push back the 3rd Don Division in the direction of Astrakhanka and Melitopol', were halted by the Kornilov Division, which appeared in its rear and which seized the Rikenau colony and were attacking, supported by armored cars, to the south in the rear of Zhloba's forces. An impetuous cavalry attack by Zhloba's reserves and by units removed from the 3rd Don Division's sector was beaten off by the Kornilov Division's concentrated artillery and machine gun fire. Attacked from the front and rear, the main forces of Zhloba's cavalry group attempted to break through to the northwest, toward Bol'shoi

Tokmak, but here they ran into units of the Whites' 13th Infantry Division and fire from armored trains cruising along the railroad. Forced to fall back to the south, the cavalry group came under attack from the Drozdovskii Division. Pursued by aviation and rushing about between the Whites' shock groups, the cavalry corps' units, having lost a significant part of their personnel and equipment, sought to infiltrate to the east and northeast, covered in dust. Zhloba's cavalry, which was unprepared for a firefight and poorly trained, had learned its shock tactics during Denikin's defeat and proved unprepared in this new situation for combat operations with an enemy that stood, compared to Denikin's forces, at a higher level of combat preparation.

On 4 July along the sector of the screen abandoned by the Whites' II Corps, the pressure by Fed'ko's group, which had recovered somewhat from the preceding fighting, was beginning to tell. The group even managed to seize Bol'shoi Tokmak for a few hours. By the evening of 5 July units of the 13th Army, while pushing back the II Corps' screen (34th Division) along the Aleksandrovsk—Melitopol' railroad, occupied the village of Mikhailovka. On 2–3 July the right-bank group, which had once again crossed the Dnepr, temporarily seized Kakhovka and the Korsun' Monastery. However, the operation had already been thwarted. The enemy, having freed his hands along the sector of Zhloba's cavalry group, had the opportunity, without any great difficulty, of eliminating the tardy offensive by these units of the 13th Army. On 6 July all the units of the 13th Army's left-bank group along the Bol'shoi Tokmak—Mikhailovka sector were already retreating. The Red command's plan to clear Vrangel' out of the Northern Tavriya had failed.

Not long after this operation, a new change in the 13th Army command took place. In two months in the heat of combat actions the army had gone through three changes of command. It is hardly necessary to prove that the frequent changes of command practiced during the civil war cannot be seen as a normal phenomenon. They led to a situation in which the command did not always know its subordinate forces well and their combat qualities, as well as the combat qualities and training of their subordinate commanders; on the other hand, these changes did not facilitate the inculcation among the higher command element of confidence in its own abilities and a sense of responsibility for the assigned task. Finally, such changes, as a rule, were carried out in the very heat of events and did not coincide with the preparation of new operations. We should note in passing that in the civil war the absence of a retraining center for the higher command element, with a short program designed for learning and mastering the war's operational-tactical experience, was felt extremely sharply.

The perniciousness of the cordon formation, which flowed from the excessive desire to accurately and conscientiously cover all territory with insufficient forces, shortcomings in command and control, which often led to the collapse of boldly planned operations, which promised complete success, and similar shortcomings

in the command's work could have been overcome to a significant degree with the help of such a center.

Having achieved a certain strategic and a series of tactical successes, Vrangeli, however, suffered a major failure on the political front. The attempt to once again raise a revolt along the Don was not successful. A landing made for this purpose by 800 men on 9 August between Mariupol' and Taganrog, under the command of Colonel Nazarov,<sup>29</sup> was soon scattered (on the Don, in the area of Konstantinovskaya station) and destroyed by Soviet forces against the background of the completely passive attitude of the Don Cossacks toward this effort.

Vrangeli also attempted to establish relations with Makhno. He set about organizing detachments of former Makhno soldiers and some of them even were given the name of "*bat'ka*"<sup>30</sup> Makhno detachments" (Yatsenko's detachment and others) and dispatched delegates to Makhno himself, whose main forces were in the Gulyai-Polye area. However, Makhno did not only reject relations with Vrangeli, but apparently even hanged the delegates.

Having suffered failure with his landing on the Don and in his attempts to establish firm communications with the Makhno movement, Vrangeli did not even manage to further expand his bridgehead in Northern Tavriya. His offensive operations, which were undertaken in the direction of Pologi, Zherebets and Aleksandrovsk, did not lead to decisive results and subsequently, until the decisive turning point in the campaign along the Crimean front, the latter's hesitation became less sharply expressed.

The subsequent course of the campaign was noted by the beginning of the struggle for the initiative, which was the result of the accumulation of Soviet forces along this sector of the front and the increase in their combat capability. But before moving on to a rendition of subsequent events, we will sum up the results of the period that had just ended.

Vrangeli's initial success, which had exceeded his expectations, forced him to undertake the adventurist expansion of the tasks of his sortie out of the Crimean sack. The strategic successes achieved soon had to be replaced by a condition of unstable equilibrium, due to the absence of a firm base under him. The attempts to establish operational cooperation with the Polish armies were not crowned with success due to political reasons. As before, for the leadership of Polish foreign policy, in the person of Pilsudski, an alliance with forces which, in the final analysis, pursued the goal of reestablishing a "united and indivisible Russia," was unacceptable. Thus Vrangeli's army remained in the position of a politically and strategically isolated force operating at its own peril. The absence of political and strategic contact in the enemy camp was, of course, favorable for Soviet policy and strategy. The only unfavorable circumstance was the fact that Vrangeli's increased activity in the Tavriya coincided in time with the most decisive events of the campaign along the Polish front and distracted the Soviet command's attention from it. At the same time, the strength of

our armed forces and the country's material resources prohibited the simultaneous decisive pursuit of final goals along both directions. The interests of both sectors of the Southwestern Front suffered from the division of Red forces between them and the course of operations along these directions took on a prolonged character. It was in this weakening of the pace of conducting our operations along the Polish front that lay the main negative significance for us of General Vrangél's summer campaign in Northern Tavriya.



## Operations Along the Lower Dnepr and the Kuban'

*The Disposition and Correlation of Both Sides' Forces—The Materiel Support of the Kakhovka Operation—The Organization of the Right-Bank Group's Rear—The Battle Along the Lower Dnepr—Kakhovka: its Strategic Significance—Vrangel's Landing in the Kuban'; Its Actions; The Rout of the Landing—The Reds' New Offensive Operation; Its Significance—France's Recognition of Vrangel's "South Russian Government"; The Military Reasons for This Recognition; Its Political and Economic Results—Conclusions*

By 1 August the strength of our 13th Army had already been raised to 57,111 infantry, 1,497 cavalry and 247 guns. Of this overall number, 12,000 soldiers, 205 machine guns, 33 light and 17 heavy and semi-heavy guns were part of the right-bank group.<sup>1</sup> The 2nd Cavalry Army numbered 2,770 cavalry and 25 guns. Thus, overall we disposed of here 57,111 infantry, 4,267 cavalry and 272 guns against 41,420 infantry, 14,850 cavalry and 241 guns in Vrangel's army.<sup>2</sup>

These enemy forces were grouped as follows: General Slashchyov's corps was stationed opposite our right-bank group, as well as the Caucasus Cavalry Brigade, for an overall strength of 3,500 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 44 guns, was occupying the front from Nikopol' to the mouth of the Dnepr River along a 170-kilometer front. The enemy had 5,100 infantry, 550 cavalry and 31 guns in deep reserve in the Crimea. The enemy's other forces occupied the remaining front while the main mass of Vrangel's cavalry in the beginning of August 1920 was located in the front reserve, namely in the Seragozy area, where General Barabovich's cavalry corps, numbering 6,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry was located.

In turning to an evaluation of the correlation of forces and their disposition, we should note that we were superior to the enemy by a few thousand men, but he had a clear superiority over us in the predominance of cavalry in his army. This abetted his maneuver along internal operational lines and under cover of the Dnepr River. The rapidity of the Reds' maneuver was restricted by the absence of cavalry and a developed railroad net along the necessary axes for operational transfers.



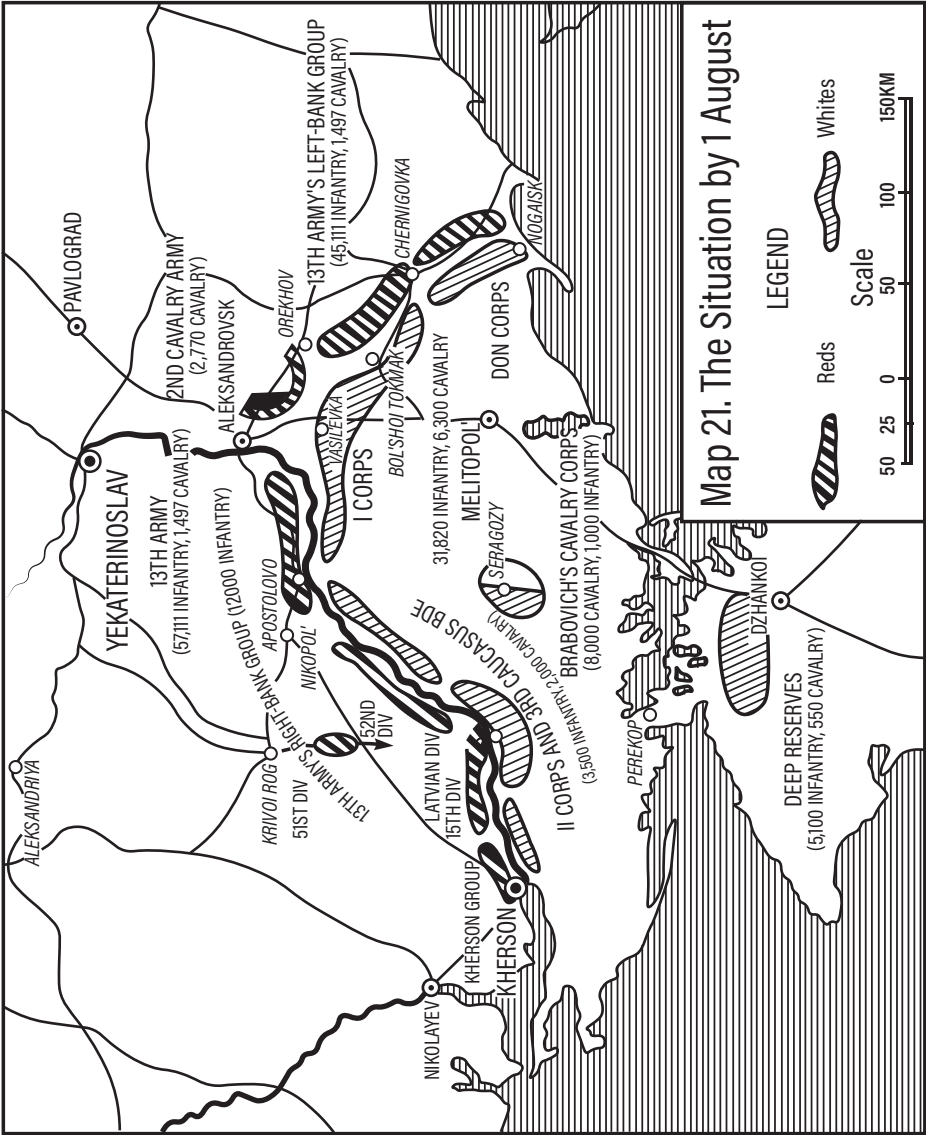
Taking advantage of the numerical superiority of its right-bank group over General Slashchyov's group, the 13th Army command (comrade Uborevich) decided to attack Slashchyov's corps with this group and, attacking toward Perekop, to cut the enemy off from the Crimea, while at the same time developing the attack along the Orekhov axis.

The operation by the Reds' right-bank group along the lower Dnepr is instructive in the sense of those achievements which were made by the Red Army at the end of the third year of the civil war in the area of organizing command and control. Besides this, it enables us to follow the same achievements in the area of the organization and structure of the rear. We have not yet touched upon the latter question for two reasons. The first is out of fear of making our work too large and, secondly, due to the absence of the necessary materials for the majority of the civil war's operations. In viewing them in our sketch, chiefly from the point of view of staff and command work, we consider it necessary, according to the example of one of the operations, for filling out our sketch, to render a picture of the organization and structure of the rear and the materiel support for the operation.

In preparing to carry out its objective, the command of the right-bank group conducted a very thorough and all-round preparation for it. This preparation was expressed in the creation of a powerful shock group, hidden from the enemy, in the organization of intelligence of the enemy and terrain, and in the detailed drawing up of a plan for the crossing of such a major water barrier as the Dnepr in the crossing area, which approached 600 meters in width and a depth of more than 10 ½ meters.

As a result of all this preparatory work, by the close of 6 August the group command along the front mouth of the Ingulets River—the colony of Klostendorf, inclusively, with an overall length of 48 kilometers, deployed 12,961 soldiers, 220 machine guns, and 71 light, semi-heavy and heavy guns, which yielded 270 soldiers, five machine guns and three guns per kilometer of front. The enemy along the sector of the front opposite this group of Red forces disposed of only 870 infantry, 126 cavalry, 65 machine guns, and 14 light guns,<sup>3</sup> which yielded 20 infantry and cavalry, 1 ½ machine guns and about one-quarter of a gun per kilometer of front.<sup>4</sup> Both sides could count on reserves from the operation's second day: the Reds on the 51st Rifle Division (9,787 soldiers and 24 guns), which would have strengthened their shock fist by 75% in infantry and 30% in artillery; the Whites disposed in their rear of reserves from the 13th and 34th Infantry Divisions' second brigades and the 8th Cavalry Regiment, with an overall strength of 3,600 infantry and cavalry, with 14 light and heavy guns.

The command of the right-bank group managed to acquire such an enormous numerical superiority thanks to the skillful distribution of its forces by active and passive tasks. Only 7% of the group's available forces were to be detached for the latter (support of the operation). The preparation of the operation under review testifies that the principle of massing forces and the benefits of employing it were



firmly realized by the higher Red command, and that it knew how to boldly and skillfully put it into practice. The same principle of massing was consistently carried out and employed by the group command in distributing its equipment. The massing of artillery and the centralization of its control were practiced on an incomparably broader scope than had been the case prior to this. All of the group's artillery had been deployed in two groups along a 24-kilometer front to support the forcing of the Dnepr River. It was planned to place the main mass of artillery in the Berislav area. Here 31 light and 27 heavy and semi-heavy guns occupied a position, and 14 light and 3 semi-heavy guns (the 15th Rifle Division's artillery) deployed in the area of the colony of L'vovo, while a battery of special designation heavy artillery (two heavy guns) was stationed in the area of the village of Kazatskoye. The group's other equipment, in the form of four armored trains, were being brought up to Berislav in expectation of the opportunity for using them along the left bank of the Dnepr. The group's air power, numbering eight planes, was being brought there as well.<sup>5</sup>

In comparing the group's equipment with the enemy's, we see that the Reds were significantly superior to the Whites in terms of equipment. This was not an accidental phenomenon, but one which had been repeatedly observed earlier in various periods and along various sectors of the civil war. That in the operation under examination this feature is particularly evident can be explained more completely by the applied principle of the concentration of all this equipment along the main axis of the attack.

The greatest effect of employing this equipment depended not only on the skillful employment of it, but also on the supply level of munitions, first of all, small arms. Thus it is very useful to halt on this question, all the more so because the example of the right-bank group is not an exception, but rather a general rule for all of the Red armies in the 1920 campaign. It is clear that the ongoing contraction of our economic base, which was felt particularly sharply in the area of heavy industry, could not be favorably reflected in military industry. As a result of this, a shortage in munitions was sharply felt.

The group's final goal, according to data from the operational assignment, was the rout of the enemy's forces and its arrival in the Perekop area, that is, the penetration into the enemy position to a depth of 90 kilometers. Taking into account the necessity of making a fighting advance, we believe that the absolute limit of the group's penetration could not exceed, on the average, 20 kilometers per day, and thus the entire operation should have been calculated in time (rounded out) at five days. To what degree was this five-day operation supported by munitions? There were barely enough available supplies of bullets and shells (particularly the latter) for one day of a serious firefight. If the operation were to be extended for five days, then the expenditure of munitions for a day's fighting (according to N. Ye. Kakurin's calculations) could not exceed 30 rounds per rifleman, 57 shells (rounded out) for light and 27 shells (rounded out) for semi-heavy guns. Anyone even slightly familiar with the norms for the expenditure of munitions during the World War<sup>6</sup> will easily

draw the following very important conclusions. First of all, that the norms for supplying our firepower were so insufficient that one could not count on the full employment of their most powerful feature of rapid fire and, secondly, that given this level of supply, the Red Army suffered more from an overabundance rather than a shortage of equipment. The insufficiency of fire had to be compensated for by the broad development of maneuver qualities.

We cannot draw any kind of theoretical conclusions for calculations as to what amount of guns and other fire means was necessary for suppressing so many machine guns or guns along a given sector of the enemy front on the basis of the civil war's experience, because the main condition for the accuracy of such conclusions, the normal supply of weaponry with munitions in accordance with their actual capabilities, is missing. Also quite typical is that the right-bank group command believed that the amount of munitions issued to it was insufficient. It requested releasing yet another 2,200,000 rifle rounds and 20,000 light artillery shells.<sup>7</sup> If one considers that of the overall amount of rifle rounds, half, that is, 1,100,000, was to go toward supplying machine guns, then it follows that the command of the group considered it possible to take the operation to its conclusion by supplying a rifleman with 39 rifle rounds, a machine gun with 4,085 rounds and a light artillery piece with 137 shells (calculations made by N. Ye. Kakurin). Thus we see that the command's calculations were actually quite modest.

As archival data show, contrary to the widely accepted version, the Whites' munitions situation was far worse than that of the Reds. The daily expenditure norm per gun did not exceed 20 shells. Under the influence of the critical condition of the supply of munitions, the Whites had to commit their artillery into the fighting only during critical moments of the fighting, while some batteries simply had to be pulled back into the rear due to the absence of shells.<sup>8</sup> The supplying of the operation with food and forage was based primarily on the employment of local resources. In the event of possible breaks in supply, some divisions (15th Rifle) carried with them a seven-day mobile supply of food.<sup>9</sup> As regards wheeled transport, the group's forces also had to chiefly rely on local resources as the shortage of transport in some units reached 60%.<sup>10</sup>

It now seems interesting to switch our view to the organization and system of the right-bank group's rear on the whole and the system of its military roads, in order to evaluate that evolution which had taken place in the Red Army in this area since the time of the train period of the civil war. The right-bank group was based on the 360-kilometer Apostolovo—Aleksandrovsk—Sinel'nikovo—Pavlograd—Lozovaya rail line, and on the 110-kilometer Apostolovo—Berislav dirt road. Both of these lines had been outfitted as the group's military road, with an overall length of 470 kilometers. Aside from the significant length of this road, an unfavorable circumstance for the Reds was the railroad's low capacity, which did not exceed six pairs of trains per day. Taking into account the fact that the group, numbering four

relatively strong divisions and the small Kherson group, was tied to this railroad, one may consider that the military road was able to cope with its supply duties thanks only to the fact that it was spared the delivery of food and forage shipments. The 13th Army's base depots, from which the right-bank group received supplies, were located at Lozovaya and Pavlograd stations;<sup>11</sup> only one halting place (no. 255) in Aleksandrovska was located along the entire sector of the road from Apostolovo to Sinel'nikovo, only two army hospitals (nos. 715 and 1,005)<sup>12</sup> were deployed. (See Map 18 of the plate section)

The final unloading station for the right-bank group was Apostolovo station. Here were located the group's fire depot and that of three divisions (15th, Latvian and 52nd), two halting places (nos. 314 and 315; one, evidently as the halting sector's reserve) and the headquarters of the halting sector (no. 79). The Apostolovo—Ivanovka—Novo-Kamenka—Berislav sector of the dirt road was serviced by two halting places (nos. 313 and 316) in Ivanovka and Novo-Kamenka. The 313th halting place was 39 kilometers from Apostolovo, which causes one to think that some other kind of halting place was located between these two points; the 316th halting place was 25 kilometers from Ivanovka, which was normal, and 45 kilometers from Berislav (there was evidently a sub-halting place midway).

Such an organization of the military road, with the corresponding development of all its links, testifies to the proper calculation of the significance of the organization of the rear services and the servicing of military communications by the Red command. While relying on a sufficiently developed and correctly divided rear in depth, the Red forces had a secure basis for their maneuvering. In this we can espy one of the reasons for that phenomenon along the anti-Vrangel' front that the Red forces' temporary failures were never turned into a complete rout. Finally, in order to evaluate that flexibility with which the Red command was able to resolve problems of organizing the rear services in conditions of the near complete absence of mechanical transport, we will see how the command of that same right-bank group, while preparing its operation along the lower Dnepr, was able to get out of the situation. Arriving at the area of the Perekop isthmus, the group's forces had moved 156–160 kilometers from their final unloading station, that is, 5–6 days' march. It was difficult to service the military road's dirt sector of such a length with horse-drawn transport, particularly given the 60% shortage of troop carts. The group command escaped from the situation by creating an intermediate fire base along the line of the Blakitnaya, Belye Krinitsy and Snegiryovka railroad stations along the Apostolovo—Kherson railroad and by moving from it the forward fire base in the form of flying columns along the line of the villages of Galagnovka, Tronina and Blashkov, which moved the forward base closer by a day's march to the jumping off point along the front line. The basing of the divisions was shifted to these stations. These measures cut nearly in half the dirt sector of the group's military road and enormously eased the conditions of its further supply. The group

command fully took into account those advantages which it was presented with by the Apostolovo—Kherson railroad running parallel to its front line under cover of such a major water barrier as the Dnepr River. For the purposes of better and more convenient organization of evacuation, the command dispatched its sick and wounded along two diverging lines to Apostolovo station and Kherson station. In light of the overall shortage of medical equipment for outfitting these lines, we had to employ a significant part of the medical establishments which, while essentially being incorrect, was dictated however by objective reasons independent of the command's will.<sup>13</sup>

It was ordered to begin the right-bank group's offensive without waiting for the completion of the 51st Rifle Division's concentration.

On the night of 6–7 August the right-bank group began to cross the Dnepr near Kakhovka, the Korsun' Monastery and Aleshki and attacked Slashchyov's corps, launching its main attack with the Latvian and 52nd Rifle Divisions toward Kakhovka and the Korsun' Monastery. At first it was able to push Slashchyov's corps back, but subsequently the enemy, upon moving Barabovich's cavalry from the reserve, halted the right-bank group's offensive and even forced it to partially fall back behind the Dnepr.<sup>14</sup> The crossings near Kakhovka nevertheless remained in the hands of the Red forces. The operation was not fully developed due to the low combat capability of the 15th Rifle Division, which could not withstand the attack and fell back to the crossings near the Korsun' Monastery.

The attempts by the II Corps and General Barabovich's corps to restore the situation did not cease before 15 August. General Barabovich's cavalry attacks broke up against the bridgehead's wire obstacles and organized fire. The Whites' cavalry suffered heavy losses. One might say that in its daring insanity, thrown into the attack against fortified positions, without any kind of fire and, in particular, artillery preparation, the Whites' cavalry suffered a morale breakdown from which it did not recover. Finally, on 15 August Slashchyov, forced to admit the lack of results of his attempts, requested from Vrangl' permission to halt further attacks on the bridgehead. Taking advantage of the II Corps' failure, Vrangl' hurried to relieve the unwanted Slashchyov, who put in his retirement papers, with General Vitkovskii. (See Map 19 of the plate section)

As a result of the offensive, although on the whole unsuccessful, the Soviet command achieved important strategic advantages. Kakhovka, which was only 80 kilometers from the Perekop isthmus, was the junction of the closest routes to it. Thus the enemy, while developing his subsequent operations to the north or northeast, while moving away from his main base, the Crimea, would always risk being cut off from it by an attack from Kakhovka toward Perekop.

Met with hostility by the population of Tavriya, having experienced failure with the attempt to call forth an uprising in the Don region, and having had no success in his efforts to establish firm communications with the Makhno movement, Vrangl'

turned his attention to the Kuban'. Here the remnants of the counterrevolutionary forces, which had taken refuge in the mountains during the spring rout of Denikin's armies, once again raised their head, gathering around themselves *kulak* strata dissatisfied with the Soviet regime and the Cossack upper crust (the bands of colonels Skakun, Lebedev, General Fostikov, etc.).<sup>15</sup> Most active were the White-Green detachments, which were operating in the Maikop, Batalpashinskaya and Labinsk areas. Having united into the so-called "Army of Russian Rebirth" (General Fostikov), by the first half of August they had reached an overall strength of about 6,000–7,000 infantry and cavalry and 30–40 machine guns and a few guns.

Vrangel's Kuban' landing is of significant interest for the historian of the civil war as an operation built on calculations not so much military as political. Vrangel' threw his units into the Kuban' to organize a mass uprising. The dispersed rebel detachments were supposed to coalesce around these units as an organizing core. Vrangel' was sure that "subsequently, while moving through their native areas among a sympathetic population and bringing under their wing the numerous rebel detachments, the troops would manage to seize the very heart of the Kuban'—Yekaterinodar,<sup>16</sup> before the Red command could gather significant forces and to clear the Reds from the northern part of the Kuban' region." For political considerations, General Ulagai, a man (in Vrangel's opinion) who enjoyed wide popularity among the Cossacks, brave and decisive and "capable of performing miracles", was chosen to lead the main landing detachment; "it seemed as everyone would follow him." As is known, Vrangel' was mistaken in his optimistic calculations. The attitudes of the Cossack upper crust, which were appraised according to the mistakenly optimistic reports of General Vrangel's agents, were taken to reflect the attitudes of all Cossacks, and General Ulagai ended up being unprepared for the role of an organizer and leader of this complex operation.

Vrangel's operational plan consisted of, having landing the party's main forces in the area of *stanitsa* Akhtyrsko-Primorskaya,<sup>17</sup> to move to the important railroad junction of Timashevskaya station and, basing itself on it, to seize the city of Yekaterinodar. Weaker landings would be made by him on the Taman' peninsula (General Kharlamov)<sup>18</sup> and between Anapa and Novorossiisk (General Cherepov),<sup>19</sup> with the task, on the one hand, of distracting as many Red forces as possible from the main axis and, on the other hand, to subsequently launch an offensive on Krasnodar, while bringing under its wing the local rebels. Thus the linkup of all the forces was supposed to take place in the Yekaterinodar (Krasnodar) area for conducting a subsequent operation into the depths of the Kuban'.

According to our archival data, the strength of the forces detached by Vrangel' to take part in the landing operation is determined as follows: 4,050 infantry 4,050 cavalry, 243 machine guns, and 17 guns in Ulagai's detachment; 1,500 infantry, 15 machine guns and two guns in General Cherepov's detachment, and; 2,450 infantry, 450 cavalry, 25 machine guns, and six guns in General Kharlamov's detachment.



The data furnished by Vrangeli' differ considerably from these data. Vrangeli' puts the strength of all the detachments at 5,000 infantry and cavalry, with 130 machine guns and 14 guns. One must assume that our archive's data reflect that picture which arose as the result of the landing detachments' first successes and that growth which they underwent by incorporating local White bands and the population. Vrangeli' himself admits that by the end of the operation, despite the heavy losses, some units turned out to be stronger than in its beginning.

Events in the initial period unfolded favorably for Vrangeli's landing. General Ulagai, who landed on 14 August without great resistance near Akhtyrsko-Primorskaya *stanitsa*, launched a series of concentrated attacks against the Red forces which were operating extremely indecisively and in a dispersed manner and occupied Timashevskaya station by the evening of 18 August. From here the direct road to Krasnodar, which was very poorly covered by our units, lay open to General Ulagai. However, instead of continuing an energetic offensive, General Ulagai, for reasons which cannot be fully understood, but evidently carried away by the mobilization of the local population, actually halted his offensive for several days, thus giving the Reds (comrade Levandovskii's 9th Army) the opportunity to take advantage of this breathing space for concentrating new forces. The main condition of any landing operation—the decisive expansion of the beachhead—was thus missing in General Ulagai's actions. It's quite possible that this lack of decision by Ulagai was brought about by operational considerations. Beginning as early as 16 August, in the area of *stanitsa* Brynkovskaya, which was the only convenient crossing over the swampy strip at the mouth of the Beisug River, which covered Ulagai's detachment from the north, heavy fighting broke out between Babiye's<sup>20</sup> cavalry and the Reds, who were constantly increasing their pressure along this axis. From 16 to 23 August, before the necessity of the Whites basing the entire operation on Achuyev had become fully clear, *stanitsa* Brynkovskaya had changed hands several times. The Reds' activity in the Brynkovskaya area put General Ulagai in danger of being cut off from his base. 22 August may be considered, without exaggeration, the decisive day of the entire operation. On that day the Red forces once again took Timashevskaya station, thus throwing General Ulagai back from the shortest path to Krasnodar. The Reds' improvised Azov Flotilla, which had appeared before *stanitsa* Akhtyrsko-Primorskaya, which at the time was undefended by the White fleet, forced General Ulagai's base and headquarters to evacuate from there. From 23 August General Ulagai shifted his base to the south, to Achuyev. But his subsequent actions, despite a number of very significant tactical successes, already bear the imprint of being doomed; even the sympathetic strata of the population, no longer believing in the Whites' success, avoided mobilization. The population hid in the reeds and sank their carts in the lakes. The Reds' ring began to squeeze the Whites landing forces every more tightly. On 28 August the Red forces, having secretly moved up comrade Kovtyukh's landing party on steamships into the enemy rear along the Protok river, carried out

a surprise raid on *stanitsa* Novo-Nizhne-Steblievskaya, where the headquarters of General Ulagai's detachment was located. This raid, which disorganized the enemy's command and control, sped up the enemy's withdrawal somewhat. The enemy, while stubbornly defending, fell back on Achuyev. Taking advantage of the fact that the swampy and difficult terrain for traversing, which was quite convenient for defense, allowed him to easily hold the Reds, he held on to a small bridgehead near Achuyev until 7 September, while covering the evacuation. (See Map 20 of the plate section)

As regards the actions of Cherepov's and Kharlamov's detachments, these actions had almost no effect on the overall course of the operation. In any event, these detachments did not carry out their main task of attracting to themselves as many Red forces as possible. One should partially explain this by the fact that their actions were not coordinated with Ulagai's operations. Cherepov's detachment carried out a landing between Anapa and Novorossiisk very late, on 17 August, and after vain attempts to break through toward Novorossiisk, and having lost about 50% of its personnel, was evacuated on the night of 23–24 August under the cover of naval artillery. Initially, General Kharlamov's operations unfolded more successfully on the Taman' peninsula, but as early as moving out of the peninsula, where, taking advantage of the favorable defensive terrain, the Reds (22nd Division and 33rd Cavalry Brigade) put up powerful resistance, Kharlamov's offensive petered out. It's typical that Kharlamov's detachment was most active when General Ulagai's forces had already fallen back to the Achuyev area. On 2 September the Reds along the Taman' peninsula themselves went over to a decisive offensive, which led to nearly the complete rout of those White detachments which had not had time to fall back to the landing's base, *stanitsa* Tamanskaya.

Following the withdrawal of General Ulagai's detachment, Vrangl's rebels continued to operate in the Kuban' for a considerable time. General Fostikov's "Army of Rebirth," which was operating in the Batalpashinskaya area, still required significant efforts by the Red Army to eliminate it. Surrounded on all sides and experiencing shortages in munitions, and more and more losing the support of the population, General Fostikov was forced to cross over into Georgian territory in the beginning of October with his detachments over mountain trails to the Gagra area, where his detachments were fictionally disarmed and before long turned back over to Vrangl'. This comedy of turning over the detachment is in and of itself only an unimportant episode in the overall course of the civil war; only the peculiar position of democratic Georgia, which formally did not recognize Vrangl', might interest the historian. The Georgian command voluntarily agreed to turn over Fostikov's detachment to Vrangl', although it could not but know that this detachment would go toward reinforcing the White Army. For diplomatic considerations, the Mensheviks did not risk carrying out the transfer openly. In order to deceive the Soviet command, the turning over of Fostikov's detachment under the threat of armed force was feigned by Vrangl's forces and the Georgian Mensheviks. One of

Vrangel's destroyers fired off a few rounds, after which the Georgian forces fell back and Fostikov's detachment safely embarked and sailed away to the Crimea. This entire incident well characterizes the essence of the Georgian government.

Taking advantage of distraction of the enemy's attention and part of his forces in the Kuban', the Red command once again decided to repeat its offensive attempt from Kakhovka and Aleksandrovsk. The 2nd Cavalry Army was to attack from Aleksandrovsk to Melitopol'. The right-bank group was to carry out an offensive with two of its divisions (51st and 52nd Cavalry) on Melitopol' to link up with the 2nd Cavalry Army, with one division (Latvian) attacking on Perekop. To judge from these tasks, the army command's plan called for the encirclement of a significant part of Vrangel's army by preventing it from entering the Crimea.

Although this operation did not result in Vrangel's defeat in Northern Tavriya, it nevertheless is of significant political and operational interest. Having penetrated deeply into the territory occupied by Vrangel's forces, the Red Army foiled to a significant degree the Whites' ongoing grain procurements in Northern Tavriya and disorganized their army's immediate rear, thus undermining the population's confidence in the longevity of Vrangel's successes. This operation is also interesting in that by its design and character it somewhat represents a rehearsal of comrade Frunze's October operation which led to the defeat of Vrangel'. The events of August could not but convince Vrangel' of that danger which the Kakhovka bridgehead represented to him. Given the presence of the Kakhovka bridgehead, which was located only 2 ½ days' march from Perekop, his breakthroughs to the north and northeast would inevitably become adventuristic undertakings. On the other hand, the republic's entire political and economic situation demanded of the 13th Army command energetic measures for covering the Donets Basin. One may say without exaggeration that from the moment of the Kakhovka bridgehead's appearance the defense of the Donets Basin would no longer be decided by the immediate covering of the approaches to it, but by the Reds' activity around Kakhovka. The Kakhovka bridgehead radically changed the operational situation along the Vrangel' front. Vrangel' went over to an active defense, while holding significant reserves free for operations with them, depending on the situation along the western and eastern axes. Henceforth his tactics were the tactics of brief and decisive attacks. Tactically, he remained active during the subsequent period, but operationally he was already contained and deprived of what is customarily called operational freedom.

The Reds' Kakhovka group went over to the offensive on 21 August; the offensive developed successfully, but slowly. As it moved away from the bridgehead, the Melitopol' group (comrade Blyukher), which was also being restrained by the command of the Kakhovka group, manifested greater and greater caution and orderliness in its actions, as if fearing for its open flanks. The full-strength 51st Division, which was operating along this axis, was by 27 August reinforced by the

weak and greatly worn out 52nd Rifle Division. By the evening of 27 August the Melitopol' group, with the 51st Division in its center, comrade Sablin's composite cavalry division along its right flank, and units of the 52nd Division on the left, reached the front Ivanovka—Nizhnie Seragozy—Novaya Aleksandrovka. Three days of fighting for the initiative broke out along this front with the Whites, who were trying to turn the Reds' flanks.

By the evening of 27 August the Whites' shock group, the Kornilov, 6th Infantry and 1st Cavalry Divisions (under the overall command of General Skoblin<sup>21</sup>), was concentrating against the left flank of comrade Blyukher's Melitopol' group in Dem'yanovka. The Whites' 2nd Cavalry Division, which was operating in the Agaiman area, was falling back at this time to Petrovskoye, leaving behind rearguard units in the Kuchkogus area. Communications between both White groups, which were gathering toward the flanks of comrade Blyukher's group, were supported by General Shinkarenko's<sup>22</sup> greatly extended independent cavalry brigade, which was gathering in the Kalga area. Thus as early as the evening of 27 August the idea of the Whites' counter maneuver, which rested on the envelopment along both flanks of comrade Blyukher's group, which had thrust forward along the Melitopol' axis and which had extended its forces, was taking shape. This situation forced comrade Blyukher to hurriedly reinforce his left flank, to which comrade Sablin's cavalry group was being shifted by forced marches.

As regards the Perekop axis, here the Latvian Division's offensive was developing extremely slowly and by the evening of 27 August the Latvian Division was still fighting the enemy in the Magdalinovka area. Units of the 15th Division, which had been moved up on 30 August to Askaniya-Nova, when the events along the Melitopol' axis were taking on a threatening aspect for the Reds, seized Askaniya-Nova, in the gap between the Perekop and Melitopol' groups, but their success already had no influence on the course of events. The Kakhovka group's offensive caused serious alarm among the White command, which Vrangeli admits in his notes:

Fierce fighting resumed along the entire front on the morning of 30 August. The outcome was still not known before midday and General Kutepov considered the situation very serious. I decided to go set out for Melitopol'. We were warned at Dzhankoi station that Red cavalry patrols were approaching the railroad. We set out for the north in the twilight with extinguished lights. I arrived in Melitopol' late in the evening. Despite the late hour, a large crowd was standing in the streets adjacent to headquarters. Concern could be felt in the gloomy and grim faces.

While the operations of comrade Eideman's right-bank group were thus developing, the following events were taking place along the rest of the 13th Army's front. While supporting the 2nd Cavalry Army's attack, the 13th Army's infantry occupied Bol'shoi Tokmak. The 2nd Cavalry Army, having broken the Whites' front in the Vasil'yevka area, moved on Skel'ka and then on Orlyansk, seeking contact with the

52nd Division. The Whites' left flank along the Aleksandrovsk axis was being pulled back to the Mikhailovka—Fridrikhsfel'd area. On 29 August, while fighting was already going on with intermittent success along the Kakhovka group's front in the Verkhnie Seragozy—Nizhnie Seragozy area, the 2nd Cavalry Army was scattering the Whites' Don Rifle Regiment around Malaya Beloozerskaya and continuing to move on Menchekur. A gap of only 60 kilometers remained between the cavalry army and the Kakhovka group's left flank. By the evening of 29 August the Reds had managed to hold Nizhnie Seragozy, along the Melitopol' group's left flank. However, this favorable tactical situation was not exploited sufficiently by the 2nd Cavalry Army, which was moving extremely slowly due to its horses' exhaustion. On the morning of 30 August the enemy carried out a concentrated offensive against the left flank of comrade Blyukher's group and, following a stubborn battle, forced it to abandon the Nizhnie Seragozy area, while simultaneously holding with its aviation and covering units the 2nd Cavalry Army's advance. On 1 September units of the 51st and 52nd Rifle Divisions (comrade Blyukher's group) began to fall back onto the Kakhovka bridgehead. The 2nd Cavalry Army, which was independently hanging over the flank of General Skoblin's group, was heading there and only linked up with the 51st Division near the Kakhovka bridgehead on 2 September.

Beginning on 2 September, the enemy launched a series of attacks against the Kakhovka bridgehead by General Vitkovskii's corps, which had been reinforced up to 7,000 infantry. The enemy was developing his main attack along the Perekop—Kakhovka road. All the attacks were beaten off, while two enemy tanks fell into the Reds' hands. The fighting along this axis died down on 6 September.

Following the repulse of the enemy's attacks against the Kakhovka bridgehead, a temporary quiet settled along the entire Tavriya front. The enemy command was preparing for a new operation, having carried out a regrouping and bringing up reserves.<sup>23</sup> This time it set as its goal the occupation of the city of Yekaterinoslav and reaching the Donets Basin and the Don region. This operation was supposed to be the preparatory operation before the main operation, planned for right-bank Ukraine. Vrangl' wanted to free his hands for his trans-Dnepr operation. Upon consecutively defeating the Reds' Pologi and Verkhni Tokmak groups, and while simultaneously attacking from the front and operating against the rear of the Reds' Orekhov and Aleksandrov groups, the units of Vrangl's army were to inflict a decisive defeat on the Red forces along the left bank of the Dnepr.

Ulagai's landing corps began returning from the Caucasus to the Crimea from the beginning of September, and besides this there began to arrive from Poland units of Russian volunteers that had gathered and formed there at various times, with an overall strength of 10,000 men (Bredov's<sup>24</sup> forces), which were fed into the army; the reserve of captured Red Army men also yielded a significant increase in forces. Thus by the middle of September Vrangl's army had been significantly

strengthened. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Vrangeli' decided to develop his operations along a broader front, selecting two axes for launching his attacks: toward Volnovakha station and Sinel'nikovo station. Units arriving from the Caucasus (1st, 2nd 3rd, and 4th Kuban' Cavalry Divisions, the Alekseyev Infantry Division) were moving by rail through Kerch' and Melitopol' to Northern Tavriya. The enemy had concentrated by the middle of September his entire I Army Corps, the Kornilov Division, the 1st, 2nd and 4th Kuban' Divisions, and the Don Corps in the Mikhailovka—Vasil'yevka area. These units were designated for an attack along the front Aleksandrovsk—Sinel'nikovo. Fighting broke out along this front on 14 September. The Red 13th Army's units abandoned the line of the Yanchokrak River and the area of the town of Orekhov under enemy pressure and fell back to the Konskaya River. On 15 September the enemy, while developing his offensive, broke through the Red 13th Army's front near Novo-Grigor'yevskoye and continued to push back our forces to Aleksandrovsk and Mirolyubovka. The 13th Army's right-flank units were forced under enemy pressure to abandon the town of Aleksandrovsk on 19 September and fell back to Khortitsa Island in the Dnepr, across from Aleksandrovsk. At the same time, the enemy occupied Slavgorod, around which stubborn fighting flared up over the following days. On 22 September the Whites had already occupied Sinel'nikovo station. Leaving a screen of one corps along the front Sinel'nikovo—Aleksandrovsk, the White command transferred its other units (the Don Corps, 3rd and 4th Kuban' Cavalry Divisions) to the Volnovakha axis for an attack on Yuzovka and Mariupol', the latter of which was occupied on 28 September. On the following day, that is, 29 September, the enemy's Don Corps reached the borders of the Don region near Dolya and Mandrykina stations. But this ended, so to speak, the widely conceived operation's territorial successes. The 13th Army was able to halt the enemy's advance by its counterattacks. It was actively defending along the Sinel'nikovo axis, reoccupied Sinel'nikovo and lost it again on 3 October, but through its attacks forced the enemy screen to take up the defensive. The advance by Vrangeli's Don group encountered powerful resistance along the Kashlagach River from the 13th Army's reserves, which not only halted its advance, but even threw it back. The enemy was forced to break off his operation, but almost immediately came up with a new one. This time he set himself the task of falling upon our Nikopol' group (2nd Cavalry Army, 1st Rifle Division), believing it to be the shock group slated for invading the Crimea, and then to defeat the Red 6th Army on the Kakhovka bridgehead (on 8 September the right-bank group was renamed the 6th Army) and thus open the way to the Ukrainian right bank.

This new enemy operation was to develop under the influence of the successfully continuing offensive by the Red 13th Army's center and left flank, which the enemy's screens were no longer able to restrain. On 5 October Red forces occupied Volnovakha and Mariupol', and on 6 October they finally established themselves in Sinel'nikovo.



The plan for the enemy's Nikopol' operation generally consisted of the following: the Kornilov, Markov and 1st Kuban' Cavalry Divisions were to cross over to the right bank of the Dnepr on the night of 6–7 October through Khortitsa Island, which they had occupied as early as 25 September. Following the crossing, they were to attack to the west along the front Dolgintsevo—Apostolovo, while establishing a screen to the north. The enemy's III Army Corps and his cavalry corps (the 1st Cavalry Division and the Terek-Astrakhan' Brigade) were supposed to force the Dnepr River near the village of Ushkalka on the night of 7–8 October and, having dispatched cavalry to seize Apostolovo station, attack the Reds' Kakhovka group in the rear, while it was being pinned down from the front by the Whites' II Corps. In view of the lateness of the regrouping, the operation was postponed by one day.

At 0430 on 8 October the enemy crossed the Dnepr River in the area of the Burval'd crossing opposite the town of Aleksandrovsk and, upon defeating units of the 8th Rifle Brigade (3rd Rifle Division from comrade Fed'ko's group, the chief of the 46th Rifle Division; the group composed the 13th Army's right flank), began to spread rapidly to the west and northwest. By 0900 the entire Markov Division was already on the right bank of the Dnepr. On 9 October the enemy had occupied a bridgehead along the right bank of the Dnepr 25 kilometers deep and had established himself in the villages of Lukashevka and Vesolaya. As early as 8 October the Red command had taken measures to eliminate the enemy breakthrough to the Dnepr's right bank. It was concentrating two brigades from the 46th Rifle Division and Kitsyuk's cavalry brigade north of the breakthrough area in the Kantseropol' area and had moved the 21st Cavalry Division to the area northeast of Nikopol' (the Strukovka—Redutnyi—Anastas'yeva area), thus intending to operate from the north and southwest against the bases of the enemy's invasion wedge. At the same time, the Reds' northern shock group was to be reinforced with the 16th Cavalry Division (2nd Cavalry Army), which was headed to Vysokoye station. Thus the Whites' attack from Aleksandrovsk, which preceded their attack from the area of Ushkalka, had as its direct result the weakening of the 2nd Cavalry Army by two cavalry divisions.

For the purpose of activating its defense, the Red command itself transferred from Nikopol' a brigade from the 1st Rifle Division to the southern bank of the Dnepr. This brigade attacked the villages of Vodyanoye and Znamenskoye. But on the night of 8–9 October the crossing of the Whites' III Army Corps began over the Dnepr near the villages of Babino and Ushkalka. The 1st Rifle Division's 2nd Brigade, which was occupying the right bank of the Dnepr opposite these locales, was pushed back, which forced us to push to Nikopol' the 2nd Cavalry Army's last reserves—the 2nd Cavalry Division and an independent cavalry brigade.

It was only on 10 October that the offensive by the Reds' northern group (46th Rifle Division), which had been reinforced by a brigade of military students, began to develop successfully. These units successfully attacked the colony of Khortitsa, pushing the Markov Division back.<sup>25</sup> However, the enemy's breakthrough to the



west and southwest continued to develop successfully, while striving to link up with the breakthrough by his III Army Corps. The 2nd Cavalry Army ended up being thrown back to the village of Tokmakovka, where it was involved in stubborn fighting. The 16th Cavalry Division formed up on the right flank of Fed'ko's group and was attacking together with it. As early as the evening of 10 October the enemy had broken into the streets of Nikopol', but was thrown out of there. The 6th Army's left flank was gradually drawn to the battle's focus. Units of the 52nd Rifle Division (the 6th Army's left flank) attempted to attack Babino and Ushkalka; its cavalry brigade was being transferred to the area of the 6th Army's left flank. On 11 October both enemy breakthroughs formed into a single one, because our units had been forced to abandon Nikopol' and fall back 25–30 kilometers to the northwest and north of Nikopol'. The 2nd Cavalry Division ended up in the Vysokaya area and the 16th Cavalry Division occupied Chumaki; the 1st Rifle Division ended up between them. Only the 46th Rifle Division's offensive continued to develop, although slowly, but nonetheless successfully. Thus by 12 October the maneuver to cut off the wedge of the enemy's breakthrough had not succeeded, and the 2nd Cavalry Army had essentially only lengthened the front of Fed'ko's group. Thus from 12 October the actions of the 2nd Cavalry Army and Fed'ko's group took on the form of the reverse pushing back of the enemy to the left bank of the Dnepr.

As before, the 6th Army's left-flank division (52nd Rifle Division) attempted to assist them in this maneuver with two of its brigades, which were seeking to develop the offensive on Grushevskii Kut.

On the morning of 12 October the 2nd Cavalry Army and Fed'ko's group attacked along the front Podstepnoye—Nikopol'—Khortitsa colony. Fed'ko's group was fighting a stubborn battle for the villages of Vesoloye and Lukashevka and at the end of the day had pushed the enemy out of there. At the same time, the 21st Cavalry Division occupied the village of Aleksandrovka with its main forces, while pushing forward its lead units to Perevozhnoye; the 1st Rifle Division and the independent cavalry brigade occupied Sholokhovo; the 2nd Cavalry Division was attacking Chertomlyk, while the 16th Cavalry Division was moving on Krasnogrigor'yevka. On 13 October the offensive by Fed'ko's group continued to develop, with significant success along its left flank. The colony of Khortitsa and Kichkas were occupied and Khortitsa Island was under attack. Thus 13 October already signified for the enemy the complete failure of his Nikopol' operation. The attempt on 13–14 October to attack the Kakhovka fortified bridgehead head on was evidently a gesture of desperation on his part.<sup>26</sup> These attacks were beaten off, just as the previous ones had been. Our units briefly pursued the enemy, who had suffered heavy casualties, while during the unsuccessful attacks we knocked out and seized nine enemy tanks. The failure of the second attack on the Kakhovka bridgehead coincided in time with the decisive turning of the Nikopol' operation in our favor.

On 14 October a decisive success was evident along both flanks of our Nikopol' front. Along the boundary between the 2nd Cavalry and 6th Armies, the 52nd Rifle Division's 154th Rifle Brigade and Sablin's cavalry brigade (6th Army) defeated the enemy's screen near the village of Mar'inskoye, captured six guns and threw the enemy back to the north. At the same time, the 2nd Cavalry Army, upon concentrating a powerful mounted fist in the area of the village of Shelokhov, routed the enemy's cavalry group, consisting of three divisions, while Fed'ko's left flank occupied the northern part of Khortitsa Island.<sup>27</sup> The enemy was now fighting only in order to secure his exit from the fighting and to cross his extended units over to the left bank of the Dnepr. Thus he put up stubborn resistance to the advance of Fed'ko's group along the front Burval'd colony—Arbuzovka, while counterattacking from time to time. But on 15 October the hurried withdrawal of the enemy's rearguards was uncovered along the entire front and our units, while pursuing the enemy, advanced to the line of the Dnepr River.

The Nikopol' operation, despite its final, negative result, retains its instructive significance as an example of the successful forcing of a major water barrier. The good coordination in time of both attacks is worthy of attention. The attack from Aleksandrovska really did immediately distract nearly half of the 2nd Cavalry Army's forces, which made the enemy's task easier along the shock axis near Babino and Ushkalka. The struggle for the bridgehead was decided by the consistent increase in the Reds' efforts, insofar as we were not able to realize the turning maneuver against the flanks of the first of the Whites' groups to have crossed over. It is necessary to note that assistance which the 6th Army's left flank rendered to the 2nd Cavalry Army. Finally, the Nikopol' operation had yet another and no less important significance. It proved that the combat capability of Vrangl's firmest divisions was already not what it had been at the start of the campaign. For example, the Kuban' cavalry, which suffered a defeat around the village of Sholokhovo, ran away in extreme disorder toward the Dnepr River, throwing away along its path property, equipment, rifles, and machine guns.

In toting up the overall results of the two-month struggle in the Tavriya theater, we see that it was characterized by the extreme employment of maneuver, which was the result of the bitter struggle for the initiative, which both sides strove to seize. Before the Kuban' failure, first place in this regard belonged to Vrangl', but beginning with the second third of August it became increasingly difficult for him to maintain this and finally, from the end of August 1920, Vrangl's operations had already taken on the form of convulsive rushes in various directions along the entire theater of military activities and were essentially nothing more than defense, still quite active, to be sure, but already making this or that decision under the influence of the Soviet forces' activity. The activity of the latter was the result of slow but inexorable movement of numerical superiority in favor of Soviet strategy. Actually, as early as 5 September 1920 the correlation of forces in this theater was as follows:

the 13th Army numbered 54,028 infantry and 10,118 cavalry, with 294 light and heavy guns (the Kherson group, consisting of two independent battalions, internal security forces, the Latvian Rifle Division, the 1st, 3rd, 15th, 23rd, 40th, 42nd, 46th, 51st, and 52nd Rifle Divisions, the 85th Rifle Brigade, a brigade of military students, a brigade of Siberian volunteers, Goff's and Kitsyuk's cavalry groups, the 2nd Cavalry Army, the 5th Cavalry Division, and 9th Cavalry Division). The abundance of organized units required the reorganization and broadening of the command apparatus and on 8 September the right-bank group was renamed the 6th Army (Avksent'yevskii,<sup>28</sup> the army commander).

The enemy, in his turn, also carried out a reorganization of his command, putting all his forces into two armies: (General Kutepov's First Army and General Dratsenko's<sup>29</sup> Second Army), but their overall strength did not exceed 40,000–50,000 infantry and cavalry, and thus we already had a half-again superiority over the enemy in the entire theater.

Having decided upon continuing the struggle with Soviet Russia and at his own risk, contrary to the wishes and advice of the British government, Vrangeli nevertheless found unexpected support in the form of France. Concerned by the Red Army's victories over the Polish army, which had rapidly led the former to the banks of the Vistula, and not being in a condition to support with personnel "the bastion of its might in Eastern Europe," which had begun to show a number of cracks under the blows of the Soviet forces, France decided to support Vrangeli in order to distract part of the Soviet forces from the Polish front. Poland's difficult situation and those economic promises which the Vrangeli government had not stinted on, awoke France to actually recognize it. In exchange for material assistance in the struggle against Bolshevism, Vrangeli's government would give over the entire south of Russia, with all of its industrial enterprises and railroads, etc. into slavery to French capital.

Thus the energetic lunges by Vrangeli's army in various directions around Northern Tavriya throughout the summer and autumn of 1920 had definite political results for him and strategic ones for Poland, the chief enemy of Soviet Russia. The lunges forced Red strategy to weaken the main theater of military activities by detaching a significant part of its forces to the Vrangeli front during the maturation of the decisive events of the entire campaign on the Polish front. But at the same time, they accelerated the beginning of the end of Vrangeli's army itself. As soon as there appeared the possibility of a peaceful solution of the collision with Poland, the Soviet command set about to transfer significant forces from the main theater of military activities to the Vrangeli front. The arrival of these forces at the Tavriya front signified the beginning of the end of the agony of our internal counterrevolution, which had become prolonged due to external reasons.

## The Elimination of Vrangeli

*The Formation of the Southern Front. General Vrangeli's Autumn Attempt to Break Through to Right-Bank Ukraine; His Political and Strategic Goals. The Campaign of Makhno's Army into the Northeastern Part of Ukraine. The Treaty with Makhno. The Arrival of Makhno's Army at the Southern Front. The Forcing by Vrangeli's Second Army of the Dnepr Between Aleksandrovsk and Nikopol'. The Red Armies' Successful Counter Maneuver. The Enemy's Retreat to the Left Bank of the Dnepr River. Both Sides' Forces Before the Start of the Decisive Battle in Northern Tavriya; Their Dispositions. Comrade Frunze's Plan of Action. The Beginning of the Soviet Armies' Offensive. The Division of the 1st Cavalry Army's Forces and Its Consequences. The Enemy's Retreat. The Enemy's New Position on the Crimean Isthmuses. The State of the Fortifications of the Crimean Isthmuses. The Correlation of Forces of Both Sides. General Vrangeli's Decision to Defend the Isthmuses and the Disposition of his Forces for This. The Soviet Command's Plan for Attacking the Crimean Isthmuses. The Distribution of Men and Materiel. The Forcing by Soviet Units of the Sivash and Their Establishment on the Territory of the Crimea. The Struggle to Expand the Bridgehead on the Peninsula. The Enemy's Counterattacks. The Enemy's Retreat to the Yushun' Position on the Night of 8–9 November 1920. The Enemy's New Disposition. The Yushun' Engagement of 10–11 November. The Storming and Seizure by the 6th Army of the Yushun' Positions. The Significance of this Event. The Exit of the 6th Army's Main Forces From the Narrows of the Perekop Isthmus. The Pursuit of the Enemy and the Red Army's Seizure of the Entire Territory of the Crimea. Overall Conclusions.*

The decision to shift the center of gravity of our efforts to the Tavriya sector of the Southwestern Front raised the significance of this sector to the status of an independent front. The creation of a separate front was, besides this, necessary and the result of the great strength of our forces that had been concentrated by this time along the Tavriya sector. This front, under the name Southern, was formed on 21 September 1920, with comrade M. V. Frunze appointed to command it. The new front consisted of the 6th (formed from the right-bank group), 13th

and 2nd Cavalry Armies. At the same time, the 12th and 1st Cavalry Armies were transferred from the Southwestern Front, and the latter was preparing to move to the southern front.

The appointment of a unified and experienced leadership to the Southern Front was more than timely. In foreseeing the further concentration of our major forces along the Tavriya sector, the enemy was prepared for his final attempt to break through to the Ukrainian right bank. Political hopes, which were also not fated to be justified, just as his hopes regarding the Don and Kuban' were not justified, drew Vrangeli' here. By overestimating the political weight of the petite-bourgeois party of Ukrainian federalists and following the unsuccessful attempts to come to an agreement with Petlyura and Makhno, Vrangeli' came to an arrangement with them on the basis of recognizing Ukrainian autonomous rights similar to that of the Cossack regions, and was counting on getting support from the broad masses of the Ukrainian population with their support. Vrangeli's hopes were undoubtedly fanned by information that had reached him about an uprising of Ukrainian farmers along the Ukrainian right bank. However, the latter was not of a political character, but an economic one. The farmers were dissatisfied with the requisition from them of the grain surplus. Vrangeli' was unable to establish contact with the Petlyura movement, which was active in Podoliya and the Kiev area, both because of their radical divergence of goals ("united and indivisible Russia" and an independent Ukraine) and because of the distance between them.

By October 1920 a large part of Makhno's beloved territory had ended up under General Vrangeli's control.

Having left secret units in the occupied area, Makhno and his more organized units continued to raid in the rear of the Southwestern and then Southern fronts. The army's rear, which was suffused with poorly armed and poorly trained reserve units and internal security detachments, only put up weak resistance to Makhno. Throughout the summer and fall Makhno even seized individual provincial towns from time to time and robbed transports and food depots and destroyed railroads. Thus the Soviet government, while attaching particular significance to the struggle for a quiet rear area in Ukraine, which acquired particular significance in 1920, recognized the necessity of this struggle in the first half of the summer being headed by comrade Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii. Having declared himself Vrangeli's enemy, Makhno, objectively speaking, significantly eased Vrangeli's struggle against the Red Army. The political situation of the leader of the *kulak* "third revolution" was becoming more than difficult. The Soviet regime's struggle against Vrangeli's landowner-general counterrevolution attracted the sympathy and favor of the broad peasant masses who had felt upon themselves the Denikin regime. Makhno stood before the danger of turning into a political ally of Vrangeli' in the eyes of the peasantry. Both the political situation and the difficult materiel situation of his detachments forced Makhno to offer his service to the Soviet regime.

Thus appeared the Starbobel'sk agreement, according to which Makhno, having managed to acquire for himself a certain internal autonomy and freedom of recruitment, placed himself and his forces at the operational disposal of the Southern Front. This brought about a certain quiet in the front's rear which was necessary for the successful completion of the preparation (operational transfers and normal supply) of the decisive operation to defeat Vrangel'. In reply to doubts as to the correctness of this step by the Southern Front command, which before long once again faced the necessity of straightening out its temporary ally with an armed fist, we can only stress the operational-strategic significance of this agreement, which is obvious to any historian, for the period under study.

The second half of October passed in comparative quiet. Only along the borders of the Donbas did the Red units of the 13th and newly formed 4th Armies continue their advance after the enemy, who was falling back to straighten out his front. The latter undertook a partial regrouping for the purpose of restoring the organized formations, which had become disrupted during the Nikopol' operation. The essence of this regrouping was that their enemy left only his Don Corps along the Melitopol' and Orekhov axes. The reformed III Corps, consisting of the 6th and 7th Infantry Divisions and some small attached units, was supposed to operate along the Aleksandrovsk axis. Kutepov's entire I Corps was concentrating along the Nikopol' axis; the II Corps continued to operate along the Kakhovka axis. Barabovich's cavalry corps, which was the White command's general reserve, was concentrating in the Rubanovka—Novye Seragozy—Kalga area.

The regrouping was only just being completed. In particular, the 6th Infantry Division was approaching the village of Mikhailovka, while the Markov Division, which was moving to the area where its corps was stationed, was in the village of Balki. (See Map 21 of the plate section)

The overall shape of the enemy front reminds one of an irregular trapezium, the lower base of which was the coast of the Black Sea, where the enemy fleet was supreme.

The Reds' forces outflanked the enemy position in a half-circle and were completing their concentration in the last third of October. The Red 4th Army, which was operating along the Aleksandrovsk axis, was widely scattered in depth from Aleksandrovsk to the line Yekaterinoslav—Sinel'nikovo. The 1st Cavalry Army's forward units were arriving at the Ingulets River west of the town of Berislav.

Upon completing the concentration of all its forces, which was supposed to be carried out by the end of October, the Reds would gain a numerical superiority.

However, it is impossible to even come to any kind of approximate conclusions when comparing the tables below, because here our forces were counted by the Field Staff in "troops," while the enemy counted his forces in "bayonets."

Based on the advantages of the correlation of forces and their flanking situation *vis a vis* the enemy, the front commander assigned his armies the decisive mission

of “finishing off Vrangeli and to prevent him from falling back to the Crimean peninsula and to seize the isthmuses.”

In carrying out this task, the Red 6th Army (comrade Kork) was to aim for Perekop and Sal'kovo from the Kakhovka bridgehead. The 1st Cavalry Army, which had crossed near Kakhovka, was to quickly reach the area of the northern extremity of Lake Molochnoye and Fyodorovka station, to defeat the enemy's reserves, to cut off their path of retreat into the Crimea and to pursue them to their complete destruction.<sup>1</sup> The 2nd Cavalry Army, upon crossing the Dnepr near Nikopol' and Verkhni Rogachik, had the task of moving to the southeast to the front Fyodorovka—Mikhailovka and, upon establishing contact with the 1st Cavalry Army, to attack the rear of the enemy's Aleksandrovska and Pologi groups. The 4th and 13th Armies were to tie down enemy forces, while striving to defeat them and throw them back on our cavalry armies.

Table 1. The Strength of the Southern Front's Red Armies by 8 November 1920<sup>2</sup>

<i>Army</i>	<i>Command Element</i>	<i>Infantry</i>	<i>Cavalry</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Ration Strength</i>	
6th	3,983	37,157	3,661	51,432	89,716	
2nd Cavalry	715	—	7,203	11,253	14,342	
1st Cavalry	1,819	2,672	17,758	21,581	40,940	
4th Army	3,246	37,823	8,077	64,454	94,004	
Makhno's Army	—	4,000	1,000	6,000	13,600	
13th	1,107	11,243	957	17,310	23,536	
Composite Division	758	10,245	913	16,731	18,636	
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,628</b>	<b>103,140</b>	<b>39,569</b>	<b>188,771</b>	<b>294,990</b>	

<i>Army</i>	<i>Machine Guns</i>	<i>Armored Detachments</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Planes</i>	<i>Balloons</i>	<i>Armored Trains</i>
6th	880	9	153	21	4	—
2nd Cavalry	270	4	34	14	—	1
1st Cavalry	351	6	74	16	10	3
4th Army	813	2	154	27	1	8
Makhno's Army	250	—	12	—	—	—
13th	153	2	153	4	4	11
Composite Division	273	—	43	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,990</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>



Table 2. Strength of White Forces<sup>3</sup>

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Infantry</i>	<i>Cavalry</i>	<i>Machine Guns</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Planes</i>	<i>Armored Trains</i>	<i>Armored Cars</i>	<i>Tanks</i>
II Army Corps	2,000	400	—	—	—	—	—	—
I Army Corps	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III Army Corps	12,000	16,000	1,404	274	45	12	24	6
Don Corps	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barabovich's	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cavalry Corps								
In the Crimea	16,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total at the Front	14,000	11,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
In the Rear Area	16,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

A total of 41,000 infantry and cavalry.

Besides this, the 13th Army's cavalry was to unite into a special group which, while moving on Fyodorovka station, was supposed to move toward both cavalry armies.

With this plan comrade Frunze was pursuing here the goal of "a destructive engagement," having in mind chiefly the enemy's forces. The decisiveness of the plan completely corresponded to the existing correlation of forces and the advantages of the initial jumping-off position, which would make extremely easy the concentric offensive of all the Red armies. All questions of materiel, operational and political support for the operation were thoroughly thought out and foreseen.<sup>4</sup>

The desire to end the extended campaign with a single blow, without stretching out the struggle into the winter, shifted the conduct of the campaign onto the rails of a decisive strategy. And here, just as on the Polish front, this strategy was insistently dictated by the political situation. A crushing attack against Vrangel' would give Soviet diplomacy an enormous trump card for the successful completion of the peace negotiations, which were being dragged out by the Poles in Riga. Besides this, the establishment of trading connections with the Entente powers depended to a great extent of the quickest possible and victorious completion of the campaign on the Crimean front. Thus the plan and goals fully corresponded to the totality of the situation and proceeded entirely from it. Thus the operation of the southern Red armies in Northern Tavriya is also one of those rare operations in military history, according to its internal unity and integrity. But here, as in the operation along the Vistula River, one should separate the question of the plan from its realization. In the first case, we are dealing with the single will of the commander, who reacts to all the influences of the environment and seeks a way to overcome all the frictions created by this environment. In the second case, local executors appear on the

scene; their work and creativity comprise new forces, which either make easier or complicate the work of the high command by creating unforeseen frictions. The higher command cannot be responsible for the appearance of these frictions and it cannot even always eliminate them in view of the extreme dynamism of the combat situation and the large scope of modern battlefields. This means that the realization of the operation is a matter of the collective creativity of the commander and his immediate subordinates, and thus the historian must once again, in his analysis of this creativity, separate the role of the main command, the brain behind the operation, and the role of the executors, having clarified the objective and subjective reasons influencing this or that outcome of the operation.

As regards the enemy's plans, according to partial data we can assume that the gradual evacuation of the Northern Tavriya or the significant shortening of the front there was part of his intentions, along with the launching of local attacks against the Red forces. It was evidently for this purpose that the enemy was holding Barabovich's powerful cavalry group and one of the I Corps' divisions in the Novye Seragozy area.

In view of the 1st Cavalry Army's arriving somewhat late,<sup>5</sup> the decisive offensive by all the Southern Front's Red armies was set for 28 October. Before this time the armies were supposed to occupy their jumping-off positions. In particular, the 6th Army was supposed to occupy with its left flank (52nd Rifle Division) the bridgehead on the left bank of the Dnepr in the Nizhnii Rogachik area. The 2nd Cavalry Army was supposed to cross the Dnepr and occupy the bridgehead on the left bank of the Dnepr south of Nikopol'. The 4th and 13th Armies were ordered to occupy their jumping-off positions by the close of the day on 27 October: the 4th Army along the front Yanchakrak—Shcherbakova—Orekhov, exclusively, and the 13th Army along the front Orekhov—Pologi—Verkhni Tokmak—Nogaisk.

On 26 October the commander of the Southern Front made several amendments to his initial plan. They consisted of the following: the 2nd Cavalry Army was to be directed due south on Seragozy; the 1st Cavalry Army was to first reach the Askaniya-Nova—Gromovka area, and from there attack the rear of the enemy's main forces. The 6th Army now had the task of defeating the enemy's II Corps, having no less than a division in a screen from the north, one division in reserve, and to leave one division in the Kherson area, while its left-flank division (52nd) was to go over to a decisive offensive on 29 October, together with the 2nd Cavalry Army, on Rubanovka and Seragozy.

On the night of 25–26 October the 6th and 2nd Cavalry Armies set about occupying their jumping-off positions on the left bank of the Dnepr. The 6th Army crossed over two brigades from its left-flank (52nd Rifle) division to the left bank of the Dnepr in the Nizhnii Rogachik area for the purpose of occupying the Nizhnii Rogachik—Karadubina bridgehead.

At the same time, the 46th Rifle Division, which had been attached to the 2nd Cavalry Army, and the same army's 16th Cavalry Division began to cross over to

the left bank of the Dnepr in the area of the city of Nikopol' and the village of Verkhne-Tarasovskoye.

These actions by the Red forces aroused the enemy to adopt measures to restore its situation along the line of the Dnepr. He committed his Kornilov Division into the fighting against the 52nd Rifle Division. Here the fighting became prolonged, notable for several shifts in the front of both sides, but without significant results for them. The main center of the fighting was the village of Nizhnii Rogachik, which changed hands several times. But the Reds were neither able to expand their bridgehead, nor were the Whites able to fully throw them beyond the Dnepr. This unstable balance was the consequence of the approximate equality of the forces committed into the fighting by both sides.

More serious for the enemy was the Nikopol' seat of the fighting. Here the Reds' pressure grew very slowly, but inexorably, due to the extremely cautious and extended transfer by the 2nd Cavalry Army command of its cavalry units to the left bank of the Dnepr. On the first day of the crossing, that is, on 26 October, the enemy had to commit into the fighting the Markov Division, which happened to be nearby. But the Markov Division's forces were insufficient to throw the Reds back to the Dnepr's right bank. And here the White command was consecutively bringing up to the Nikopol' seat of the fighting from the Aleksandrovsk and Pologi axes, first the 1st Kuban' Cavalry Division's 1st Brigade from the town of Orekhov, and then the 1st and 2nd Don Cavalry Divisions from the eastern front of its position. By the evening of 27 October the latter were already in the area of the Nikopol' bridgehead, but had not yet had time to enter the fighting. At the same time, the enemy hurried to reinforce his maneuver reserve (Barabovich's cavalry corps) by moving up to it the 2nd Brigade of the same Kuban' Cavalry Division.

Thus the first result of the crossing of the 2nd Cavalry Army and of the 6th Army's left flank (52nd Rifle Division) was the significant weakening of the enemy's entire eastern group of forces in the form of the extended Don Corps, which rendered its situation particularly difficult, because the II Army Corps, which was operating along the Aleksandrovsk axis, had not yet been reinforced by the 6th Infantry Division, which was being transferred to it from the Rubanovka area. These circumstances aroused the enemy to seek reinforcement along the Aleksandrovsk and Pologi axes by shortening the front through a withdrawal, which gave the 4th and 13th Armies the opportunity to reach the appointed jumping-off line by the close of 27 October.

Some authors assume that by this time the enemy had already formulated the decision not to carry the fighting in Northern Tavriya to the end, but to slip out from under the blow hanging over them. This may be espied in the fact that the enemy's II Corps along the Perekop axis began to withdraw on the night of 27–28 October, covered by rearguards. At the same time, the supposition has been put forward that having planned a general withdrawal into the Crimea, the enemy hoped to combine it with a local success over one of our pursuing groups by falling on it

with Barabovich's cavalry. Most likely, just as in August 1920, our Kakhovka group was to have come under this attack while it pursued the Whites' II Corps. It strikes us that the enemy's plans were broader in scope. It is possible that the enemy was simply evading the 1st Cavalry Army's attack against the II Corps and hoped by this to fully distract it to the Perekop axis in order to fall upon it with powerful cavalry reserves from the Seragozy area when, while turning to the Perekop axis, it would present its flank to it. The 1st Cavalry Army was the most dangerous enemy. Upon successfully dealing with it, the enemy would have the freedom to restore the situation along the other sectors of the front through a series of consecutive attacks. But the maneuver's success depended upon how solidly the enemy could maintain its position along the Nikopol', Aleksandrovsk and Pologi axes. The days preceding the opening of the operation enabled Vrangeli' to calculate that the Reds' forces along the Nikopol' axis had been tied down sufficiently soundly. The entire question was whether the screens along the Aleksandrovsk and Pologi axes would hold. He ought to have worried about the latter, from which his best units (three Cossack cavalry divisions) had been successively drawn. But here in the rear of the Don Corps was the fortified Melitopol' position, on the strength of which the enemy evidently placed great hopes. It is only by these considerations that we can explain the enemy's delay of his general withdrawal, which he could have begun and continued in comparatively peaceful circumstances as early as the close of the day on 26 October, given the clear slowness of the crossing by the 2nd Cavalry Army. In no way did the decision for a general withdrawal require the transfer of three cavalry divisions from the Pologi axis to the Nikopol' axis.

The slowdown by the enemy of his withdrawal created favorable prerequisites for carrying out comrade Frunze's plan. By the close of 27 October the gap between the 2nd Cavalry and 13th Armies began to be filled by the 4th Army's two lead divisions (30th Rifle and 23rd Rifle) and the 30th Rifle Division's vanguard came into combat contact with the forward units of the Whites' 7th Infantry Division. Further to the southeast, the Red 13th Army's right-flank units had established close combat contact with units of the III and Don Corps, while the 42nd Rifle Division had penetrated in a deep wedge into the Whites' position, seizing the important junction of Bol'shoi Tokmak. Our Azov group (the 2nd Don Division, with attached units) was echeloned behind the 13th Army's main group of forces, which was concentrated in its center (9th Rifle Division and comrade Kashirin's cavalry group: 5th and 9th Cavalry Divisions), with its cavalry's main forces behind the infantry (9th and 5th Cavalry Divisions). Along the Nikopol' axis the 2nd Cavalry Army had crossed only its infantry (3rd and 46th Rifle Divisions) to the left bank of the Dnepr, with only an independent cavalry brigade and the 16th Cavalry Division out of its cavalry. The 2nd and 21st Cavalry Divisions and Kitsyuk's cavalry brigade still remained along the right bank of the Dnepr. However, the enemy was no longer pursuing decisive goals along this axis, despite the fact that he disposed here of two recently arrived

Don cavalry divisions. The extended fighting between the Kornilov and 52nd Rifle Division in the Nizhnii Rogachik area was of purely local significance. Finally, three Red divisions (Latvian, 15th and 51st Rifle) had concentrated on the Kakhovka bridgehead for the lunge forward, while the 1st Cavalry Army was being brought up here under cover of night.

Such was the initial position of both sides on the night before the start of the Southern Front's Red armies' decisive offensive.

Subsequent stages of the fighting gradually shifted the center of gravity of both sides' attention from the Nikopol' seat of fighting to newly appearing ones.

At dawn on 28 October began the broad fan-like divergence from the Kakhovka bridgehead of the 6th Army's rifle divisions, behind which were moving the 1st Cavalry Army's lead divisions, which had already managed to cross the Dnepr. The 51st Rifle Division, with its four brigades, headed directly for Perekop and the 15th Rifle Division's 44th Rifle Brigade was attacking here as well, with Sablin's cavalry brigade and Yushkevich's<sup>6</sup> cavalry brigade (the Latvian Cavalry Regiment and the 15th Cavalry Regiment) moving with it. To the north, the Latvian Division was moving up to secure it along the front Dmitriyevka—Konstantinovka—Gornostayevka. Two brigades from the 15th Rifle Division were securing the Kakhovka bridgehead, which the 1st Cavalry Army's 4th and 14th Cavalry Divisions had just passed. The remainder was still being delayed by the crossing over the Dnepr at Kakhovka. South of the 6th Army's main group of forces in the Kherson area, units of the 1st Rifle Division, which were moving to the Black Sea coast, had successfully crossed the Dnepr. The advance of these units was taking place, for the time being, unhindered. During the night of 27–28 October the enemy had already managed to break from them and the main mass of the Whites' II Corps was already in the Chaplinka area, covered by rearguards that had halted along the line Chyornaya Dolina—Natal'ino. Along the 6th Army's extreme left flank, the enemy on the night of 27–28 October forced back the 52nd Rifle Division, having renounced attempts to throw it beyond the Dnepr. The 52nd Rifle Division was concentrating in the Nizhnii Rogachik area and preparing to continue the offensive in the direction of Ol'gofel'd and Rubanovka.

The 2nd Cavalry Army employed the night of 27–28 October for continuing to concentrate and deploy its forces along the left bank of the Dnepr. The 2nd Cavalry Division crossed here during the night from Nikopol' to the village of Vodyanoye, the 7th Rifle Brigade was completing its crossing, and the 21st Cavalry Division was moving up, having left its extended sector along the right bank of the Dnepr during the night. Despite the arrival of reinforcements (1st and 2nd Don Divisions), the enemy here also gave up attempts to throw the 2nd Cavalry Army's units behind the Dnepr. Henceforth he would try through an active defense to only delay the further advance of the 2nd Cavalry Army. In connection with this, the enemy pulled back his units during the night (27–28

October) to the front Ol'gofel'd—Verkhonii Rogachik—Bol'shaya Ozerka—Malaya Ozerka—Orlyansk.

On the whole, 28 October in the area of the Nikol' center of the fighting began quietly. It was necessary for the Red units to overcome the space dividing them from the enemy in order to restore combat contact with him. For the time being only the 16th Cavalry Division, which from the morning of 28 October began its attack from the village of Balki toward Orlyansk and Malaya Belozerka, was doing this.

Things were different along the Aleksandrovsk and Pologi axes. Here, from the evening of 27 October the enemy halted his retreat, intending to put up along this line decisive resistance to the Reds' further advance. Thus the morning of 28 October found the forward units of both sides in close combat contact with each other. The Reds' front straightened out during the night. The 42nd Rifle Division, which had occupied Bol'shoi Tokmak the previous evening, abandoned it on the night of 27–28 October, because its wedge-shaped forward position was evidently a great temptation for the enemy, whom the 6th Infantry Division had reached. In preparing for the decisive offensive, the Reds narrowed their front, squeezing the cavalry forward. At the same time, the 23rd Rifle Division and Makhno's army were moving up into the interval between the 30th Rifle Division and the 42nd Rifle Division. The 9th Rifle Division was arriving at the Tokmak axis, reinforcing the 7th Cavalry Division, which was fighting here, while the 13th Army's cavalry group (Kashirin and the 5th and 9th Cavalry Divisions) began to move up to the free space between the 13th Army's main forces and its Azov group (2nd Don Division). But the enemy undertook all possible measures to reinforce his troops. He gathered his 3rd Don Division in the Lindenau—Astrakhanka area and moved up Dolgopyatov's<sup>7</sup> independent cavalry brigade from the deep rear (evidently from the Genichesk area) to his right flank. These measures by both sides created a great concentration of their forces, particularly those of the Reds in the Bol'shoi Tokmak area, and their close contact, which due to the tasks both sides had assigned themselves here for 28 October, made the Bol'shoi Tokmak area an important center of conflict on this day.

On this day only the 51st Rifle Division along the 6th Army's sector got into a fight with the enemy's rearguards in the villages of Chyornaya Dolina and Natal'ino, where it defeated them and by the close of 28 October was approaching the area of the village of Chaplinka. All of the army's other units carried out their assigned movements without combat collisions with the enemy.

The 52nd Rifle Division, which was busy with regrouping, did not advance. This gave the enemy—the Whites' Kornilov Division—the opportunity to fall back to the Zelyonaya area and there prepare for defense.

On 28 October the 1st Cavalry Army was still unable to exert any influence on the operation's development. The army, delayed by the crossing over the Dnepr, continued to deploy and had not yet reached the line of the 6th Army's infantry units.

On 28 October the 2nd Cavalry Army had fully concentrated along the left bank of the Dnepr, but committed only two cavalry divisions into the fighting. Of these divisions, the 21st Cavalry Division, following a successful fight, threw the Kornilov Division's rearguard out of Verkhonii Rogachik, while the 16th Cavalry Division, which had launched an offensive, by brigade, on Malaya Belozerkka and Orlyansk, was thrown out of both these locales by the Markov Division. Thus the Nikopol' center of fighting did not yield on this day that degree of intensive combat activity that one might have expected here, thanks to the concentration of quite large forces on both sides in this area.

As one might have expected from the disposition of forces that had come about the previous evening, the center of gravity of the fighting on 28 October shifted to the east—to the Alekseyevka and Pologi axes. Here, despite the fact that the 4th and 13th Armies' territorial achievements varied from five to 15 kilometers in depth, their tactical successes were significant. They came down to the fact that 1) the enemy had been defeated and was forced, due to the overall situation, to begin withdrawing from that front line along which it had been preparing to defend, and that 2) tactical communications had been established between the internal flanks of the Red 2nd Cavalry and 4th Armies. Thus by the close of 28 October all the links of the Reds' half-circle had been connected and had already begun to more closely encircle the Whites' position.

The 1st Cavalry Army's arrival at its designated place threatened to turn this half-ring first into an operational encirclement, and then into a tactical one.

In the resulting situation the 6th and 1st Cavalry Armies, on the one hand, and the 13th Army on the other, were the pincers of those tongs with which comrade Frunze's hand was preparing to completely cut the enemy off from the Crimean isthmuses. One pincer from the 6th and 1st Cavalry Armies was particularly strong and dangerous for the enemy. As early as the close of 28 October its forward infantry units were located 25–30 kilometers from the group of main enemy reserves (Barabovich's cavalry corps), which was still operationally free. The other pincer from the 13th Army was also threatening for the enemy, if the center of its forces' concentration had been moved back toward its left flank—the Azov group—instead of to the right, then the latter would not have ended up initially thrown back in relation to the overall front line, which offered the enemy the advantage of securing himself by space. Although his eastern screen had already been defeated, the enemy could count that this screen, which had latched on to the Melitopol' fortified position along a narrower front, would win the necessary time. This time was necessary in order to attempt to defeat the Reds' most dangerous Kakhovka group.

This is why on 29 October the enemy planned, while holding the Reds' northern group (52nd Division, 2nd Cavalry Army and 4th Army) with those forces which were already operating against it, to weaken his eastern screen even more by removing from it two infantry divisions and thus pull it back to an even narrower front, the



Melitopol' fortified position. The withdrawn divisions were to be dispatched to reinforce that group which existed in the Novye Seragozy area. (See Map 22 of the plate section)

Thus reinforced, the group was to fall upon the Reds' Kakhovka group, which was threatening the Perekop isthmus, and defeat it. The enemy's plan would have been thwarted if his Melitopol' screen had not held its positions and opened to the Reds the way to the Chongar peninsula before the Whites' maneuver group could deal with our Kakhovka group. The enemy did not halt before weakening himself further along the Melitopol' axis in order to insure himself from such a risk. He decided to remove the 7th Infantry Division from the III Army Corps and to transfer it, partly by armored train and partly by foot, to the Sal'kovo area, and to there form from it and several other reserve units General Kantserov's<sup>8</sup> special group, which was subordinated directly to Vrangl' and which had the task of securing the Chongar peninsula. Thus the enemy had taken another three divisions from his III Army and Don Corps. A certain compensation, although far from sufficient for such a weakening of the Don Corps, was to be the attachment to the Don Corps of the cadre Don Training Brigade, which on 29 October had evidently also been dispatched to the corps' extreme right flank.

During the night of 28–29 October units of the III and Don Corps were once again able to break contact with the Reds' vanguards. They pressed together toward their internal flanks and along a comparatively narrow front were defending with their position a sector of the Aleksandrovsk—Melitopol' railroad. By lengthening the Markov Division's right flank, the 7th Infantry Division was pulled back into the rear and gathered to the area of Fyodorovka station, to be embarked on trains under the cover of the 6th Infantry and 1st Don Divisions. The 2nd Don Division and Dolgopyatov's cavalry brigade were moving up to the line of these two divisions, forming up to them to the south, while being pursued by the Reds' 5th Cavalry Division, which had moved significantly ahead of the front of the Reds' Azov group. This group could have had a decisive significance for the seizure of the Melitopol' fortified strong hold, insofar as only empty space separated the group from it. But time was required to overcome this 45-kilometer space, which the Reds did not dispose of, because the Whites' 3rd Don Division, which was heading directly for the Melitopol' positions, was practically approaching them.

Now we will look at both sides' situation along the Kakhovka—Perekop axis. The most important factor which we should focus our attention on was the fact that: 1) the 1st Cavalry Army had already managed to deploy and was beginning to bypass the infantry columns; 2) its previously compact mass had broken up into two groups of forces which were beginning to move in diverging directions. The northern group (6th and 11th Cavalry Divisions) were moving directly to the Agaiman—Seragozy area, where its collision with the enemy's group of operational reserves, which was completing its deployment along the line Rubanovka—Nizhnie

Seragozy, was inevitable. The 1st Cavalry Army's other equally powerful group of forces (4th and 14th Cavalry Divisions), quite the opposite, was beginning to pull sharply to the south, aiming at the Gromovka area; 3) let us turn our attention, at last, to the fact that as early as the morning of 29 October, the forces of both sides along the Agaiman axis were separated by a distance of only 35 kilometers.

Thus on 29 October the operational center of efforts was supposed to shift even further toward the ends of our outflanking horseshoe. At the same time, the 2nd Cavalry Army was now the connecting link between the eastern and western branches of this operational horseshoe and determined their coordination. Here on the morning of 29 October both sides were in close combat contact. Two brigades from the 52nd Rifle Division got into a fight with the Kornilov Division in the area of the Zelyonaya colony. Further on, the 2nd Cavalry Division was attacking on Bol'shaya Belozerka. To their east, along the front Malaya Belozerka—Orlyansk, the 16th Cavalry Division, the 8th Rifle Brigade and Kitsyuk's cavalry brigade were attacking. But the 2nd Cavalry Army's remaining infantry (the 46th Rifle Division and a brigade from the 3rd Rifle Division) and an independent cavalry brigade remained along the Nikopol' bridgehead at a distance of 15 kilometers from the combat front. Behind it the 21st Cavalry Division, ahead of which the 52nd Rifle Division had already entered the fighting, ended up behind it in the village of Verkhonii Rogachik. On this day only half of the 2nd Cavalry Army's forces were actively operating, while the other was only an observer of the fighting. This was all the more abnormal in that the 4th Army's right flank, the 30th Rifle Division, had already moved closely to the line of the right flank of the Markov Division, and in the event of its becoming active, could have aided the 2nd Cavalry Army by reliably tying down the Markov Division.

The enemy in the Melitopol' area managed to concentrate in Melitopol' the 3rd Don Division and was bringing up the 1st and 2nd Don Divisions, which had been designated for transfer against our Kakhovka group. Simultaneously, the transfer of the 7th Infantry Division to the Sal'kovo area was underway. This regrouping was being carried out under cover of the 6th Infantry Division and the 1st and 2nd Don Divisions' rearguards. The Reds' Azov group (2nd Don Division) and the 13th Army's cavalry group (Kashirin) managed to carry out a significant lunge forward that day and was already pressing the Whites' tail around Melitopol'. The 13th Army's rifle divisions were moving somewhat more slowly. They only had to deal with the covering units of the Whites' 6th Infantry Division.

Along the Perekop axis the Whites' rearguards were hurriedly falling back behind the Turkish Wall, where the main forces of the Whites' II Corps were already settling down. The 1st Cavalry Army's southern group (4th and 14th Cavalry Divisions) along the Sal'kovo axis reached the Gromovka—Novo-Nikolayevka area, where it halted. The advance by the 1st Cavalry Army's northern group (6th and 11th Cavalry Divisions) was moving more slowly, while taking into account the possibility of a collision with the enemy. However, the group's 11th Cavalry Division was already

in the Agaiman area. The 6th Cavalry Division, along with the Latvian Division, was approaching the line Novo-Rep'yevka—Voznesensk.

By this time the enemy was completing the concentration of his shock group along the line Rubanovka—Nizhnie Seragozy, where the 2nd Cavalry Division had arrived from the Kalga area and to where the 1st Kuban' Artillery Brigade was approaching from the Nikopol' axis. The Kornilov Division was falling back to the village of Rubankovka, having left only a rearguard, with which the 52nd Rifle Division continued fighting, in the area of the Zelyonaya colony.

The weakening of the enemy along the Nikopol' axis was immediately reflected in the course of affairs in this area of the fighting. The Reds' 2nd Cavalry Division was fighting to take the village of Bol'shaya Belozerka. All of the Whites' efforts were being concentrated now in an active defense of the sector Malaya Belozerka—Orlyansk—Mikhailovka. The enemy's goal was to halt at any price the 2nd Cavalry Army's advance on this day. With the fall of Bol'shaya Belozerka, the Reds' front line along the Nikopol' axis would move another 30 kilometers closer to the Seragozy area. The 2nd Cavalry Army's further spread to the south was already threatening with immediate danger the rear areas of his shock group, which had concentrated in the Seragozy area and would thwart his entire counter maneuver.

But on this day the 2nd Cavalry Army let slip a favorable opportunity to place the decisive weight on the scales of the entire operation, leaving half of its forces in idleness. This circumstance aided the enemy to activate his defense, while falling upon the 16th Cavalry Division's outer flank from behind the Markov Division's left flank. Upon throwing it back, he attacked the 8th Cavalry Division's exposed flank and, upon taking two regiments prisoner, broke into the village of Balki. But here the combat cooperation of the Reds' units told: the 264th Rifle Regiment (30th Rifle Division), which had been dispatched to the village of Balki from the village of Skel'ka, in its turn attacked the flank of the extended White cavalry, overthrew it, and the 16th Cavalry Division, along with the remnants of the 8th Rifle Brigade, once again established itself in the village of Balki. The 4th Army, with the appearance of a wedge extending 65–70 kilometers into the depth, was operating along the front with only one of its divisions. Its remaining divisions (23rd Rifle Division and the composite division) had been deeply echeloned in depth.

Such a formation was the result of the fact that due to the 13th Army's direct movement to the west, the corridor remaining for the 4th Army's operations, between the Dnepr bend and the 13th Army's right flank, kept on getting narrower. This situation continued into the subsequent days of the operation, and we will presently see that some of the 4th Army's units (the International Cavalry Brigade and a composite division) would not manage to enter the fighting before the end of the operation. The 4th Army's disposition underlined the great necessity of shifting the center of the 13th Army's concentration of forces to its left, and not its right flank, which would have offered freedom of action for the 4th Army.

By the close of 29 October both sides' forward units were already in combat contact in the Seragozy and Melitopol' areas. It was now clear that the enemy's 1st and 2nd Don Divisions, which had just been dispatched to the Seragozy area, and which were separated from it by 55 kilometers, would be late to the beginning of the fighting in this area. The threat that had arisen along the flanks of the enemy's bulging front around Seragozy and Melitopol' forced the Whites to set about gradually abandoning the Nikopol' sector. The 30th Rifle Division's energetic attack helped a great deal to bring this decision about. The enemy's Markov Division, under the cover of the 1st and 2nd Don Divisions' attacks, extricated itself from the fighting and was moving on the left flank of the Melitopol' fortified position to the village of Vtorokonstantinovka. Thus only two Don cavalry divisions remained against the cavalry army and the 30th Rifle Division. But the 2nd Cavalry Army, following the 16th Cavalry Division's failure, was not striving to develop active operations, but concentrating a large cavalry fist in the area of the village of Bol'shaya Belozherka. The 21st Cavalry Division was being brought up here from Verkhni Rogachik, while the independent cavalry brigade was moving here as well. But the 2nd Cavalry Army's main infantry forces (46th Rifle Division and the 7th Rifle Brigade) remained, as before, in place.

Thus while carrying out this operation, there began to arise frictions, which were being created not so much by the enemy's will as by the activity of individual executors. The 1st Cavalry Army no longer represented a compact mass, but was operating, having divided itself into two groups, between which the distance reached a day's march. There would not have been anything dangerous in such a situation if the 1st Cavalry Army's command energy and initiative had found a sympathetic echo among the 2nd Cavalry Army command. In that case, a dangerous situation would have arisen for the White cavalry's maneuver group in the Seragozy area. In its turn, the latter could have been taken in a pincer movement from the north by the 2nd Cavalry Army, from which it was separated by a day's march and from the south by the 1st Cavalry Army's northern group. But for this an energetic offensive by the 2nd Cavalry Army was necessary against that screen, made up of the two Don cavalry divisions, which they enemy had left along its sector.

Thus 30 October ended up being full of operational and tactical content. Its operational results fully confirmed the Reds' strategy and testified to the correctness of its operational plan. The several tactical failures or missed favorable opportunities were inevitable in any combat work. Both maneuver and combat actions that took place in the closing of our operational horseshoe around the enemy are deserving of separate attention.

The Reds' activities in encircling the enemy and his maneuvering for the purpose of breaking through the ring are operations of secondary importance. But events of local significance unfolded against their background, which proceeded from the local assignments and goals of individual groups, and we cannot but pay attention to them in order to understand the operation as a whole. In examining all of the

events of 30 October from this point of view, we must subdivide them into two groups: 1) the episodes connected with the encirclement operation of the enemy's main forces, having therefore major operational significance, and; 2) the episodes, which were perhaps significant in and of themselves, but the outcome of which did not have extended significance for the fate of the entire operation.

Among the events of the first order we include: a) the completion of the of the enemy's operational encirclement by seizing Sal'kovo and Genichesk by the 1st Cavalry Army's southern group; b) the seizure by the Reds of the Melitopol' fortified center, and; c) the raid by the enemy's cavalry on the village of Bol'shaya Belozerka, which brought about the complete inactivity of the 2nd Cavalry Army throughout 30 October.

Among the events of the second order we include: a) the unsuccessful attack on the Turkish Wall by the 51st Rifle Division, and; b) the pushing back by the enemy, which had concentrated in the Nizhnie Seragozy, of the 1st Cavalry Army's northern group and units of the Latvian Division from the path of its retreat to the south. (See Map 23 of the plate section)

The events enumerated by us are located in reverse order in time, and the first thing to occupy our attention is the fighting in the area of the village of Agaiman between two Red cavalry divisions (6th and 11th Cavalry Divisions) and one rifle division (Latvian) and the enemy's operational reserves, which had moved to the south, consisting of two infantry and 3 1/2 cavalry divisions. From the north, this enemy group, which was operating under General Kutepov's command, was being covered by rearguards, which had been left at a distance of 15-20 kilometers, against one of which the 52nd Rifle Division's 1st Brigade got into a fight. A powerful cavalry group from the 2nd Cavalry Army, consisting of more than two cavalry divisions (2nd and 21st Cavalry Divisions and an independent cavalry brigade) were located in the area of the village of Bol'shaya Belozerka, at a distance of 30–35 kilometers from these rearguards, that is, a distance of a day's cavalry ride. The 2nd Cavalry Army's infantry (46th Rifle Division and 7th Rifle Brigade) was moving up to this group. The 2nd Cavalry Army's other powerful group (16th Cavalry Division and Kitsyuk's cavalry brigade), along with the 30th Rifle Division's 88th Rifle Brigade, occupied the villages of Malaya Belozerka and Orlyansk. Only two Don cavalry divisions were against both of the 2nd Cavalry Army's groups.

A gap of up to 35 kilometers had formed between the enemy's Melitopol' and Seragozy groups. The 2nd Cavalry Army's cavalry group could have been thrown into this gap from Bol'shaya Belozerka. Having advanced only 20–25 kilometers to the south, for which no more than 5–6 hours were required, this group, by driving a wedge between both enemy groups and attacking one of them in the rear and the other in the flank, could have created a disastrous situation for the enemy. But the enemy, lacking any means to ward it off, placed his bet on psychology. The raid by two cavalry regiments on Bol'shaya Belozerka, although it was beaten off, had the

effect of tying down for the entire day all of the 2nd Cavalry Army's forces, which had such rich operational opportunities. This is why we include this episode, with its comparatively inconsequential tactical content, among the factors of major operational significance, which were moreover unfavorable for us.

In further tracing the course of events, we will turn our attention to two circumstances: 1) During the night the enemy's infantry in the Melitopol' area managed to break contact to a significant distance (20–25 kilometers) from our 4th Army and the 13th Army's right flank, leaving between them and himself only units of the same Don cavalry; this was undoubtedly a major tactical achievement by the enemy. Its consequences, which were unfavorable for us, were that on this day neither the 4th Army, nor a significant part of the 13th Army's forces, would take a decisive part in combat activities. Thus our overwhelming superiority of forces would prove to be for naught. 2) The disadvantageous grouping of the 4th Army's forces on the march, which took the form of a wedge that was deeply echeloned back, can be explained by those same reasons as for the previous day. Now this disadvantage would increase due to the stratification of the 4th and 13th Armies' internal flanks on each other. However, for the enemy 30 October also involved unexpected frictions for him. The Melitopol' fortified center did not justify the hopes placed upon it. As early as the morning of 30 October the 13th Army's cavalry began to infiltrate through the fortified zone, which brought about the premature withdrawal of the Whites' 6th Infantry Division. Red cavalry broke into Melitopol' as early as 1000. Evidently the moral strength of the III and Don Corps had been completely undermined and their materiel forces exhausted by the withdrawal from them of three infantry divisions the previous evening.

The fall of the Melitopol' center was an event of the greatest operational importance. It testifies to the fact that the enemy's eastern screen had broken down completely and that henceforth the enemy would not be able to view it as a strong point for its maneuver combinations. We will subsequently see how the III and Don Corps' divisions, which had gotten mixed up together, will seek to get out from under the Reds' attack along the line of least resistance and rely on Kutepov's group. In such a situation, all of the latter's tactical successes will have only a limited significance. No matter what they were, the enemy would have neither the time nor the opportunity to develop them to the end. But in connection with the fall of the Melitopol' fortified center, which was extremely advantageous for us and which could have proved fatal for the enemy, there arose a circumstance which threatened to disrupt comrade Frunze's basic plan in its most important parts. This circumstance, which may evidently be explained by counting on stubborn resistance in the Melitopol' area, consists of the fact that the Red 13th Army had been squeezed hard toward its right flank and had brought up its Azov group to the level of Melitopol'. The army's right flank, in turn, had shifted to the right, which essentially meant the self-annihilation of the eastern encircling branch of our pincers.



The main concentration of the 4th and 13th Armies was no longer in a flanking, but almost in a frontal situation *vis a vis* the rearguards of the enemy's III and Don Corps. What were the operational consequences of such a disposition? They were unfavorable for us. The enemy got the opportunity to slip away from under the blow hanging over him and once again place a significant distance between himself and the 4th and 13th Armies' pursuing units, while the internal flanks of the latter, while changing the axis of their movement, would not avoid getting mixed up with each other. But the main disadvantage for us would be that the weight of the fighting would be distributed unevenly between our units and would fall upon only an insignificant minority of them.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the accomplishment of the Southern Front commander's plan began to be complicated by frictions that were impossible to foresee earlier and which were impossible to eliminate due to the extremely rapid development of events. All of these are objective reasons of a negative order which influenced the outcome of a brilliantly planned operation. But these events were meanwhile maturing and developing. The 1st Cavalry Army's southern group, which was still operationally free, continued to carry out its tasks. It was fated to close the operational encirclement ring on 30 October and become the executor of comrade Frunze's plan. It was already on the move to Sal'kovo early in the morning of 30 October. Its advance was unhindered, for the time being. If it could preempt the Whites' 7th Infantry Division in the Sal'kovo area, then the cork in the last passageway into the Crimea would be closed for the enemy.

We will now sum up the operational and tactical results of the day for 30 October. The results were advantageous for the Reds in the operational sense.

The Southern Front commander's idea for the complete encirclement of the enemy found its real formulation in the form of the 1st Cavalry Army's southern group occupying Sal'kovo and Genichesk before the Whites' units from the Melitopol' axis could arrive there. Now the main mass of the enemy's forces was located outside the ring; actually the ellipsis, the large and small axis of which were equal to 100 and 85 kilometers, respectively. The ellipsoid form of the encirclement was the result of the 2nd Cavalry Army's remaining in place throughout the entire day of 30 October and the overall shift of the 4th and 13th Armies to the northwest. Thus by the close of 30 October the intermixed units of the enemy's III and Don Corps again broke away from the pursuing units of our 4th and 13th Armies, whose main mass was moving toward Kutepov's group, from which they were separated by a distance of 30 kilometers.

Kutepov's group enjoyed tactical success throughout 30 October. Not being disturbed from the rear by the 2nd Cavalry Army and holding off the Reds' 52nd Rifle Division with its rearguards, the group fell upon the 1st Cavalry Army's cavalry divisions (6th and 11th) and two brigades of the Latvian Division with the main mass of its two infantry and 3 ½ cavalry divisions (the Kornilov and Drozdovskii Divisions, the 1st and 2nd Cavalry Divisions, the 1st Kuban' Cavalry Division, and



the Terek-Astrakhan' Cavalry Brigade). As a result of stubborn fighting throughout the day, Kutepov threw back to the west these forces, which were attempting near Agaiman to block off his path to the south, and established himself in Agaiman. The Whites' local tactical success was obvious, but the situation prevented them from extracting great advantages from it.

The Melitopol' screen's "failure" and its accelerated withdrawal back on Kutepov's group forced the White command as early as the evening of 30 October to renounce its previously assigned goal of destroying the Reds' Kakhovka group. Now it had to think only about withdrawing the remnants of the army into the Crimea. Thus the White command set itself a limited goal and henceforth all of its actions would be directed only toward breaking through that ring of Reds which had closed behind Vrangels' army near Sal'kovo. This new mission would determine for the subsequent days the appearance of two new focal points of the operation—near the village of Sal'kovo and the village of Rozhdestvenskoye. The limited nature of the goals in a limited space would also force us to shift the focus of our attention from the operational to the tactical plane.

Against the background of major events of operational significance that took place on 30 October, the attempt by the 51st Rifle Division to storm the Turkish Wall, which was beaten off by the Whites, was an episode of purely local significance at the tactical level. The center of gravity of events from this day definitely shifted to the Chongar isthmus. Already two new centers of the operation were noted in the area adjacent to the Chongar isthmus, near the villages of Rozhdestvenskoye and Otrada, to which Kutepov's group was streaming in a compact mass, in order to clear a path to the south through the second cork established along its way by the 1st Cavalry Army.

In its turn, the best preserved group of Whites from the Melitopol' axis only now began to approach Sal'kovo, with the intention of knocking out the third cork along the way to the Crimea in the form of the 1st Cavalry Army's southern group.

On the night of 30–31 October the enemy's operational situation improved, while ours worsened, which was not due to Kutepov's tactical successes, but because the essential links of our enveloping ring from the 2nd Cavalry, 4th and 13th Armies, although they were closely coordinated with each other, but at the same time the 4th and 13th Armies had shifted even further to the right. This situation offered the enemy's III and Don Corps the great opportunity to freely move to link up with Kutepov.

Such was the overall result of those "frictions" that comrade Frunze's plan encountered along the way to its final realization. These "frictions" began to manifest themselves, as we have seen, as early as 30 October. The most important of these was such that the commander of the Southern Front was completely unable to foresee it—the 2nd Cavalry Army's spontaneous exit from the game on 30 October; then the castling of the 13th Army's forces along its front, which determined its insignificant

and gradual movement forward. The slowness of the advance of the head of the 4th Army's wedge as the result of the narrowing of its maneuver zone due to the closing of the internal flanks of all three armies (2nd Cavalry, 4th and 13th Armies). Against the background of these main "frictions," the division by the 1st Cavalry Army of its forces into two equally powerful groups, initially separated from each other by 40 kilometers, was a "friction" of attendant circumstances and did not decide the change in the forms of the operation's conduct. Even in conditions of the combined action by the entire 1st Cavalry Army against Kutepov's and Kantserov's groups, the latter's forces nevertheless were superior to it.

To be sure, the 6th Army, through a calculation of time and space, could have helped the 1st Cavalry Army only with its Latvian Division, but for this it required a more energetic advance by the 52nd and 15th Rifle Divisions, which on this day were advancing particularly slowly: the 15th Rifle Division on Dornburn the Kruglaya farm and Novo-Rep'yevka with its three brigades, while the 52nd Rifle Division was moving to the Uspenskoye—Mal'tsev—Agaiman area. This is why on 31 October Kutepov's group was breaking through to Rozhdestvenskoye, covered by rearguards from the direction of Agaiman against the 1st Cavalry Army's northern group and the Latvian Division, which had also changed the axis of their movement by 90 degrees and which were not moving from north to south; that is, they had also gone over to "squeezing out" the enemy. In its turn, Kantserov's group in the Sal'kovo area was "squeezing out" the 1st Cavalry Army's 4th Cavalry Division from it and from Genichesk. The 4th Cavalry Division's situation was particularly difficult. While risking being pinned to the Sivash, it was forced to hurry to link up with the 1st Cavalry Army's main forces.

The 2nd Cavalry Army finally moved. But it was already too late. It encountered only the Don cavalry division, which had been left behind as a rearguard. While pursuing this division, which was falling back due south, the 2nd Cavalry Army was moving with the main mass of its forces to the east.

As the result of such operational staggering and obviously running up against the 4th and 13th Armies' rifle divisions, the 2nd Cavalry Army got wedged in between them, changed its front of movement by 180 degrees and was not moving along the same line as they were. Thus the unified front of our armies in the north fell apart on its own, and not under enemy pressure, and formed two groups—a smaller, western one from units of the 6th and 1st Cavalry Armies, and a large, eastern one, consisting of the 4th, 2nd Cavalry and 13th Armies. Between both groups there formed 45-kilometer wide corridor along which a group consisting of the enemy's III and Don Corps, covered by rearguards and flank detachments on three sides, was falling back to the south, while approaching Kutepov's group. The distance between both enemy groups did not exceed ten kilometers. The gap in the front and the peculiar lining up of both groups toward each other must again be ascribed to the frictions created by the 2nd Cavalry Army command.

Due to the peculiar maneuvering of the 2nd Cavalry Army, the already excessive concentration of forces along the internal flanks of the 4th and 13th Armies became even denser and had already ended up facing an empty space. The second thing which draws our attention was the piling up of reserves in the 4th Army's rear, which was a result, on the one hand, of its initial dispersion into the depth and, on the other hand, the narrowness of its front, along which it was unable to deploy all of its forces.

A no less peculiar and original situation arose in the area of the villages of Otrada and Rozhdestvenskoye.

Kutepov's group, which was numerically the most powerful, had ended up being tactically pinched from both sides by the 1st Cavalry Army's units. But this pinching was not so dangerous for it due to its numerical superiority. Quite the opposite, a very dangerous pinching threatened the Red 4th and 14th Cavalry Divisions, that is, the 1st Cavalry Army's southern enveloping group, in the village of Rozhdestvenskoye. They were threatened from the front by Kutepov's group, while a group consisting of the enemy's III and Don Corps was 10–12 kilometers in their rear. This group was unable to link up with Kutepov on 31 October, but its situation and that of Kutepov had already become significantly firmer due to the lateness of our 4th and 13th Armies to the epicenter of the fighting. Concern for the Chongar isthmus was removed from the Whites' III and Don Corps, because while exiting it Kantserov's group was able to establish itself along the Sal'kovo fortifications.

In order to secure the retreat by the remnants of the III and Don Corps, Kantserov's group moved up its cavalry units, supported by five armored trains, toward our Azov group, which had begun to move along the axis of the railroad to Sal'kovo, and the 13th Army's left flank.

The resulting situation determined new tasks for the Whites of a purely tactical nature for 1 November. They were: 1) to destroy the Reds' cofferdam in the village of Rozhdestvenskoye that was hindering the linkup of both of the Whites' groups, and 2) to hold their exposed position along the Sal'kovo axis for securing the linkup of both White groups and their peaceful withdrawal into the Crimea along the Chongar isthmus and the Arbat spit. These two tasks determined the appearance on 1 November of two tactical centers of combat: in the area of the village of Rozhdestvenskoye and in the area of Sokologornoye station.

On the night of 31 October–1 November Kutepov threw the Red cavalry divisions (4th and 14th) out of the village of Rozhdestvenskoye and linked up with the remnants of the III and Don Corps. Now his situation in the village of Rozhdestvenskoye was becoming considerably more secure. He would be primarily opposed on 1 November by those units against which he had fought the previous evening, that is, the 1st Cavalry Army and the Latvian Division.

All of the Reds' remaining divisions were still 30–35 kilometers from this epicenter of the fighting. Only that part of the 13th Army which was attacking along the

railroad toward Sal'kovo (2nd Don Rifle Division and part of the cavalry) represented a danger (relative). The latter had managed to seize Sokologornoye station, having begun a rapid advance in the direction of Sal'kovo.

But shifting the front line to the immediate approaches to Genichesk and Sal'kovo could have thwarted the planned nature of the Whites' withdrawal along the narrows of the Chongar crossings and the Arbat spit.

The White command had to win at least one more day in order to have time to cross its heavy things, excessive equipment and its non-combat element into the Crimea. As a result of this, both White groups that had linked up in the village of Rozhdestvenskoye did not continue their withdrawal, but, upon launching a number of brief attacks against our forward units, halted and, having nearly reestablished their front line, secured themselves two exits into the Crimea: through the Chongar isthmus and the Arbat spit.

The enemy front, which had appeared on the morning of 1 November at the Genichesk roads, also guaranteed the Whites the opportunity to take advantage of the Arbat spit as a withdrawal route. But the fleet alone was insufficient to assist the Whites' withdrawal through the Arbat spit. It was necessary to have before the spit a sufficiently free bridgehead, for which the White command turned two Don cavalry divisions, which had earlier been covering the withdrawal of the remnants of the III and Don Corps, along the Sal'kovo axis to the area of the villages of Rykovo and Sokologornoye.

These two divisions eliminated the successes of the Red cavalry, which had almost broken through to Sal'kov and which was not supported in time by its slowly advancing infantry.

On the enemy side, we may observe here the maneuver and fire coordination of cavalry and ships, which is very rarely encountered in military history, because the fleet drove out of Genichesk the Red cavalry units that had poured into it.

Let's look now at how the events around the village of Rozhdestvenskoye unfolded. The 1st Cavalry Army and the Latvian Division got into a fight for this settlement early in the morning. A second half-ring of Red troops began to form around them at a distance of 5–10 kilometers from the epicenter of the fighting. The first link of this half-ring, in the form of the 2nd Cavalry Army, at full strength, was already visible in the village of Petrovskoye. Makhno's army, the 7th Cavalry Division and units from the 30th Rifle Division were also moving here. For the second time, as on 30 October, the 2nd Cavalry Army had the opportunity to play a decisive role, not only in the tactical but in the operational sense. It had to fall upon the group of Don cavalry operating along the Sal'kovo axis, extend its hand to the 13th Army's left flank and, by carrying it along with it, thwart the enemy's planned withdrawal into the Crimea. But it spent this day in complete idleness and missed yet another opportunity to thwart the Whites' withdrawal. By the close of 1 November an enormous accumulation of units from three Red armies (the 2nd Cavalry Army,

units of the 4th Army's 30th Rifle Division, the 13th Army's 7th Cavalry Division, and Makhno's army) was concentrated in the village of Petrovskoye and was present during the fighting in the village of Rozhdestvenskoye.

Kutepov even enjoyed a certain tactical success in this fighting, pushing the Latvian 2nd Brigade to the north, as a result of which the overall outline of his front looked like a wedge pointed north.

But the continuing accumulation of Red forces in the area of the village of Petrovskoye, which even given the slow advance by two of the 13th Army's rifle divisions (9th Rifle and 2nd Don) along the Sal'kovo axis, would create an immediate danger for Kutepov's group if it continued to remain in the area of the village of Rozhdestvenskoye, forced Kutepov to begin withdrawing to the Chongar isthmus and the Arbat spit.

The Markov Division and one of the Don divisions, along with the fleet off Genichesk, covered Kutepov's withdrawal.

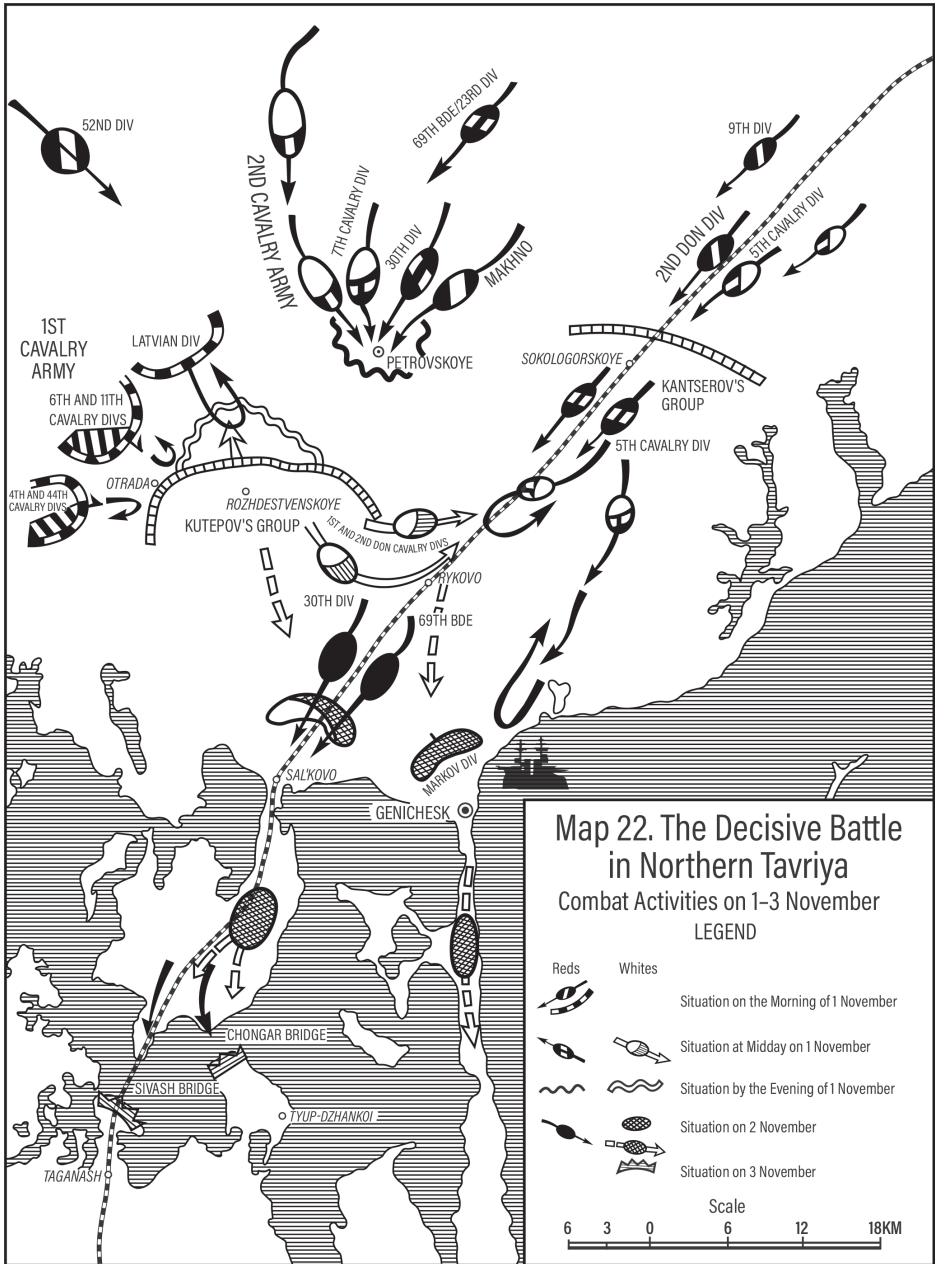
It's important to note that the withdrawal of Kutepov's group was carried out without hindrance, because our units located in the village of Rozhdestvenskoye allowed the enemy to carry out a night march with part of his forces by them.

2 and 3 November were the days of the operation's conclusion. Their tactical content is not complex. The enemy was falling back into the Crimea in two groups through the Chongar peninsula and Arbat spit. Here our attention can be arrested only by the energetic operations of the 30th Rifle Division and that of the 23rd Rifle Division's 69th Rifle Brigade, which had finally joined it.

On 2 November these units threw the enemy's rearguard out of his Sal'kovo fortified position and broke in behind him to the Chongar isthmus, took it and on 3 November only halted before the Chongar and Sivash bridges, which were heavily defended by the enemy, having thrown the defenders out of their bridgehead fortifications onto the territory of the Crimea.

Despite the enormous significance of its results and the complete success, this operation can be drawn in incomparably simpler lines than the preceding one. In this there appeared the influence of local conditions, which determined the single operational focus in the area of the Perekop isthmus from nearly the beginning to the end of the operation. They also conditioned that comparatively limited number of troops which could actively take part in the operation.

The Southern Front command, while correctly taking into account terrain conditions, decided to launch its main attack along the Perekop axis. It appointed the 6th Army to launch this attack. The 6th Army command chose two axes for its attacks. One was directly against the enemy's fortified position along the Turkish Wall, and the other around it along the Lithuanian peninsula, while taking advantage of fords which opened to this peninsula from the continent, given the favorable direction of the winds from land. The powerful 51st Rifle Division was designated to launch the attack on the Turkish Wall, and the 15th and 52nd Rifle Divisions,



the 153rd Rifle Brigade (51st Rifle Division) and an independent cavalry brigade along the Lithuanian peninsula.

The enemy, while also quite correctly evaluating the significance of the Perekop peninsula for himself, hurried to occupy it with reliable troops. Thus the Drozdovskii Division, which had reached the Turkish Wall on the night of 7–8 November, was dispatched to relieve the units of the II Corps operating there. At this time the Lithuanian peninsula was occupied by the 2nd Kuban' Cavalry Division's (Fostikov) 1st Brigade, which had recently arrived to the Crimea from Georgia. By the close of 7 November our Red units had taken up their jumping-off positions for the offensive: the 52nd Rifle Division was stationed in the Chakrak—Pervo-Konstantinovka—Vladimirovka colony area; the 153rd Rifle Brigade was in the area of the village of Stroganovka; the 15th Rifle Division had occupied the Ivanovka—Stroganovka area; the Independent Cavalry Brigade was in the village of Stroganovka. (See Map 24 of the plate section)

The operation itself unfolded in the following manner. On the night of 7–8 November the Whites' Drozdovskii Division set about relieving the 13th Infantry Division along the Turkish Wall, and the 34th Infantry Division, which had been in the Whites' II Corps' reserve, began withdrawing into the rear. But almost simultaneous with this, the Reds' 15th and 52nd Rifle Divisions and the 153rd Rifle Brigade, forced the ford of the Sivash and came out onto the Lithuanian peninsula, defeated Fostikov's brigade and began to spread to the exits from the Lithuanian peninsula. The enemy immediately turned the 34th Infantry Division to help Fostikov and, upon relieving the 13th Rifle Division with just two regiments from the Drozdovskii Division, moved the remaining two regiments of the Drozdovskii Division to counterattack the Reds in the general direction of Karadzhani.

By the morning of 8 November a stubborn fight had flared up along the exits from the Lithuanian peninsula. At the same time, the 51st Rifle Division set about the artillery preparation for the storming of the Turkish Wall.

The 51st Rifle Division's attack on the Turkish Wall was beaten off. The attack was resumed around midday, preceded by 15 armored cars, which moved into the fighting at around 1100 from the village of Preobrazhenka to the gates of the Turkish Wall. This attack was supposed to pull in the 51st Rifle Division's infantry, which got pinned down 400 paces from the wall. But the infantry, which was supposed to rush forward, was pinned to the ground by fire from enemy artillery. On the other hand, the counterattack by the Drozdovskii Division's two regiments in the Karadzhani area failed. Having achieved a small local success, part of these regiments ultimately laid down their arms and surrendered to the 153rd and 155th Rifle Brigades, despite the fact that this attack had also been supported by armored cars.

The Reds' breakthrough into the territory of the Crimea put the enemy's deep reserves into motion. The enemy turned the 6th Infantry Division from



Simferopol' back to Dzhankoi and moved units of the Markov Division and the Kornilov Division and Barabovich's cavalry corps from the Dzhankoi area to the Perekop axis. By the close of 8 November the Markov and Kornilov Divisions' units were already approaching the rear-area Yushun' position. Barabovich's cavalry corps was approaching the exits from the Lithuanian peninsula. Despite the Reds' attacks against the Turkish Wall having been beaten off, the tactical success for 8 November was completely on their side, because the Whites had not only not managed to throw them from the Lithuanian peninsula, but had also not managed to hinder their spread into the rear of the Turkish Wall in the direction of Armyanskii Bazar. For this reason, the situation of the Drozdovskii Division's brigade on the Turkish Wall was becoming dangerous, and thus on the night of 8–9 November the enemy set about abandoning the Turkish Wall. He now disposed of the rear-area Yushun' position, relying upon which he decided to make a final attempt to eliminate the breakthrough by the Red forces on the Lithuanian peninsula. It was this decision that resulted in stubborn fighting on the Lithuanian peninsula during 9 November, while both sides were able to get reinforcements during the night.

Makhno's army crossed over to the Reds on the Lithuanian peninsula. Units of the Whites' Kornilov and Markov Divisions were already establishing themselves along the Yushun' position, while the lead units of Barabovich's cavalry corps had reached the exits from the Lithuanian peninsula. 9 November passed, on the one hand, in a stubborn struggle along the exits from the Lithuanian peninsula, while the attack by Barabovich's corps was beaten off at 1700, while on the other hand, in the rapid approach of the 51st Rifle Division to the enemy's Yushun' position, while his Drozdovskii Division was falling back under the Reds' pressure into the space between lakes Staroye and Krasnoye.

On this the combat events of 9 November essentially ended.

Both sides employed the night of 9–10 November to further reinforce themselves along the Perekop isthmus. All the advantages in this regard were on the Reds' side: they were bringing up the 2nd Cavalry Army's 16th Cavalry Division, which had already concentrated in the Stroganovka area, to the Lithuanian peninsula, and were moving the Latvian Division from the reserve to reinforce the 51st Rifle Division. The Whites were able to strengthen their position with only a few cadet units. The Markov Division's units relieved the Drozdovskii Division along the isthmus between lakes Staroye and Krasnoye. The latter, upon being relieved, moved to the area of the Adaman railroad siding to reinforce the White units that had gathered there. The enemy did not risk further diluting his units in the Dzhankoi area, because he feared an attack by the 30th Rifle Division through the narrow Sivash strait in the direction of Dzhankoi. The establishment of the Reds on the Lithuanian peninsula meant they had won the operation. They would have the opportunity to conduct it by the consecutive increase of their efforts and by committing their numerous reserves into

the fighting, while the Whites had expended all of their reserves in the struggle for the exits from the Perekop isthmus and Lithuanian peninsula. 10 November began with the manifestation of offensive initiative by the Reds along both the Yushun' and Adaman axes. Along the former, the 51st Rifle Division, without waiting for the arrival of the Latvian Division, had seized two lines of the enemy's forward trenches as early as dawn. Along the Adaman axis the 52nd and 15th Rifle Divisions attacked the Whites, achieving a series of local successes, but under the pressure of the Whites' counterattack were not only forced to fall back to their jumping off position, but even retreated somewhat. This ended the combat events of 10 November.

11 November was noteworthy for the enemy's final, desperate attempt to restore his position along the Lithuanian peninsula and to get to Armyanskii Bazar in the Reds' rear. The enemy had gathered along the Lithuanian peninsula against our units a fist from the II Army Corps, Barabovich's cavalry corps, and the remnants of Fostikov's brigade and the Drozdovskii Division.

At dawn this fist fell upon our group of forces on the Lithuanian peninsula and threw it back nearly to the very edge of the peninsula, while Barabovich's cavalry corps had already begun to approach Armyanskii Bazar, thus getting into the rear of the Reds' Yushun' group. But the latter, in its turn, broke through the last line of the Yushun' position in a surprise attack and began to get into the Whites' group on the Lithuanian peninsula, which forced the Whites' to hurriedly withdraw under the cover of a screen by the Terek-Astrakhan' Cavalry Brigade.

The breakthrough of the Yushun' position had not only tactical, but operational consequences: it signified the elimination of the Whites' last, organized resistance and the Red armies' arrival at the broad expanses of the Crimean steppe from the Perekop narrows. The significance of the breakthrough was increased further by its coincidence in time with the breakthrough by the Reds' 30th Rifle Division along the Dzhankoi axis, which the Whites had also not managed to eliminate.<sup>10</sup>

Vrangel' could do nothing more than begin his withdrawal to the embarkation ports, which he hurried to carry out.

We had to take up the rapid pursuit of the enemy; however, the 6th Army command ordered a rest for its troops on 12 November. On 13 November the 4th and 2nd Cavalry Armies were dispatched to pursue the enemy to Feodosiya and Kerch', and the 6th and 1st Cavalry Armies to Simferopol' and Sevastopol'.

Despite the rapidity of the subsequent pursuit, Vrangel's retreating troops managed to break contact significantly from the Red Army and, when on 15 November the 6th Army's vanguards entered Sevastopol' they already found there a local revolutionary committee, as the enemy's last ships had left Sevastopol' on 14 November.

Having dispersed his embarkation among all the ports of the Crimea, Vrangel' managed over the course of five days, 10–15 November, to evacuate his main forces and refugees, numbering 83,000 people. However, almost all the military stores,

lagging units and a large number of refugees were not embarked. On 16 November 1920 the Red Army's forces had occupied the entire territory of the Crimea.

Given the enormous numerical inequality, the struggle in Northern Tavriya was unquestionably unfavorable for Vrangel'. In this fighting he finally overtaxed his forces, which told on his troops' resilience while defending the Crimean isthmuses. The defense of the isthmuses might have stretched out longer if the terrain features had been taken into account better and the troops distributed accordingly. Vrangel' evidently did not have a previously drawn up evacuation plan, just as Denikin had none. The success of Vrangel' evacuation, compared to the one carried out by Denikin, depended on the fact that the former had several ports at his disposal, while the latter was forced to carry out his evacuation from the single port of Novorossiisk.

This victory was not without cost. The struggle for the Crimean narrows did not pass without significant losses, but then the results of this victory were significant, both in the foreign and domestic political sense. The bankruptcy of the domestic counterrevolution was consolidated by history on the bloody fields of Perekop and the Crimea. From now on exile and pitiful intrigues would become the lot of those who sought to halt the course of history. Broad perspectives for peaceful economic construction opened before the Soviet land. The Soviet government was becoming the sole legal representative of the interests of the republic of workers and peasants in European public opinion. The Perekop events found their living echo in far-off Riga, where they influenced the amenability of Polish diplomacy to work out terms for a final peace with Poland.

Thus, according to its political significance, the elimination of Vrangel's army, which is indissolubly linked to the name of the late comrade M. V. Frunze, is one of the most important operations of the 1918–1921 war.

With the collapse of the Vrangel' front the larger civil war came to an end, if one does not count the operations in the Far East, which concluded only in 1922 with the liberation of Vladivostok. The counterrevolutionary forces, having suffered a defeat in the larger war, attempted to continue their struggle against the Soviet regime with the methods of guerilla war. In this struggle they attempted to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of the peasant masses with the ongoing food requisition policy. The wager on a *kulak* counterrevolution forced the bourgeois-land owner counterrevolution to alter and democratize its political slogans. Such slogans as the restoration of a "unified and indivisible Russia" and land ownership by the aristocracy were temporarily removed from the agenda (during the Kronstadt rebellion the Cadet Milyukov was ready, without hesitation, to join a political bloc with the *kulak* "free soviets").

The *basmach* movement in Turkestan (1921–1923), the Makhno movement in Ukraine (1920–1921), Antonov's Tambov uprising (1921), the White Karelian movement (1921–1922), and Tyutyunnik's sortie (autumn of 1921), as opposed to

the greater civil war, were militarily characterized by the absence of solid fronts and the preponderance of partisan methods of struggle.

On the other hand, we have obvious elements of intervention in a guerilla civil war. Finland and Poland, having concluded a peace treaty with us, brazenly sent armed bands (White Finnish bands in Karelia; Tyutyunnik's sorties, organized by Poland) and weapons onto our territory; one of the chief reasons for the prolongation of the *basmach* movement should be sought in the direct and indirect support which British imperialism rendered to the *basmach* fighters in their struggle against the Soviet regime.

Both in the political and in the military sense, a guerilla civil war is very interesting for the military researcher. The tactician will find extremely rich material in it for studying partisan activities.

A guerilla war, as the inevitable fellow traveler of the greater civil war, undoubtedly demands the focused attention of the military historian. However, the confines of the present work, which pursued the goal of producing only an operational-strategic sketch of the greater civil war, forces us to conclude our research.

Above the Crimea, which is now Soviet, the banners of the victorious proletarian revolution waved freely and proudly, while at the same time the pitiful and demoralized remnants of Vrangels' demoralized army sailed into the foggy distance of the autumn sea...



SUPPLEMENT

# The Campaign in Bukhara in 1920 and a Brief Sketch of the 1921 and 1922 Campaigns

*A General Description of the Situation. Khiva and Bukhara from the February Revolution of 1917 to the Restoration of Communications Between Turkestan and the Soviet Union. The Goals and Tasks of the Imperialists' Policy Regarding Khiva and Bukhara. The Growth of the Internal Revolutionary Forces in Bukhara and Their Class Characteristics. The Events in Khiva; The Formation of the Khorezm People's Republic. The Emir of Bukhara's Preparations for Fighting the Revolution. The Red Command's Preparations in Foreseeing the Bukhara Revolution. Both Sides' Armed Forces. The Red Command's Plan. A Brief Description of the Theater of Military Activities. The Bukhara Revolution; its Support by Soviet Forces. The Storming of the City of Bukhara. The Formation of the Bukhara People's Republic. The Hisor Expedition of 1921; Its Goals and Results. The Outbreak of the Counterrevolution in 1922. Enver-Pasha and his Slogans*

The process of the unfolding of the revolution in Central Asia took place in an extremely complex situation.

The February revolution removed the czarist colonialists from the field and put two contending sides face to face: the small but hardened proletariat, on the one hand, and on the other the Russian and local bourgeoisie. The internal contradictions among the proletariat's enemies were smoothed over when faced by a common danger. The Russian bourgeoisie and its servants-appeasers made common cause with the local bourgeoisie and feudal lords in the struggle against the proletariat. Both anti-revolutionary forces united in their desire to prevent the multi-million mass of the local toiling population from understanding its true interests, and in their desire not only to restrain the masses from the revolutionary struggle but, just the opposite, to distract them, by taking advantage of their backwardness and religious fanaticism, on the false path of struggle against the revolution.

Before long British imperialism, operating both secretly through its agents and openly through armed intervention emerged as an active ally of the enemies of the proletariat. In the proletariat's difficult and victorious struggle, which led to enormous shifts in the life of the peoples of Central Asia, an important place is occupied by the destruction, in alliance with the national revolutionary forces, of one of the most important strong holds of reaction in Central Asia—the power of the emir of Bukhara.

Pre-revolutionary Bukhara was a country of backward commercial capital. The holder of state power was the first merchant of the state, being a monopolist in the trade of astrakhan pelts. The emir's power rested on the class of large private landowners, merchants and the numerous, ignorant and fanatical clergy. This social superstructure pressed with its weight the urban bourgeoisie class, which was just beginning to emerge, and on the other mass of the population—the farmers and nomad herders. The landed-estate way of life, typical of countries with backward forms of economy and quite close to medieval Europe, was well preserved in Bukhara. Alongside the accumulation of riches in the hands of individuals, poverty and ignorance reigned among the masses. The already unenviable economic situation of the popular masses continued to constantly worsen from the time of the World War.

In the final years before the World War cotton growing, by reducing the amount of arable land for the other crop cultures, chiefly rice and wheat, began to strongly develop throughout all of Turkestan, and particularly in Bukhara. Turkestan and Bukhara received wheat from European Russia in exchange for cotton. The World War reduced the delivery of wheat to Turkestan and Bukhara and the civil war cut it off altogether. Both countries had to hurriedly restructure their agriculture, while significantly curtailing the arable land for cotton, sowing wheat in its place.

On the other hand, British imperialism dreamed of creating a strong hold in Bukhara and Khiva for combating the Soviet republic. Its agents looked into Bukhara, sized up the situation and sought to bring influential people over to their side. British occupation forces in northern Persia and in the trans-Caspian area were supposed to support the active counterrevolution if it were to want to go over to decisive actions. But a fresh revolutionary stream broke through under the heel of feudal reaction in Bukhara itself. The political aspirations of the young Bukharan bourgeoisie found their expression in the organization of the *jadid* party.<sup>1</sup> It dated back as far as the time of the first Russian revolution of 1905. This organization, which had undergone a series of persecutions on the part of the Bukharan and Russian governments, existed up to 1917, after which it transformed itself into the Young Bukhara party, which had a platform of radical reforms in all aspects of the peoples' lives. Its leaders viewed the Soviet regime with hope. Only the Soviet regime carried on its banners the slogan of supporting all backward peoples of the East in their pursuit of national and cultural liberation. But the Young Bukhara party's forces were as yet very weak to carry on an independent struggle with the emir of



Bukhara. The party had to wait for better times, and in the meantime to carry on the underground preparation of the masses for revolutionary activity. Bukhara's economic depression offered a number of favorable prerequisites for this preparation.

In the spring of 1920 the external situation in Central Asia had changed unfavorably for the local counterrevolution. The successful and energetic actions of the Turkestan Front's armies, led by comrade M. V. Frunze, first of all opened a broad path from the revolutionary centers of our country to the heart of Soviet Turkestan. The Central Asian railroad, which had remained intact, enabled the Turkestan Front's 4th Army to rapidly eliminate the forces of the trans-Caspian counterrevolution. At the same time, the previously united front of the local counterrevolution in the Fergana area had begun to break up, on the one hand, under the influence of Soviet policy's new course that had met the population halfway regarding certain features of its daily and economic way of life and, on the other hand, under the influence of the mutual competition of the local chiefs.

Despite the fact that given the overall small number of our forces in Turkestan, the breadth of the territory that had been seized by banditry, and the novelty of the methods of struggle, which was prolonged and stubborn, it was clear that the *basmach*<sup>2</sup> movement in Fergana had gradually begun to lose its social base.

An internal coup took place in Khiva in the summer of 1920. The local khan was overthrown by the leader of the Turkmen robber bands, Dzhunaid-Khan,<sup>3</sup> who attempted to occupy his place. Red Army units later rendered support to the local population, which had risen up against the violence of Dzhunaid-Khan, and in the summer of 1920 the Khiva khanate was transformed into the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic.<sup>4</sup> Red Army garrisons were left for a time in Khiva and in several other populated centers of the Khorezm Republic.

Thus as a result of all these events the Bukharan center of counterrevolution ended up completely alone, but it retained its significance as the last bridgehead from which the counterrevolution might once again thwart Soviet construction in Turkestan or interfere with its peaceful development.

Beginning with the spring of 1920, reactionary Bukhara began to secretly prepare for a possible struggle with the Soviet regime. The Bukharan clergy urgently preached holy war against the infidels. At the same time, the emir of Bukhara was hurriedly preparing his armed forces for the forthcoming struggle. As early as February 1920 he made an attempt to reinforce his army by calling parts of the population to the colors, which had never been encountered before in Bukharan practice. He was intensely occupied with his army's instruction and tactical training, in which instructors from among the Russian White guards vigorously assisted him.

The reunification of Soviet Turkestan with the country's main territory did not yet signify the disappearance of all difficulties facing the Soviet regime and the transition to peaceful construction. The Turkestan Front's forces were too limited in comparison with the variety of tasks before them and the size of the territory. The

Red Army's immediate tasks were the security of the enormous land boundaries of Soviet Turkestan over a length of several thousand kilometers, the struggle against the continuous *basmach* movement in Fergana, the suppression of the *kulak* uprisings in the Seven Rivers area,<sup>5</sup> and the support of the sympathetic regime in the Khorezm Republic. Thus in the event of a fight with counterrevolutionary Bukhara, the Turkestan Front command would dispose of only very limited forces.

In the summer of 1920 some of these tasks arose before M. V. Frunze with particular sharpness. The curve of the *basmach* movement in Fergana, which went up and down throughout the civil war, suddenly shot upward. This circumstance was quite advantageous for the Bukharan counterrevolution and siphoned off a part of the Red forces.

*Kulak* uprisings in the Seven Rivers' area tied down the Red Army's forces there (3rd Turkestan Rifle Division). The Red 1st Army's rear communications, which reached as far as the boundary with Persia and the shores of the Caspian Sea, ran along the hostile territory of Bukhara and were thus under direct threat from the latter. Thus the acuteness of the strategic situation fully corresponded to the intensity of the political situation.

In such a situation the chief tasks of policy were the unification of all the active and pro-revolutionary elements of the country on a Soviet platform. The Red Army's entrance into Turkestan brought about there and in neighboring countries, such as Bukhara, the same phenomenon that we were able to observe throughout the civil war in Ukraine, the Baltic States and Poland. This phenomenon consisted of the awakening and growth of local revolutionary forces and in their desire to move from a potential situation to a condition of action and to unite amongst themselves. Thus it is quite natural that the Young Bukhara revolutionary movement, upon feeling secure, decided to move from organizational forms of work to active operations. As early as August 1920 a series of armed uprisings broke out in several Bukharan towns, and the rebels appealed for help to the Soviet regime and the Red command.

The latter, in its turn, was waiting hour by hour for an active demonstration by the Bukharan counterrevolution and had every reason to do so. As early as the first third of August M. V. Frunze possessed information that significant regular and irregular forces of the Bukharan emir, numbering up to 30,000–35,000 troops, were gathering in the outskirts of the capital. In spite of the advice by several local organs of power, which recommended a wait-and-see policy and caution, in order not to complicate mutual relations with the Entente, the Turkestan Front command made the decision: in the event of necessity, not to await the emir's attack, but to support the revolutionary movement of the broad Bukharan popular masses and to preempt the Bukharan Army's move by launching an attack against the most vital areas of the country. Such areas were the thickly populated valley of the Zeravshana River, the political and administrative center of the country—the city of Old Bukhara, and the Shakhrisayb—Guzar area. The launching of an attack against Old Bukhara would

achieve a dual goal: not only the capture of the country's capital, but the defeat of the enemy's army, because almost all the emir's regular army had been concentrated in the city of Old Bukhara and its outskirts.

By 20 August 1920 the emir's armed forces consisted of units of the regular army and irregular militia. The regular army's forces were estimated at 8,725 infantry and 7,580 cavalry, with 23 light guns and 12 machine guns. The irregular forces, which had been furnished by the regional rulers (*begs*), numbered approximately 27,000 infantry and cavalry, with two machine guns and 32 guns. The majority of the artillery consisted of completely outdated types, reminding one of smoothbore, cast iron cannons firing cast iron or stone projectiles.

In the qualitative sense, the emir's troops were very bad. Military service had never been highly thought of in Bukhara. The emir's troops were made up of hirelings, among which there was a large criminal element. The training level of the soldiers and commanders was very low. The attempt to reinforce the army through a compulsory draft yielded deplorable results. Recruitment into the army was carried out without any accounting for the population's family situation and by means of forced requisition among the rural communities. In many cases the latter got out of this by getting rid of what for them was an unwelcome element, or they committed a number of abuses, sending to the army members of poor families, without taking into account their material or family situation. Recruitment into the army, carried out according to such principles, was yet another extra reason for the population's overall dissatisfaction with the emir's government.

The Turkestan Front command, by exerting itself to the limit, could allot only 6,000–7,000 infantry and 2,300–2,690 cavalry, 35 light and five heavy guns, eight armored cars, five armored trains, and 11 planes against these enemy forces. This number does not include the forces of the Bukharan revolution, which began to form on Bukharan territory in August.

In comparing the forces of both sides, it should be noted that the Bukharan reaction only enjoyed a numerical superiority. But this advantage was negated by the Red Army's technical superiority, the superior combat quality and high political consciousness of its forces and, finally, the sympathy of the broad masses of the Bukharan people, who looked upon it as its liberator from the emir's age-old oppression.

By the start of decisive combat activities, the emir's forces were located in two main groups. The regular Bukharan army had almost completely concentrated in the capital, the city of Old Bukhara and its immediate suburbs. The *begs'* forces that had occupied the Kitab—Shakhrisayabz area, were covering the Takhta—Karacha pass. The shortest and most convenient route from the city of Samarkand into the depths of the country ran through this pass. This route was the mail road from Samarkand through Guzar and Termez, which had been adapted for wheeled movement in the old days along its entire length.

Foreseeing an armed collision with Bukhara, which was becoming inevitable, comrade M. V. Frunze was concerned to create such a jumping-off position beforehand for his units that would support the launching of a decisive attack against the Bukharan counterrevolution in the shortest time. On 12 August 1920, in an order to the forces of the Turkestan Front, it was noted that the overall political situation demanded of them the readiness to actively attack when the interest of the revolution required it. The Chardzhou group, consisting of one infantry regiment, a battalion of Teke cavalry,<sup>6</sup> and a battalion of artillery, was concentrating in the Novyi Chardzhou area in expectation of this attack. Aside from this, the detachment was reinforced with a detachment of Kul'mukhametov's Bukharan revolutionary forces; the Amu-Darya River Flotilla and the Red garrisons of the towns of Chardzhou, Kerki and Termez were also subordinated to the detachment chief.

The detachment's task consisted of securing the immediate suburbs of Chardzhou and occupying the town of Karakul, which was located near the rail line halfway from Chardzhou to Old Bukhara. The detachment chief was obliged to pay special attention to the rail line along his sector. At the same time, the flotilla was to cruise along the Amu-Darya River along the sector from the Kerki fortifications to the Termez fortifications and preventing any kind of crossings along this sector of the river in any direction. The Chardzhou group was operationally subordinated to the Samarkand group. The latter was broken up into three independent groups: the Kagan group, including all units making up the garrison of New Bukhara<sup>7</sup> (Kagan) and the town of Karshi; the 4th Cavalry Regiment and the 1st Eastern Muslim Regiment were supposed to arrive from Turkestan and become part of this group; this group had the task of capturing the city of Old Bukhara. The Kattakurgan group, which consisted of the 2nd International Cavalry Regiment, with a platoon of artillery and a detachment of Bukharan revolutionary forces, was supposed to concentrate in the town of Kattakurgan no later than 15 August; it was planned that it would capture Khatyrcha and Ziaetdin at the proper time, and then the town of Kermine. Finally, the Samarkand group, which consisted of the 1st Turkestan Cavalry Division, an independent Turkic cavalry brigade and an engineer company was, if necessary, to defeat the Bukharan forces along the Shakhriyabz—Kitab axis and securely occupy the Kashka-Darya River.

Further on in the order the distribution and deadlines for concentrating the technical units and air fleet were noted. Very typical is the order's indication of the order of concentrating the Kagan group. The units designated to reinforce it were supposed to appear in the town of Kagan completely unexpectedly for the enemy, passing through the territory of Bukhara in trains during the night.

This order, which set out not only the jumping-off position for the units, but also their combat tasks, was suffused with the spirit of great decisiveness. While accurately estimating the correlation of its own and the enemy's forces as to quality and equipment, the front command, despite the enemy's numerical superiority,



immediately set out to attain two decisive goals: it sought to finish off the political center of the Bukharan counterrevolution and its most reliable support in the form of the regular army in a single blow, by choosing as its objective the city of Old Bukhara. On the other hand, it chose as its objective the significant gathering of enemy forces that had arisen in the Shakhriyba—Kitab area. It was not possible to leave it unattended or to put up a screen against it. However, given the existing numerical inequality, it was necessary for this to further weaken the forces designated for operations against the capital. Fully aware of this fact, the front command equalized the numerical inequality through their skillful disposition along the rail line. The latter was completely in our hands, which enabled us to concentrate the shock fists in the right place and at the right time. Besides this, the attention of the enemy and his forces was divided among two opposite axes: the Samarkand and Chardzhou axes. In the situation that had arisen for both sides, the emir's army was already in a situation of strategic encirclement even before the start of military operations, and the commander of the Turkestan Front adopted all measures to turn this strategic encirclement into a tactical one.

M. V. Frunze's Bukhara operation in 1920 marked the beginning of a series of operations in Bukhara and in subsequent years. These operations had as their goal either the consolidation of the revolution's initial successes, or fighting against outbreaks by the local counterrevolution, which took advantage of temporary waverings in the attitudes of the masses on an economic basis and the complexity of local national mutual relations. The theater's great size and lack of accessibility imparted a prolonged character to these operations. Insofar as the theater's conditions laid their powerful imprint on the course of combat activities, we consider it necessary to first offer a brief description of it.

The natural boundaries of Bukhara in the north is the Hisor Range, which divide it from Turkestan, and the Amu-Darya River in the south, which serves as its boundary with Afghanistan along a significant length, the elevated and barren Pamir plateau in the east, and in the west the sandy desert than crosses over into Khiva.

Within the confines of these natural boundaries, the country is up to 900 kilometers long and 170–250 kilometers wide. The country's topography is not uniform. Its eastern part, beginning from the Guzara meridian, is first hilly and then mountainous, filled with spurs of the Hisor Range. Further on are mountain chains running from the elevated Pamir plateau. The mountains' lack of accessibility increases as one moves from west to east. However, nowhere are they completely inaccessible and their height within the confines of Bukhara nowhere reaches the line of permanent snow, which in these latitudes runs along a height of 12,000–13,000 feet above sea level. To the west of the Guzara meridian the country is plains and steppe, while to the west of the valley of the Zeravshana the plain becomes a sandy desert, gradually approaching Bukhara from the direction of Khiva and each year taking a certain amount of arable

land. This plain character of the western part of the country is not altered by the small massif of the Nuratau Mountains. The main difficulty for troop movement and operations in this theater along all axes arises not from the terrain relief, but from the aridity of many areas. The lack of water determines their desert character and thus the impossibility of counting on local resources for feeding people and animals. The theater's animal and plant life is concentrated close to the rivers and areas artificially irrigated by water drawn from these rivers. These oases in the desert are usually heavily populated at the expense of the waterless areas of the theater, which determines the unequal distribution of the population throughout the territory of the theater.

The tribal makeup of the population, which is approximately 4–5 million people, is quite diverse. The dominant nationality, primarily in the western part of the country and dominant over the entire area, is the Uzbeks.<sup>8</sup> The left and, in places, the right bank of the Amu-Darya River is settled by Turkmens. Tadjiks<sup>9</sup> (an Iranian people) predominate in Eastern Bukhara; the warlike mountain Lakai tribe (an Uzbek people) are interspersed in their midst like a separate oasis in the headwaters of the Kafirnigan River. The nomad territory of the Kirgiz is in the Kulyaba and Bal'dzhuana areas. Mixed in among these main tribes in the major trading centers are Persians, Jews and Russians, who are particularly numerous in the city of Bukhara and in the towns along the Amu-Darya River.

In the class sense, Bukhara is a primarily small peasant country. The urban proletariat was in an embryonic stage. The petite and middle commercial bourgeoisie was also concentrated in the major centers. The native intelligentsia was small. The clerical caste was numerous and had not lost its influence on the masses; its younger generation was not averse to the new ideology and to a certain extent was a fellow traveler of the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The population's cultural level was very low and fell as one moved east, where the population had not fully acquired the habits of a settled way of life and would easily cast aside the latter. This level of culture explains the religious fanaticism of the population and its receptivity to the agitation by the uneducated and ignorant clergy.

In the cultured areas the predominant occupation of the rural mass was agriculture, and cattle raising in the steppes. It was noted earlier that the Bukhara area was predominantly arid. Thus its water arteries deserve all the more attention. The main ones—Zeravshan, Amu-Darya and Kafirnigan-Darya—form a sort of frame within which the most decisive operations played out.

The right tributaries of the Amu-Darya River, which intersect the most important invasion routes into Eastern Bukhara, had the greatest significance during the course of forthcoming operations. Their overall characteristic feature was their extremely rough and rapid flow, rapid rises in water level (each day), depending on the daily snow melt on the Hisor Range, which is the source for all of them, and the changing and inconstant fords.



Wheeled roads dominated in Western Bukhara, with almost exclusively cattle tracks in the eastern part. In many places in the mountainous areas the latter were built in the form of cornices, clinging along the ribs of the steep cliffs and hanging over precipices. In passing along such cornices one had to fear lest the enemy destroy them in front and back of a detachment moving along them and thus falling into a trap. The country's railroad network was completed by the section of the Central Asian-trans-Caspian railroad, which cut through Western Bukhara along the sector from Chardzhou to Zera-Bulak station, with a branch of this main line as far as the town of Karshi. Other rail lines to Guzar, Shakhrisabz, Kerki and Termez, which had only been completed by the Russian government toward the end of the World War, had been completely ruined by the local population during the great anti-Russian movement of 1918.

Large inhabited locales were few in Bukhara. Political and administrative significance belonged to the towns of Old Bukhara (the capital), Karshi, Guzar, Baisun, Dushanbe, and Kulyab. All the cities were of the usual Asiatic type. The city of Old Bukhara consisted of a massive indented wall up to ten meters high, with a width at its base of up to five meters.

Although the wall was made of clay, with a small admixture of stone and brick, over time it had hardened to a very great strength and could easily withstand fire from field artillery. From within the city was a narrow and confusing labyrinth of streets, lanes and dead ends, interspersed with even more confusing bazaars, with overhead cover. All of these streets and lanes led to a small, open space in the center of the city. An impressive four-sided citadel rose in this space, with several quite high and massive towers, which the locals called the "Arch." The "Arch" towers and a number of high minarets of impressive construction, rising high over the general mass of the city's adobe and low structures offered the enemy a number of good observation posts. There were several gates in the city's external wall in the form of narrow and covered passages which led inside the city. For several kilometers around the capital was surrounded by gardens, suburban homes, the emir's summer palaces, with their parks and ponds, and enormous cemeteries and adobe walls, which gave the surrounding terrain a closed and broken look. The town of Kagan (or New Bukhara), which was the capital's suburb and lay 12 kilometers from it, was a small European-style town, connected to the capital by a branch of the railroad and a poor stone road. All the towns of Bukhara, according to their type and the character of their fortifications, to a greater or lesser degree, resembled the capital.

The city of Chardzhou had strategic significance as a road junction (one of the greatest railroad bridges in the world), while the town of Karshi was a road junction lying along the shortest distance between Afghanistan and Turkestan, and the final station of the railroad, the town of Kerki, the fortifications of which blocked the path along the left bank of the Amu-Darya River from Afghanistan to Chardzhou, the village of Derbent at the foothills of the Ak-Kutal Pass at the fork in the roads to

Eastern Bukhara and Termez. The latter fortification blocked a convenient crossing from Bukhara to Afghanistan. The town of Kulyab was an important local road junction in Eastern Bukhara.

The country's climate is sharply continental. In summer the heat reaches 68 degrees on the Reaumur scale. Low and swampy places, as well as the rice plantations are a breeding ground for fatal tropical malaria, from which unacclimatized troops suffered terribly.

Thus the great size of the theater, its lack of roads, aridity, and difficult climatic conditions, taken together, had to influence the extremely prolonged nature and difficulty of operations, if one offers the enemy the time to employ all of these features favorably for himself. The theater's typical features allowed for the movement and operations of large troops units only along specific axes. These axes were sometimes quite removed from each other. From this proceeded the importance of the question of communications and the difficulties of organizing and maintaining it. In such conditions command and control could not involve the precise regulation of troops from day to day and assigning them tasks for each day. In the area of command and control, we had to lean toward granting the commander initiative, while giving him the general idea of the operation and granting him broad initiative in carrying it out. If we view all of M. V. Frunze's orders from this point of view, then we will see that they fully corresponded to these characteristic features of the theater. Actually, at the heart of his plan lay the desire to destroy as quickly as possible the enemy's entire organized armed forces.

The events of the Bukharan revolution continued to develop so rapidly that as early as 25 August the front command issued its order no. 3667, which defined the active assistance to the Red Army by the revolution's armed forces. The operation's political goal was defined by comrade Frunze as "revolutionary fraternal assistance to the Bukharan people in its struggle against the despotism of the Bukharan autocrat." The start of the operation was set for the night of 28–29 August. The Chardzhou group was to render assistance to the Bukharan rebels to capture the town of Old Chardzhou, and then they were to throw their cavalry to the Naryzym and Burdalyk crossings over the Amu-Darya River in order to cut off all the fugitives, including the emir and the members of his government, should they try to save themselves by flight along these roads to Afghanistan. For these purposes, it was necessary to seize the town of Karakul and the Yakki-Tut railroad station. Along with these actions by the detachment, the establishment of revolutionary power along the Amu-Darya would be achieved from the border with Khorezm to Termez, inclusively. The head of the Kagan group, comrade Belov,<sup>10</sup> upon receiving the first reports of the revolutionary coup in Old Chardzhou, was to move his units to the capital and the emir's suburban palace of Satara-Makhassa, five kilometers northeast of Bukhara, where he was "to destroy all of the Old Bukharan government's forces through a decisive and destructive attack and to prevent the enemy from organizing new

resistance.” A special task was the capture of the emir himself and his government. Other groups and detachments were to carry out tasks indicated in the 12 August directive. The Samarkand detachment’s task was expanded, in the sense that the 7th Rifle Regiment, which was to be subordinated to this detachment, following the defeat of the enemy’s group of forces in the Shakhriyaba—Kitab area, was to capture the Karshi—Hisor Guzar area in order to hinder the remnants of the Shakhriyabz beg’s forces from escaping to Sharabad into the mountainous eastern counties.

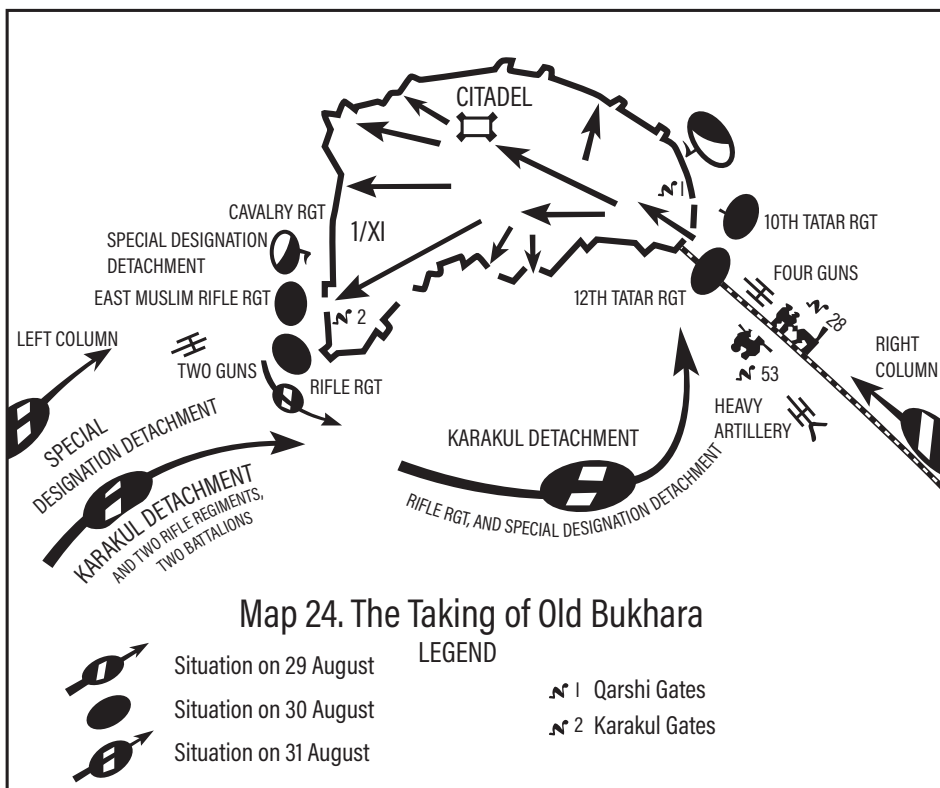
Subsequent events began to develop in the times called for by this order. The concentration of the Kagan detachment was completed on the night of 28–29 August. The town of Old Chardzhou was then seized by Bukharan revolutionaries and units of comrade Nikitin’s Chardzhou detachment moved on the Naryzym and Burdalyk crossings over the Amu-Darya and captured them on 31 August. At the same time, a special detachment, consisting of the 5th Rifle Regiment, a composite company from the 8th Rifle Regiment, and a battalion from the 16th Cavalry Regiment, was moved from the town of Old Chardzhou to the town of Karakul.

The Kagan group went over to the offensive between 0600 and 0700 on 29 August. It attacked in two columns. The right (eastern) column included the 10th and 12th Tatar Rifle Regiments, the 1st Cavalry Regiment, four guns, the 53rd Armored Car Detachment, and armored train no. 28. This column attacked from the town of Kagan along the road and railroad branch to the southeastern part of the city wall, where the Qarshi gates were located.

The left column (western), which included the 1st Eastern Muslim Rifle Regiment, another rifle regiment and a cavalry regiment and a special designation detachment, along with two light guns, landed 14 kilometers west of Kagan station and attacked the southwestern Karakul city gates. Thus the offensive was carried out simultaneously against two opposite points, which one cannot recognize as correct, taking into account the overall small size of our forces. An artillery group, consisting of a platoon of 152-mm fortress guns on platforms and a 122-mm battery, was to have supported the right column’s offensive.

However, on the first day of the offensive it was located at the maximum distance, which is why its fire had little effect. The enemy disposed of forces up to 2,000–3,000 troops for the defense of each of the gates and the adjacent sectors of the city wall, as well as a mobile reserve outside the city. The columns advanced slowly over broken terrain, while encountering enemy fire and counterattacks, and on the offensive’s first day only managed to reach the city’s fortifications, but were unable to capture them. 30 August passed in this fashion.

On 31 August the Karakul detachment and the 2nd Rifle Regiment, with two batteries, reached the Old Bukhara area. On this day the leadership of the operations of all forces around Bukhara was united in the hands of the 1st Army commander, G. V. Zinov’yev. The command decided to launch the main attack against the Qarshi gates and the preparation for the storming of which was begun by artillery



fire as early as 30 August, while the heavy artillery was brought up closer to the city. Throughout 31 August the group command concentrated almost all its forces against the Qarshi gates, near which a breach had already been made by that time, leaving behind in the left column only a rifle regiment (1st Eastern Muslim), a composite company from the 8th Rifle Regiment, and a cavalry regiment from the special designation detachment.

At 0500 on 1 September the right column moved out to storm the Qarshi gates, which this time ended in success: following stubborn street fighting, by 1700 on the same day the city of Old Bukhara had fallen completely into the hands of the Soviet forces. However, the emir could not be found in the city. He had abandoned his capital as early as the night of 30–31 August, and with a guard of 1,000 men headed to the northeast to the town of Gijduvon.

At this time the Kattakurgan and Samarkand detachments had successfully coped with the tasks given to them in accordance with the directive of 12 August. Further operations came down to the organization of a pursuit of the emir and his retinue.<sup>11</sup> However, he had managed to slip through between the Red detachments pursuing him and find a temporary refuge in Eastern Bukhara. The capture of Bukhara and the emir's flight signified the victory of the Bukharan revolution. The first step of the victorious Bukharan revolution was the proclamation of the Bukharan Soviet Peoples Republic,<sup>12</sup> similar to what was done in Khorezm.

Operations to eliminate the emir's regime took up no more than a week, but the main goal of the operation had been achieved. Bukhara, liberated from the age-old yoke of reaction, set about on the broad path of peaceful Soviet construction. The rapidity and energy with which the operation was conducted, and its success, were the result of that scrupulous and thoughtful preparatory work that always distinguished comrade Frunze as a commander. A decisive blow had been struck against the Bukharan counterrevolution. The large size of the theater and its difficult conditions had made their imprint on these operations in the sense that they were quite extended in time. For the purpose of finally driving the former emir, who had ensconced himself with a handful of followers, first in Baisun, and then in Dushanbe, out of the confines of Bukhara, and the sovietization of Eastern Bukhara, Soviet forces, while overcoming all obstacles and unfavorable terrain and climate conditions, advanced in 1921, in the so-called Hisor expedition, into the depths of Eastern Bukhara and finally drove the emir and his followers from the confines of the Bukharan People's Republic. However, this expedition, which was undertaken in the form of a raid by a single cavalry division, with small infantry units attached to it, did not yield lasting results due to the absence of systematic work for the political-administrative consolidation of the rear. Our columns, upon carrying out several long-range campaigns into the furthest reaches of Eastern Bukhara, were forced by the onset of autumn to fall back to their winter quarters closer to their bases, because poor supply and rear-area organization began to threaten them with

strategic exhaustion. We were unable to consolidate the sovietization of Eastern Bukhara, which the local counterrevolution took advantage of the following year.

In 1922 the local counterrevolution, by taking advantage of the break with the revolution by part of its casual fellow travelers, once again attempted to raise its head. It found an ideologist and leader in the person of Enver Pasha,<sup>13</sup> one of the former activists of the Young Turk party. Upon appearing in Eastern Bukhara in the early spring of 1922, Enver Pasha attempted to entice the popular masses with pan-Islamic slogans. This attempt failed. The people did not follow him and Enver Pasha remained only the head of bandit gangs which did not particularly reckon with his authority. Enver Pasha's counterrevolutionary activity in Eastern Bukhara was ended by the Red Army's new campaign there. Enver Pasha was defeated in several battles and was killed in a firefight with one of our detachments while attempting to flee.





# List of Chief Sources for the Third Volume of the Civil War, 1918–1921

## In Russian

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# Endnotes

## Foreword

- 1 Editor's note. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin (Ul'yanov) (1870–1924) joined the Russian revolutionary movement as a young man and was one of the founders of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) and later came to head the party's radical Bolshevik faction. He spent many years abroad, consolidating his factions' organization and elaborating its program before his return to Russia in 1917. Following his party's successful coup that November, he headed the Soviet government as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and head of the party until illness increasingly sidelined him from late 1922.
- 2 Editor's note. Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin (Dzhughashvili) (1879–1953) joined the RSDRP as a young man and attached himself to its Bolshevik faction and quickly rose in its ranks. Following several stints of prison and internal exile, he returned to European Russia in 1917 and was a member of the first Bolshevik government. In 1922 he was appointed general secretary of the ruling Communist Party, from which position he solidified his hold on power following Lenin's death. He ruled as absolute dictator for nearly a quarter century and was responsible for the deaths of millions of people and the establishment of the Soviet Union as a totalitarian state. Stalin's reputation has since suffered a considerable decline.
- 3 Editor's note. This is a reference to the prewar and World War I-era alliance between Great Britain, France and Russia that fought against Germany and its allies. During the Russian Civil War the Bolsheviks attached the name indiscriminately to those foreign powers that intervened in the fighting on the White side.
- 4 Editor's note. A region in the northwestern part of Ukraine.
- 5 Editor's note. During the civil war the anti-communist forces were known collectively as the Whites, to distinguish them from their opponents, the Reds. Later Soviet histories rather indiscriminately attached the adjective "White" to almost any non-communist movement, regardless of nationality.
- 6 Editor's note. Nikolai Nikolayevich Yudenich (1862–1933) joined the Russian Army in 1879 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1887 and took part in the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War. He commanded White forces in northwestern Russia until their defeat in the fall of 1919, after which they were disarmed by Estonian forces. Yudenich emigrated in 1920.
- 7 Editor's note. The Northwestern Army began as the Northern Corps in the Pskov area in October 1918, but later transferred its base to Estonia following the German withdrawal from Russia. Following its defeat and internment in Estonia, the army was disbanded on 22 January 1920.
- 8 Editor's note. Anton Ivanovich Denikin (1872–1947) joined the Russian Army in 1890 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1899. He took part in the First World War as a front commander and chief of staff to the supreme commander-in-chief. Following the

Bolshevik coup, he fled south and took part in the formation of the White movement along the lower Don River. Here he successively commanded the Volunteer Army and was commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of South Russia until their defeat in the fall of 1919. Denikin emigrated in 1920.

- 9 Editor's note. The Ukrainian Directory was formed in the fall of 1918 in the wake of the Austro-German withdrawal from Ukraine and proclaimed itself the government of the country. The Directory was defeated by Soviet forces the following spring and fled to western Ukraine. The Directory came to power again that summer, but was defeated by Denikin's forces. Following the conclusion of the Soviet-Polish War of 1920, the Directory was disbanded in the fall of that year.
- 10 Editor's note. The Armed Forces of South Russia were formed through the amalgamation of the Volunteer Army and the Don Army in early 1919. It later came to include the Caucasus Army, as well as smaller units and was commanded successively by A. I. Denikin and P. N. Wrangel'. The army was disbanded in May 1920, following the collapse of the White offensive on Moscow.
- 11 Editor's note. Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Kolchak (1873–1920) joined the Russian navy in 1886 and took part in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars and commanded the Black Sea Fleet in the latter conflict. He overthrew the anti-communist Ufa Directory in late 1918 and established his personal dictatorship in Siberia, where he was proclaimed supreme ruler of Russia. However, Kolchak's forces were defeated and he was betrayed by his allies and turned over to the Bolsheviks and executed.
- 12 Editor's note. Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel' (1878–1928) joined the Russian Army in 1902 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1910 and fought in the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War, where he commanded a corps. During the civil war he commanded a division, corps and armies. He later commanded the Armed Forces of South Russia and the Russian Army in the Crimea. Wrangel' fled abroad following the defeat of his forces in the Crimea in the fall of 1920.
- 13 Editor's note. Władysław Eugeniusz Sikorski (1881–1943) was a Polish nationalist who fought for his country's independence following the First World War. He was active in Polish postwar politics and served as prime minister. He also served as prime minister of the Polish government in exile during 1939–43 until his death in a plane crash.
- 14 Editor's note. Aleksandr Il'ich Yegorov (1883–1939) joined the Russian Army in 1902 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded armies and fronts. Following the civil war Yegorov rose through the army's ranks and was chief of the RKKKA General Staff, but fell afoul of Stalin and was executed during the dictator's military purge.
- 15 Editor's note. War Communism was the name given to the system of *ad hoc* and emergency measures which characterized Soviet economic policy during 1918–20. This included the nationalization and extreme centralization of the country's economic life and other extraordinary measures such as forcible grain requisitions from the peasants. War Communism was succeeded by the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921.
- 16 Editor's note. Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze (1885–1925) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1904 and during the civil war occupied a number of administrative positions and commanded armies and fronts. Following the civil war, he served on the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic (RVSR), chief of the RKKKA Staff and was briefly people's commissar for military and naval affairs. Frunze died under mysterious circumstances while undergoing an operation.
- 17 Several different reasons brought about the appearance of these tactics on the southern front. Here are the main ones: the poor initial level of training of the Red infantry, which rendered it extremely sensitive to cavalry attacks; the predominance of cavalry among the enemy forces

and its broad employment on the battlefields; the non-contiguous fronts, which allowed for the unhindered penetration by cavalry into the infantry's combat ranks. The latter, with its flanks turned and threatened by cavalry from the rear, gathered around its machine guns. A significant amount of the latter, which periodically piled up in the rifle regiments, enabled the troops to form firing strongholds in the infantry's combat ranks. Riflemen, seeking protection, gathered around these points and organized an all-round fire defense. This is why group battle by the infantry arose namely on the southern front. Along the other fronts of the civil war, all of the above-enumerated phenomena were either not observed at all, or were present in a very limited degree.

- 18 Editor's note. The Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense (*Sovet Rabochei i Krest'yanskoi Oborony*) was established on 30 November 1918 as the highest military organ in the Soviet Republic. It was reorganized as the Council of Labor and Defense (*Sovet Truda i Oborony*) in April 1920.
- 19 Editor's note. This appears to be a reference to committees organized by various left-wing British organizations against the government's anti-Bolshevik policies during the civil war.
- 20 Editor's note. This refers to the Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee, which was formed under Soviet auspices in July 1920, during the Soviet-Polish War, in order to establish communist rule in Poland. The committee was later disbanded following the Red Army's defeat.
- 21 Editor's note. Jozef Klemens Pilsudski (1867–1935) was a Polish nationalist leader who joined the Polish Socialist Party in 1893. In 1914 he organized Polish forces to fight for the Central Powers against Russia. At the end of the First World War he led Polish forces against Ukraine, the Soviet Union, Lithuania, and Germany. After retiring from politics, Pilsudski led a coup and became the dominant power in the government until his death.
- 22 I. Pilsudskii, *1920 God*. (Moscow: Voyennyi Vestnik, 1926), p. 101.
- 23 Editor's note. Semyon Vasil'ovich Petlyura (1879–1926) became involved in Ukrainian nationalist politics at an early age and took an active part in the country's political life during the revolution and civil war. In 1919 he became head of the Ukrainian Directory, fighting both Reds and Whites and was later head of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Following the Reds' victory, Petlyura went into exile, first in Poland and then France, where he was assassinated.
- 24 Editor's note. A *kulak* (Russ., "fist") was the derogatory name given to better-off peasants in the Russian countryside, who were envied for their success and grasping ways. The *kulaks* were later destroyed as a class during the collectivization drive in the USSR in the early 1930s.
- 25 Editor's note. This refers to that part of Ukraine to the west of the Dnepr River.
- 26 Editor's note. This refers to the Treaty of Versailles, concluded in 1919 between the victorious Allied powers and Germany. The peace treaty sought to restore the European system to some degree of normality following the upheavals of the world war and subsequent revolutions.
- 27 Editor's note. Nikolai Yevgen'yevich Kakurin (1883–1936) joined the Russian Army in 1904 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1910 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1920 and commanded a division and an army. Following the civil war, Kakurin took up academic work, but was arrested and died in prison.
- 28 Editor's note. Ioakim Ioakimovich Vatsetis (1873–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1891 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1909 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served as a front commander and commander-in-chief of Soviet forces in 1918–1919, but was relieved and his career went into decline. Vatsetis later switched to academic work, but he was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 29 Editor's note. Andrei Sergeyeovich Bubnov (1884–1938) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1903 and took a leading part in the 1917 coup. During the civil war he held a number of high-ranking party and government posts and later served as the head of the Red Army's Main Political Administration. Bubnov was appointed commissar of education in 1929, but fell afoul of Stalin and was later executed.



- 30 Editor's note. Sergei Sergeyevich Kamenev (1881–1936) joined the Russian Army in 1898 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1907 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded a front, and during 1919–1924 was commander in chief of Soviet forces, after which his career went into decline.
- 31 Editor's note. Mikhail Nikolayevich Tukhachevskii (1893–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1912 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded armies and fronts, and also put down anti-Soviet revolts. Tukhachevskii later served as chief of staff and was a deputy defense commissar, but was later arrested and executed.
- 32 Editor's note. Robert Petrovich Eideman (1895–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1916 and joined the Red Army two years later. During the civil war he commanded divisions and an army. Eideman later headed the army's military academy, but was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 33 Editor's note. Pavel Pavlovich Lebedev (1872–1933) joined the Russian Army in 1892 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1900 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and headed the Revolutionary Military Council's field staff. Lebedev later served as chief of staff and head of the RKKA Military Academy.
- 34 Editor's note. Vasilii Konstantinovich Mordvinov (1892–1971) joined the Russian Army in 1909 and fought in the First World War. He was drafted into the Red Army in 1928 and commanded artillery units and a division in the civil war. Following the civil war he served in the army's central educational apparatus. During the Second World War he served as rear area chief on several fronts, before returning to academic work. Mordvinov retired in 1952.
- 35 Editor's note. Fyodor Yevlampiyevich Ogorodnikov (1867–1939) joined the Russian Army in 1887 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1893. During the First World War he commanded divisions, a corps and a front. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served in rear-area posts. Ogorodnikov was engaged in academic and staff work from 1920.
- 36 Editor's note. Nikolai Yakovlevich Kotov (1893–1938) joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1910 and the army in 1914 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded a brigade. Following the war, he commanded rifle units and later transferred to academic work. Kotov was arrested and shot during Stalin's military purge.
- 37 Editor's note. Konstantin Ivanovich Shelavin (1886–1934) joined the RSDRP in 1903. During the civil war he worked as a journalist and editor. He later taught at one of the Red Army's military academies. Shelavin committed suicide.
- 38 Editor's note. Ivan Fyodorovich Shirokii (1893–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1914 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded a regiment and brigade during the civil war. Following the war, he held a number of academic posts, but was arrested and shot during Stalin's military purge.
- 39 Editor's note. Aleksandr Nikolayevich De-Lazari (1880–1942) joined the Russian Army in 1898 and completed the General Staff Academy in 1909. He fought in the First World War and joined the Red Army in 1918, where he served in various staff positions. Following the war, he held a number of academic posts. De-Lazari was arrested in 1941 and shot the following year.
- 40 Editor's note. Vladimir Vasil'yevich Sokolov (1898–1937) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1917 and following the civil war he worked in the Frunze Military Academy. Sokolov was arrested in 1935 and executed in a labor camp.
- 41 Editor's note. Kuz'ma Nikitovich Galitskii (1897–1973) was drafted into the Russian Army in 1917 and joined the Red Army the following year and fought in the civil war. Following the war, he commanded line units and also engaged in academic work. He was arrested in 1938 but was later released. During the Second World War he commanded a division, a corps and armies. Following the war, Galitskii commanded a number of military districts until his retirement in 1962.

## Chapter 1—The External and Internal Political Situation. The Theaters of War

- 1 Editor's note. The RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic) was proclaimed in January 1918, succeeding the Russian Soviet Republic, which had existed since the Bolshevik coup of the previous November.
- 2 Editor's note. The Mensheviks (from the Russian word, *men'shinstvo*, or minority) were those members of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) who broke with the Bolsheviks over tactics at their second congress in 1903. The two factions remained bitter rivals before and after the Bolshevik coup, with the Mensheviks advocating a more moderate course. During the civil war the party was suppressed and its leadership scattered.
- 3 Editor's note. This refers to the Menshevik-led government that was formed in November 1918 and which sought to hew to a course independent of Moscow. The government was overthrown in February 1921 by the Red Army.
- 4 Editor's note. Rudiger von der Goltz (1865–1946) fought in the First World War and helped put down a communist-inspired revolution in 1918. He later commanded German troops in the Baltic States, where he battled indigenous and outside forces before being recalled in 1919.
- 5 Editor's note. Winston Spencer Churchill (1874–1965) joined the British Army in 1893 and fought in Africa, after which he was elected to Parliament 1900, where he quickly rose in office. During 1919–1921 he was war minister and a leading advocate of Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War against the Bolsheviks. Following a spell in the political wilderness, he returned to office in 1939 and later served two terms as prime minister of Great Britain during the Second World War and afterwards. Churchill retired from Parliament in 1964.
- 6 Editor's note. The Treaty of Rapallo grew out of the Genoa Conference of 1922. According to the treaty, signed on 16 April, Germany and the RSFSR agreed to establish diplomatic relations and renounce all territorial and financial claims against each other. This event heralded the two states' emergence from diplomatic isolation.
- 7 Editor's note. The different dates represent the usage of the Julian calendar in pre-revolutionary Russia, as opposed to the Gregorian calendar used in the West, which by the start of the twentieth century meant that Russia was nearly two weeks behind the western countries in computing dates. The Soviet government later switched over to the Gregorian calendar.
- 8 Editor's note. Edgar Algernon Robert Cecil (1864–1958) entered Parliament in 1906 and later served as assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs and took part in the Versailles Peace Conference. In later years Cecil became a leading advocate for the League of Nations.
- 9 Editor's note. Nikolai Nikolayevich Dukhonin (1876–1917) joined the Russian Army in 1894. During the First World War he served in command and staff assignments. Following the Bolshevik coup, he became *de-facto* supreme commander-in-chief of the army. However, he resisted Bolshevik attempts to begin peace negotiations with the Central Powers and was removed from his post. Dukhonin was murdered by pro-Bolshevik soldiers after he freed generals Kornilov and Denikin from prison.
- 10 Editor's note. This refers to the peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Central Powers in the Polish town of Brest (Brest-Litovsk) during the winter of 1917–1918. The negotiations concluded in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918, in which Soviet Russia lost large areas in the Baltic, part of Belorussia and the Trans-Caucasus, while Finland and Ukraine were recognized as independent. As a result of Germany's defeat at the hands of the Allies, the RSFSR annulled the peace treaty on 13 November 1918.
- 11 Editor's note. Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) served as president of Princeton University during 1902–1910, governor of New Jersey during 1911–1913, and president of the United

States during 1913–1921, during which time he presided reluctantly over the limited intervention of American forces in the Russian Civil War.

- 12 Editor's note. The Central Council (*Rada*) of Ukraine was the legislative body of the Ukrainian People's Republic from March 1917 until its dispersal in April 1918, following the Red Army's occupation of much of Ukraine.
- 13 Editor's note. Bessarabia is a historic region in Eastern Europe between the Dneestr and Prut rivers. The Turks ceded the area to Russia in 1812 and it was occupied by Romania in 1918, only to be annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. The area now forms part of independent Moldova.
- 14 Editor's note. Constantin Diamandi (1868–1931) joined the Romanian diplomatic service in 1892 and served in a variety of posts. He served as ambassador to Russia during the First World War and briefly during the Soviet regime, during which time his arrest occurred.
- 15 Editor's note. Ferdinand Jean Marie Foch (1851–1929) joined the French Army in 1870 and later headed the French War College, where he was instrumental in shaping the army's military doctrine. During the First World War he commanded a corps, army and army group and served as chief of staff until his appointment in 1918 as Supreme Commander of the Allied armies. Foch retired from the army in 1923.
- 16 Editor's note. Sutemi Chinda (1857–1929) served as Japanese ambassador to Germany, the United States and Great Britain during the years preceding the First World War and during the conflict. He was also a member of the Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.
- 17 Editor's note. *Ataman* was a title given to Cossack leaders before and during the civil war. The Ukrainian version of this word is *hetman*.
- 18 Editor's note. Grigorii Mikhailovich Semyonov (1890–1946) joined the Russian Army in 1911 and fought in the First World War. Following the Bolshevik coup he set up his own anti-Soviet regime in the Trans-Baikal area of Russia. Semyonov, with Japanese support, proclaimed himself *ataman* of the Trans-Baikal Cossacks. Following the White defeat in Siberia, he was forced to emigrate. Semyonov was captured by Soviet troops in Manchuria in 1945 and executed the following year.
- 19 Editor's note. Georgii Yevgen'yevich L'vov (1861–1925) was a Russian prince who became active in politics in the years preceding the outbreak of the First World War. Following the overthrow of the monarch, L'vov was the first prime minister of the Provisional Government from March to July 1917. Following the Bolshevik coup, L'vov moved to Siberia, where he was recruited by the anti-Bolshevik Provisional Siberian Government to travel to the US to secure American support. L'vov later settled in France, where he died in poverty.
- 20 Editor's note. Aleksei Ivanovich Putilov (1866–1940) was a Russian financier and high-ranking civil servant active in Far Eastern affairs. During the civil war he helped finance White forces in southern Russia. Putilov died in exile in Paris.
- 21 Editor's note. George William Buchanan (1854–1924) joined the diplomatic service in 1876 and served in several posts until he was appointed ambassador to Russia in 1910. He was close to Emperor Nicholas II, but could not prevent the latter's overthrow in early 1917. Buchanan opposed the Bolsheviks but poor health forced him to leave Soviet Russia in late 1918.
- 22 Editor's note. Joseph Noulens (1864–1944) was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1903 and he served in the cabinet from 1913 to 1915. He was appointed ambassador to Russia in 1917 and supported the Whites' efforts to overthrow the Bolshevik regime before departing at the end of 1918. Noulens was elected to the Senate in 1920.
- 23 Editor's note. David Rowland Francis (1850–1927) was a businessman and politician, serving as mayor of St. Louis, governor of Missouri and secretary of the interior at various times. He was appointed ambassador to Russia in 1916 and he left the country in 1918.

- 24 Editor's note. Robert Hamilton Bruce Lockhart (1887–1970) joined the British foreign service before the First World War and was posted to Russia. In 1918 he became Britain's first envoy to the Bolshevik government, although he was later arrested and accused of trying to overthrow the Soviet regime. He was exchanged for a Soviet spy, but sentenced to death *in absentia*. Lockhart left government service in 1922 and began a career in finance and journalism, although he returned to service as the head of British anti-Axis propaganda during the Second World War.
- 25 Editor's note. Jacques Numa Sadoul (1881–1956) was a French socialist who, as a captain with the French mission in Petrograd maintained contacts with the Bolshevik government. He soon became a communist himself and participated in the civil war before returning to France and becoming one of the founding members of the French Communist Party and a Stalin apologist. Sadoul later collaborated with the pro-Nazi Vichy French government, but returned to communism upon the Allied victory.
- 26 Editor's note. Raymond Robbins (1873–1954) began life as a coal miner and later became a lawyer, evangelist and early supporter of the Progressive Party. In 1917 he headed the American Red Cross mission in Russia and developed a sympathetic attitude toward the Bolshevik regime and worked to establish relations between the RSFSR and the United States.
- 27 Editor's note. Aleksei Mikhailovich Kaledin (1861–1918) joined the Russian Army in 1882 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1889. During the First World War he commanded a division and an army and was later appointed *ataman* of the Don Cossacks. Kaledin strongly opposed the Bolshevik coup, but following the loss of Rostov-on-Don he committed suicide.
- 28 Editor's note. Lavr Georgiyevich Kornilov (1870–1918) joined the Russian Army in 1892 and took part in expeditions to the Far East. He graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1897 and took part in the Russo-Japanese War. During the First World War he commanded a division and a front. Following the February Revolution he was appointed supreme commander-in-chief, but sought to overthrow the Provisional Government and was defeated and imprisoned. After the Bolshevik coup he escaped to the Don area and helped to organize the anti-Bolshevik Volunteer Army. Kornilov was killed in battle.
- 29 Editor's note. Mikhail Vasil'yevich Alekseyev (1857–1918) joined the Russian Army in 1873 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1890. He fought in the Russo-Japanese War and during the First World War served as a front chief of staff, front commander, and supreme commander-in-chief. Following the Bolshevik coup, he moved to the Don region and helped to organize the Volunteer Army. Alekseyev died of heart disease.
- 30 Editor's note. Tomosaburo Kato (1861–1923) joined the Japanese navy in 1873 and fought in the Russo-Japanese War. He later became naval minister and served in the Japanese delegation to the Washington Naval Conference of 1921–22. Kato became prime minister in 1922, but succumbed to cancer a year later.
- 31 Editor's note. The Socialist Revolutionary Party was founded in 1902 as a peasant-based revolutionary party. The party's "combat organization" carried out a number of terrorist acts against czarist officials and members of the royal family. More moderate elements of the party joined the Provisional Government following the February Revolution, while its left-wing members grew closer to the Bolsheviks and eventually joined the first Soviet government. The latter fell out with the Bolsheviks as a result of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and launched an unsuccessful revolt in the summer of 1918. By the early 1920s the party had been repressed throughout Soviet Russia. The party is often referred to by its shorthand name of SR.
- 32 Editor's note. The Czechoslovak Corps consisted of soldiers of Czech and Slovak nationality who had been captured by the Russians on the eastern front while serving in the Austro-Hungarian Army. These troops fought on the eastern front against the Central Powers until the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ended the war. The corps then sought to join the Western Allies by

leaving Russia through Vladivostok. Bolshevik attempts to disarm the corps during its journey east led to its soldiers joining the White forces and the corps soon became the backbone of White resistance in Siberia. Following the White defeat, the remnants of the corps were evacuated home in 1920.

- 33 Editor's note. Arthur James Balfour (1848–1930) was elected to Parliament in 1874 and served as prime minister between 1902 and 1905. He later served as foreign secretary, in which position he issued the so-called Balfour Declaration in favor of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Following the war, Balfour continued as an elder statesman.
- 34 Editor's note. William Howard Taft (1857–1930) served as a judge, solicitor general and US governor of the Philippines. He later served as Theodor Roosevelt's vice president and was himself president from 1909 to 1913. Taft later served as chief justice of the US Supreme Court.
- 35 Editor's note. This refers to the Barents Sea coastline of the Kola peninsula in northern Russia.
- 36 Editor's note. This refers to the Spartacist League (Germ., *Spartakusbund*), a branch of the Independent Social Democratic Party, which was itself a breakaway group from the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The Spartacists, now the Communist Party of Germany, sought to carry out a revolution in Germany, but were suppressed by the authorities in January 1919 and its leaders, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were murdered in captivity.
- 37 Editor's note. This refers to the short-lived People's State of Bavaria, which was proclaimed on 8 November 1918. It was headed by Kurt Eisner, a member of the Independent Social Democratic Party. However, the party was defeated in the elections of January 1919 and Eisner was assassinated a month later. A Bavarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed in its stead, but it was suppressed in May 1919.
- 38 Editor's note. The Hungarian People's Republic was proclaimed in November 1918 on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, the communists under Bela Kun seized power in March 1919 and proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic, which lasted until its overthrow by outside forces that August.
- 39 Editor's note. David Lloyd George (1863–1945) was elected to Parliament in 1890 and later served in a number of high-level cabinet posts. He served as prime minister from 1916 to 1922, when he was forced from office. Lloyd George thereafter played a marginal role in British political life.
- 40 Editor's note. Francis Leveson Bertie (1844–1919) joined the diplomatic service in 1863 and held a number of increasingly important positions, including as ambassador to Italy and then to France (1905–1918).
- 41 Editor's note. Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) was a French politician and prime minister of France who was instrumental in the French victory during the First World War. Following the war, Clemenceau was instrumental in organizing Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War.
- 42 Editor's note. This refers to the peace conference, held in Paris during the winter and spring of 1919, which led to the Treaty of Versailles.
- 43 Editor's note. This refers to the strait dividing Asiatic Turkey from its European part and offering ingress to the Black Sea and south Russia.
- 44 Editor's note. Louis Felix Marie Francois Franchet d'Esperey (1856–1942) joined the French Army in 1876 and took part in several colonial campaigns. During the First World War he commanded a corps, an army and army groups before being transferred to Salonika to command the Allied Army of the Orient. Following the war, d'Esperey directed operations against the Hungarian Soviet Republic.
- 45 Editor's note. Leonid Borisovich Krasin (1870–1926) joined the revolutionary movement in 1890 and during the civil war held a number of high-ranking economic and diplomatic posts involving negotiations with a number of the Soviet regime's enemies.

- 46 Editor's note. John Michael de Robeck (1862–1928) joined the British navy in 1875. During the First World War he commanded British ships which unsuccessfully sought to force the Dardanelles in 1915. Following the war de Robeck was appointed commander of the Mediterranean Fleet.
- 47 Editor's note. George Nathaniel Curzon (1859–1925) entered Parliament in 1886 and traveled widely in the Far East and Central Asia, later becoming viceroy of India. He was appointed foreign secretary in 1919 and carried out the government's anti-Soviet policy and sought to mediate in the Soviet-Polish War of 1920 by proposing a compromise boundary between the two countries, popularly known as the "Curzon Line."
- 48 Editor's note. This refers to the territory of Poland before the first partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria.
- 49 Editor's note. The soviets (Russ., "councils") began as workers' political organizations during the unsuccessful Russian Revolution of 1905, but were later disbanded. They were reborn following the February Revolution of 1917, often with a heavy degree of representation by soldiers. The Socialist Revolutionaries initially controlled most of the soviets, including the decisive Petrograd Soviet, but the Bolsheviks gradually gained the upper hand and used the soviets to seize power in November 1917 and to consolidate it throughout the country. The soviets were later transformed by the party into obedient mechanisms for imposing its will at the local level.
- 50 Editor's note. The use of the name Leningrad here is odd, as the city of Petrograd's name was not changed to Leningrad until 1924, following Lenin's death. The city has since reverted to its original name of St. Petersburg.
- 51 Editor's note. This is the popular contraction of Donets Basin, an important industrial area in eastern Ukraine.
- 52 Editor's note. This refers to the time between the February 1917 Revolution that overthrew the autocracy to the October Revolution that overthrew the Provisional Government and placed the Bolsheviks in power.
- 53 Editor's note. Pavel Nikolayevich Milyukov (1859–1943) was a Russian historian and politician who was one of the founders of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets) following the 1905 Revolution. He later served in the State Duma and briefly served as minister of foreign affairs in the Provisional Government. The note referred to here is Milyukov's support for Allied war aims, the revelation of which resulted in his resignation shortly afterward. Following the Bolshevik coup, he took part in the White movement before immigrating to France. Milyukov supported the USSR during the Second World War.
- 54 Editor's note. This refers to the spontaneous uprising by soldiers, sailors and workers against the Provisional Government in July 1917. The Bolsheviks regarded the uprising with caution and were later blamed for it following its suppression.
- 55 Editor's note. The Kornilov mutiny was an attempted coup by the then commander-in-chief of the Russian Army, Lavr Georgievich Kornilov, against the Petrograd Soviet in September (August, old style) 1917 in an effort to restore order in the army. The soviet mobilized its forces and was able to defeat Kornilov's forces, which greatly strengthened the soviet's Bolshevik faction.
- 56 Editor's note. The Provisional Government was chosen by the members of the nascent Russian parliament, the *Duma*, following the overthrow of the monarch in February 1917. The Provisional Government proved unable to cope with the multiple crises of 1917 and was, in turn, overthrown by the Bolsheviks.
- 57 Editor's note. The Black Hundreds (Russ., *Chernosotentsy*) was the collective name given to the adherents of a number of ultra-nationalist and pro-monarchy groups in Russia during and after the Russian Revolution of 1905. As used here, the term applies to almost any militantly anti-Bolshevik group.



- 58 Editor's note. The committees of the poor (Russ., *komitety bednoty*, or *kombedy*) were organizations of poor peasants organized in Bolshevik-controlled areas of Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine. These committees were responsible for dividing the land among the peasants and delivering produce to the army and urban areas.
- 59 Editor's note. Pavel Petrovich Skoropadskii (1873–1945) was a major landowner and took part in the First World War. Following the Bolshevik coup, he was appointed chief of the Central *Rada's* military forces and in April 1918 was declared *hetman*. When the Germans withdrew at the end of 1918, Skoropadskii's regime collapsed and he fled to Germany.
- 60 Editor's note. Aleksandr Fyodorovich Kerenskii (1881–1970) was a lawyer and politician who aligned himself with the Socialist Revolutionaries. As a deputy of the State Duma he joined the Provisional Government and later became prime minister and supreme commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He was overthrown by the Bolshevik coup and following an unsuccessful attempt to return to power he emigrated.
- 61 Editor's note. This was another name for the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly (*Komuch*), made up of former members of the original Constituent Assembly, which had been dispersed by Bolshevik troops in January 1918. Some members later made their way to Samara to establish an anti-Soviet government, but were overthrown by Kolchak's forces later that year.

## Chapter 2—The October Period of the Civil War

- 1 Editor's note. Vladimir Aleksandrovich Antonov-Ovseyenko (1883–1939) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1903 and took an active part in overthrowing the Provisional Government. During the civil war he held a number of command and political positions in the army. He later headed the armed forces' political administration until his removal as an ally of Trotskii. Antonov-Ovseyenko later held a number of diplomatic posts, before being arrested and executed during Stalin's purge.
- 2 Editor's note. The Red Guard began its formation after the February Revolution as the Bolshevik faction's para-military force, made up primarily of workers and former servicemen. The Red Guard played a key role in the overthrow of the Provisional Government, after which many of its members joined the newly created Red Army.
- 3 Editor's note. The *Stavka* (Russ., *Stavka Verkhovnogo Glavnogo Komanduyushchego*) was the Russian Army's supreme headquarters during the First World War. Red forces briefly took over the *Stavka* following the Bolshevik coup, but thereafter disbanded it.
- 4 Editor's note. Reingol'd Iosifovich (Yazepovich) Berzin (Berzin'sh) (1888–1939) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1915 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded troops and worked as a political officer. Following the civil war Berzin moved to government service, but was arrested and executed during Stalin's purge.
- 5 Editor's note. Rudol'f Ferdinandovich Sivers (1892–1918) joined the Communist Party in 1917 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded detachments and armies and died from wounds suffered in battle.
- 6 Editor's note. Vasilii Ivanovich Solov'yov (1890–1939) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1913 and served in a number of political posts within the army. Following the war, Solov'yov was engaged in government and diplomatic work until his arrest and execution during Stalin's purge of the state apparatus.
- 7 Editor's note. Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khovrin (1891–1972) was a sailor and Communist Party member who played an active role in the seizure of power in Petrograd and Moscow. He later served in a number of command and political assignments and also fought in the Second World War.



- 8 Editor's note. Yurii Vladimirovich Sablin (1897–1937) fought in the First World War and first joined the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and the Red Army in 1918. During the civil war he held a number of high-ranking command posts, despite having taken part in the Left Socialist Revolutionaries' revolt in 1918. Following the war, he held a number of command positions until his arrest and execution during Stalin's military purge.
- 9 Editor's note. The city of Tsaritsyn was renamed Stalingrad in 1925, in honor of Iosif Stalin. During the de-Stalinization campaign the city's name was changed to Volgograd.
- 10 Editor's note. The Volunteer Army was initially organized in Novocherkassk in November 1917 by M. V. Alekseyev. It later became the main anti-Soviet military force in south Russia.
- 11 Pavel Vasil'yevich Yegorov (1889 or 1895–1965) fought with Russian forces in France during the First World War. During the civil war he commanded Soviet troops in Ukraine, the North Caucasus and the Far East. Yegorov also took part in the Second World War.
- 12 Editor's note. The *gaidamaks* were historically Ukrainian Cossacks and members of anti-Bolsheviks Ukrainian cavalry detachments.
- 13 Editor's note. Grigorii Konstantinovich Petrov (1892–1918) was a Left Socialist Revolutionary who fought in the First World War and later served in the Red Guard. He later fought against the Ukrainian Central *Rada* and was later executed among the Baku commissars in September.
- 14 Editor's note. This is the local name for a large Cossack village.
- 15 Editor's note. The Cossack assembly (Russ., *voiskovoi krug*) was the governing body among the Don and Terek river Cossacks. These assemblies decided questions of leadership and internal and external political questions.
- 16 Editor's note. Pyotr Kharitonovich Popov (1867–1960) joined the Russian Army in 1891 and served as an instructor during the First World War. During the civil war he served in various command and political posts with the Cossack forces in South Russia. Popov emigrated in 1920 and died in the United States.
- 17 Editor's note. This is now the Ukrainian city of Dnipro.
- 18 Editor's note. Mikhail Artem'evich Murav'yov (1880–1918) had been a Left SR since 1917 and took part in the First World War. His forces put down the attempt by Kerenskii and Krasnov to restore the Provisional Government. He later commanded the Eastern Front, where he took part in the unsuccessful revolt by the Socialist Revolutionaries against the Soviet government and was killed.
- 19 Editor's note. Andrei Aleksandrovich Znamenskii (1886–1943) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1903 and took part in the November 1917 coup in Moscow. During the civil war he commanded and held political positions in the army and later in the party apparatus. Following the civil war, Znamenskii served as a diplomat.
- 20 The army did not have to carry out this assignment, as the greater part of it was sent to the Don.
- 21 The exception was the Latvian rifle units. At one time formed by the "faithful" and "patriotically" inclined Latvian bourgeoisie, which took advantage of the hatred of the Latvian peasantry for the German landowner to form these units; as early as May 1917 these units openly took the side of the Bolsheviks. Maintaining their cadre while the old army was demobilizing, the Latvian rifle units were distinguished during the course of the civil war by their high degree of consciousness and combat capability (the Left Socialist Revolutionary mutiny, Kazan', the Oryol operation, Kakhovka, and Perekop).
- 22 Editor's note. Jozef Dowbor-Musnicki (1867–1937) graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1902 and took part in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. In early 1918 he raised his troops against the Soviet regime, but was forced to fall back into German-occupied territory. He later accepted Polish citizenship and fought for that country.
- 23 Editor's note. The Polish National Democratic Party (Pol., *Stronnictwo Demokratyczno-Narodowe*) was founded in 1897 and advocated the non-violent defense of Polish independence and culture.

Following the reestablishment of an independent Poland, the party was renamed the Popular National Union in 1919 and the National Party a year later. The party ceased to exist following the German invasion in 1939.

- 24 Editor's note. Nikolai Vasil'yevich Krylenko (1885–1937) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1904 and later became a lawyer and served in the First World War. During the civil war he occupied a number of party posts and was briefly (November 1917–March 1918) the supreme commander-in-chief. He was one of the founders of the Soviet legal system and presided over some of the earliest “show trials” during the 1920s. Krylenko, however, fell afoul of Stalin and was himself arrested, tried and executed during the purge.
- 25 Editor's note. This refers to the detachments, often made up of urban dwellers, which went into the countryside to forcibly collect food from the peasants in order to feed the towns. The excesses committed by these detachments sometimes caused the peasantry to shift their support to the Whites.
- 26 Editor's note. Aleksandr Il'ich Dutov (1879–1921) was one of the leaders of the anti-Soviet Cossacks in the Urals. He graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1908 and fought in the First World War. He raised an anti-Soviet revolt in 1918 and later commanded the so-called Orenburg Army. Dutov emigrated in 1920.
- 27 An administrative territorial division.
- 28 Editor's note. The Left Socialist Revolutionaries were that faction of the Socialist Revolutionary Party that supported the Bolshevik coup against the Provisional Government and which took part in the first Bolshevik-dominated government. The Left Socialist Revolutionaries fell out with the Bolsheviks over the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and in July 1918 tried to overthrow the government, but were suppressed.
- 29 Editor's note. The Siberian Central Executive Committee was elected by the First Congress of Siberian Soviets in October 1917 to coordinate the activities of the Siberian soviets. The Committee was dispersed during the White occupation of Siberia in the summer of 1918.

## Chapter 3—The German Occupation and the Beginning of the Intervention

- 1 Editor's note. Dmitrii Grigor'yevich Shcherbachev (1857–1932) graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1884 and fought in the First World War. Following the Bolshevik coup, he commanded the old army's forces in Ukraine and Bessarabia. Shcherbachev later left for Paris, where he headed the Volunteer Army's mission to the Entente powers.
- 2 Editor's note. This was the Special Revolutionary Army of the Odessa District, or Odessa Special Army, which was created in January 1918 to halt the advance of Romanian forces into Bessarabia.
- 3 Editor's note. This body was created in Odessa in February 1918 to resist Romanian attempts to advance into Bessarabia.
- 4 Some authors (see Anishev, *Ocherki Istorii Grazhdanskoi Voiny 1917–1920 gg.*, State Publishing House, Leningrad, 1925, p. 101) explain the tractability manifested by the Romanians at this time regarding Bessarabia not so much by their failure at Rybnitsa as the pressure on them from anti-Soviet diplomacy, which was pursuing the goal of making the Soviet government more inclined to the idea of reestablishing an anti-German front. We have not been able to find documentary affirmation of this point of view.
- 5 The Norwegian General Staff Colonel Schnitler, in his book *The World War, 1914–1918* (Berlin, 1926), which was written by him in part on the basis of his personal observations (Schnitler was a military attaché with the Austro-German command), gives the following description of the tasks of the Austro-German occupation and that exertion which the occupation demanded of the Central Powers:

“The Central Powers had to resolve major tasks in the east. They had to defeat the Bolsheviks in Ukraine, in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and in Finland. They invaded Russia and occupied a significant part of the country and many important cities, such as Kiev, Odessa and Sevastopol’. They advanced as far as the Caucasus. South Russia was supposed to yield them bread and the Caucasus oil. But for this it was necessary that the Central Powers maintain significant forces in the east at the same time a life and death struggle was going on in the west. The forces that remained in the east were under the influence of that same ferment in which the peoples of Russia lived... The occupation’s achievements proved to be less than were expected.”

Schnitler lists the reasons that lessened the significance of the occupation and which turned it, in the final analysis, against the Central Powers: the demoralization of the Austro-German forces under the influence of Bolshevik propaganda (in being transferred to the west, these troops brought attitudes of war weariness and a hunger for peace there, the egoism (?) of the peasantry, the reduction of food supplies in the country, which brought about food difficulties even in the south and in the cities, the Entente’s propaganda (?), and the numerous prisoners of war returning from Russia (Austria alone yielded up to two million prisoners)... Despite the quarantines through which the prisoners of war passed, Bolshevik propaganda, which was brought by the returning prisoners of war, penetrated into the furthest reaches of the country.

- 6 Editor’s note. The *landwehr* was an integral part of the German Army and consisted of second-line forces.
- 7 Editor’s note. Podoliya (Russ., *Podol’ye*) is located in west-central and southwestern Ukraine.
- 8 The Austrian corps went over to the offensive on 28 February.
- 9 Editor’s note. Courland is a region in western Latvia.
- 10 This is what he wrote in the second volume of his book *Zapiski o Grazhdanskoj Voine na Ukraine*.
- 11 Our work in researching the events linked with the Austro-German occupation is made more difficult by the absence of sufficiently complete studies describing the activities of the occupation forces themselves. Only a number of separate articles have appeared in Austrian and German military journals in recent years, while the main attention in these articles is devoted to such problems as the demoralizing influence of Bolshevik propaganda on the occupation troops and the struggle against this propaganda. The memoir literature that has come out in Germany also very lightly describes the actions and the condition of the Austro-German forces during this period (Ludendorff, Hoffman, etc.). A number of authors note the Austro-German forces’ lack of readiness for activities in the unique conditions of the railroad war. Of the journal articles, we consider it necessary to note Colonel Dragony’s article “Austro-Hungarian Operations in the Occupation of Ukraine in 1918” (*Osterreichische Militarische Zeitschrift*, Vienna, 1928, May-June). Colonel Dragony, the former chief of staff of the Austrian XII Corps, relates a number of interesting facts regarding his corps’ combat activities in Ukraine, as well as the situation in which the corps’ activities unfolded. Having begun its movement into Ukraine from the Gusyatin—Satanova—Podvolochisk area, the XII Corps encountered the first serious resistance from the Red forces as early as 6 March. The corps’ forward echelons, which were moving along the railroad quite carelessly, were subjected to a sudden fire attack by the Reds, as a result of which, according to Colonel Dragony’s testimony, a very serious fight broke out around Slobodka. The Germans and Austrians lost seven officers and 430 soldiers killed in this battle. The fighting which on 7 March broke out in the area of Birzula station once more cost the occupiers heavy losses—90 killed and 600 wounded... Despite the haughty tone with which Colonel Dragony approaches his unorganized enemy, the reader may find in the article a number of examples testifying to the brave resistance of the Red Army’s first units and the Red Guard detachments (the prolonged fighting in the Nikolayev and Kherson area) to the occupiers. The author of the article blabs on about the assistance which the occupation forces rendered to their former enemy, General Shchepochyov (the

commander of the czarist troops on the Romanian Front), who, according to Colonel Dragony had broken through in April to the Don and Krasnov at the head of a detachment of 1,500–2,000 men. A supporter of the war against Germany to a victorious conclusion, the rabid patriot Shcherbachyov ended up under the protection of the German command.

- 12 Editor's note. Vitalii Markovich Primakov (1897–1937) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1914 and took part in the storming of the Winter Palace. During the civil war he commanded a number of cavalry units. He was executed during Stalin's purge of the military.
- 13 Editor's note. Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov (1881–1969) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1903 and rose through the party's ranks in Ukraine. During the civil war he commanded units and also served as a political officer. An early supporter of Stalin, Voroshilov was defense commissar during 1925–1940. During the Second World War he held a number of command posts but gradually lost power and became a political figurehead.
- 14 Editor's note. Pyotr Ionovich Baranov (1892–1933) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1912. During the civil war he served in a variety of command and political posts, chiefly in south Russia and Ukraine. Following the war, his career continued along these same lines.
- 15 Editor's note. Yefim Afanas'yevich Shchadenko (1885–1951) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1904 and was active in party activities in Ukraine. During the civil war he commanded small units and was a political commissar in others. Following the war, Shchadenko occupied mid-level party and military positions.
- 16 Inhabitants of the Cossacks areas not belong to the Cossack estate were called "outsiders" (Russ. *Inogorodnie*). These also included the landless peasants and those with little land in the Cossack areas.
- 17 These detachments made up the Reds' 1st, 2nd and 3rd Armies, but were so small in number that each of them could rightfully be called a detachment.
- 18 Editor's note. Mikhail Gordeyevich Drozdovskii (1881–1919) took part in the First World War and brought his forces from the Romanian front to Rostov, where he linked up with and became part of the Volunteer Army. Drozdovskii died from wounds received in battle.
- 19 Editor's note. *Hetman* is the Ukrainian version of the Russian *ataman*, signifying a Cossack leader.
- 20 Editor's note. Karl Gustav Emil Mannerheim (1867–1951) was a Finn of Swedish extraction who served in the Russian Army during the First World War. During the civil war he headed Finnish troops which crushed Soviet attempts to raise a revolution in that country. Following the civil war, Mannerheim served as commander-in-chief of the Finnish armed forces and the country's president.
- 21 Editor's note. Erich Friedrich Wilhelm Ludendorff (1865–1937) joined the army in 1883 and served in various staff positions. During the First World War he rose quickly from army chief of staff to the second man in the German military hierarchy, but his series of offensives in 1918 greatly weakened the army, thus hastening Germany's defeat. Following the war, Ludendorff at first sympathized with the Nazis, but later broke with Hitler.
- 22 For the details of this work, see the article by comrade Nikonov, "Glavneishie Momenty Organizatsii Krasnoi Armii v 1918–1921 gg.," in the second volume.
- 23 Editor's note. This refers to the Smol'nyi Institute, a former finishing school for young ladies of the nobility. Following the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks requisitioned the institute and made it their headquarters. The building later housed the Leningrad party organization and is now the residence of the governor of St. Petersburg.
- 24 General Alekseyev first set about forming this army in Rostov-on-Don at the end of 1917, and then generals Kornilov and Denikin, who had escaped from prison in Bykhov, joined it. The army was formed on a volunteer basis, mainly from the officer class and cadets, as well as from the bourgeois youth, supported by the major bourgeoisie and partly by the Entente powers. This

determined to the highest degree its counterrevolutionary physiognomy. The army was oriented toward the Entente powers.

- 25 Editor's note. A name for a village in the Caucasus Mountains.
- 26 General Denikin cites this figure in his *Ocherki Russkoi Smuty*. We as yet have been unable to check these data through other sources.
- 27 This request was the result of an agreement between the Czechoslovaks and the French government, which had been concluded as early as the end of 1917. According to this agreement, the Czechoslovak Corps was to be the basis of a Czechoslovak Army, designated for operations on the Western (French) Front in the World War. The French command was supposed to be in command of this army (for details, see General Rouquerol, *L'aventure de l'amiral Koltchak*, Payot, Paris, 1921).
- 28 In his book, Rouquerol (*L'aventure de l'amiral Koltchak*, Payot, Paris) states directly that at first the French command vigorously advised the Czechoslovaks to reach France through Archangel. Actually, putting aside the interests of the intervention, which required the presence of the Czechoslovaks in the east, it was in their interest to head directly to Archangel: at this time the city was the closest Russian seaport to France. The Entente's troops were already on the Kola Peninsula coast; huge depots with all kinds of supplies were there.
- 29 Editor's note. Stanislav Cecek (1886–1930) was in Russia when the First World War broke out and he joined the Russian Army and fought on the eastern front. In 1917 he became one of the founders of the Czechoslovak Corps and later commanded units in European Russia and Siberia, before returning to Czechoslovakia in 1920. He later became a high-ranking officer in the new Czechoslovak Army.
- 30 Editor's note. Radola Gajda (real name, Rudolf Geidl) (1892–1948) served as an NCO in the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First World War. He later defected to the Russians and became a regimental commander in the Czechoslovak Corps. He became an army commander under Kolchak, but was relieved by the latter and later led an unsuccessful revolt against his former chief. He later returned to Czechoslovakia, where he helped organize the native fascist movement. The Soviets arrested him in 1945, but he was later released.
- 31 Editor's note. Sergei Nikolayevich Voitsekhovskii (1883–1951) graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1912 and fought in the First World War. Following the October coup he commanded units in the Czechoslovak Corps and in Kolchak's anti-Soviet army. Following the civil war, he immigrated to Czechoslovakia, where he served in the nation's army. Voitsekhovskii was arrested by the Soviets following the Second World War and imprisoned in the Soviet Union.
- 32 Editor's note. This is now the city of Novosibirsk.
- 33 On 28 May the White Guards attempted to actively rise up in Tomsk. This attempt was easily eliminated by the local Red Guard and workers. But on 31 May Czechoslovak units arrived at Tomsk and the city fell into their hands.
- 34 Editor's note. Mikhail Konstantinovich Diterikhs (1874–1937) graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1900 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he served as chief of staff of the Czechoslovak Corps and fought against the Reds in Siberia and the Far East. Diterikhs immigrated in 1922.
- 35 Editor's note. This is probably a reference to the Czechoslovak National Council, which was formed in 1915 to aid the Allied cause in the First World War and to achieve independence for the Czechs and Slovaks of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The council had a branch in Russia at the time of the revolution.
- 36 General Rouquerol's book throws some new light on the details of the foreign intervention in Siberia. We must now abandon the idea there was some sort of plan for actually carrying out the intervention that was worked out in detail and coordinated beforehand. Evidently the French government, which was striving to occupy the leading role in the Siberian counterrevolution,

had more definite prospects in mind. Thus it hurried to dispatch General Janin to Siberia as the commander of the Czechoslovak Army, around which the forces of the Siberian counterrevolution were supposed to form. But the British government, with the same goal, but without troops and without the knowledge of the French government, sent the British General Knox to Siberia. When both governments mutually enquired about these missions, they had to negotiate to delineate generals Janin and Knox's future spheres of influence. The first was to take command of all Allied and White Russian troops to the west of Lake Baikal and in eastern Russia. Knox was to be appointed chief of the rear services and operating on General Janin's instructions and was supposed to concern himself with the preparations for outfitting and supplying an army of 100,000–200,000 men. Knox was also to be responsible for forming and training the White Russian Army. Thus not before the beginning of the intervention, but after it and following the delineation of functions between the various powers, an operational plan for intervention in Siberia began to take shape. In rough form, it came down to the following. In Europe the Entente first set as its goal to initially secure its communications with the north of Russia by occupying Murmansk and Archangel as strong points; subsequently, while relying on these strong points and behind the screen of the Allies, they were to set about forming a White Russian Northern Army and strive to link up with the Czechoslovak forces along the line of the Volga River. In Asia the role of the unifying force for all of the counterrevolutionary troops was entrusted to the Czechoslovak Corps. The latter, together with Russian counterrevolutionary units, was to strive to link up with the Allied landing in Archangel, on the one hand, and on the other, to make contact with the armed forces of the southern counterrevolution. The realization of the first part of the plan, that is, the link up with the forces operating in the north, from Archangel, and in the east from Siberia, was supposed to be carried out no later than the onset of the winter of 1918–19. At the same time, it was quite typical that the authors of this plan, the chief role in the creation of which was played by the French General Staff, believed that the main attack should be launched from the Archangel area. In order to understand the motives for preferring Archangel, one should bear in mind that by acting in this area the French General Staff planned to preempt and render harmless a possible active maneuver by the Germans from Finland toward Murmansk and the adjoining coast.

- 37 Editor's note. Dmitrii Leonidovich Khorvat (1858–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1878 and fought in the Russo-Turkish War. During the civil war he was in charge of the Russian-owned Chinese Eastern Railway and commanded White forces in the Far East. Following the civil war, he remained in China and was involved in émigré affairs.
- 38 Editor's note. Ivan Pavlovich Kalmykov (1890–1920) joined the army in 1909 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he held a number of political and military posts with the Cossack troops in the Far East, but his cruel methods turned the Whites against him and he was forced to flee to China, where he was captured and executed by local authorities.
- 39 Editor's note. Vladimir Nikolayevich Shokorov (1868–1940) joined the Russian Army in 1886 and graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1914. During the civil war he commanded the Czechoslovak Corps during 1917–1918, but was later relieved. Following the war, he immigrated to Czechoslovakia and worked in the defense ministry until his retirement in 1925.
- 40 Editor's note. Jan Syrový (1888–1970) fought in the Russian Army's Czech Legion during the First World War and later commanded the Czechoslovak Corps during the civil war. Following the war, he served as chief of staff of the Czechoslovak Army and also served as prime minister during the Munich crisis. Following the Second World War, Syrový was arrested and imprisoned for several years for alleged collaboration with the Germans.
- 41 The following figures testify to the scope of the political-agitation work achieved in a very short space of time: the usual circulation of *The Ural Worker*, the organ of the Bolsheviks' Ural regional committee, was 5,000 copies; within a month, that is, in the beginning of July 1918, its circulation had tripled (15,000 copies). During 10–23 July 28,248 brochures and 268,800



- appeals were circulated. From 25 June through 3 July 23,025 items of literature and brochures and 217,650 various appeals were circulated. During 3–9 July 21,779 books and brochures and 168,000 appeals were circulated.
- 42 These figures are quite illustrative in making judgments about the true military scope of events at the beginning of the civil war and about the Soviet regime's colossal achievements in regard to the construction of the armed forces.
- 43 Editor's note. The Right Socialist Revolutionaries were that faction of the Socialist Revolutionary Party that remained loyal to the Provisional Government following the Bolshevik coup. This faction received the largest number of votes to the Constituent Assembly, which was dispersed by the Bolsheviks in January 1918. Following this, the Right Socialist Revolutionaries scattered and took part in various anti-Bolshevik movements throughout Russia before being repressed.
- 44 Editor's note. Boris Viktorovich Savinkov (1879–1925) joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1903 and was one of the leaders of its "combat organization," which carried out terrorist acts against czarist officials. He served in the French Army during the First World War and under the Provisional Government was the commissar at the *Stavka*. Following the Bolshevik coup, he took part in a number of anti-Soviet movements. He emigrated in 1920, but was arrested in 1924 upon crossing the frontier. Savinkov was first sentenced to death, later changed to ten years in prison, but supposedly committed suicide.
- 45 Editor's note. Wilhelm von Mirbach-Harff (1871–1918) served in various diplomatic posts before being appointed German ambassador to the Soviet Republic in April 1918. Mirbach was murdered by Left Socialist Revolutionaries on 6 July in an attempt to incite a war with Germany.
- 46 Murav'yov entered upon the actual command of the Eastern Front on 18 June 1918. His tenure at the front was very short-lived. On 19 June he managed, while personally commanding a small detachment, to take back Syzran' from the Czechoslovaks and to carry out a number of organizational measures, such as: to plan the creation of four armies, to issue orders to transform the varied organizations in the armies into homogenous units (regiments, batteries, squadrons). Following the elimination of the Left Socialist Revolutionary uprising in Moscow, as early as 9 July Murav'yov called upon the troops to carry out their revolutionary responsibilities, but at the same time he ran off to Simbirsk, where he announced his declaration of war against Germany, demanded the support of the local soviet and ordered his front's forces to turn their front to the west and move on Moscow. Murav'yov found no one to support him and was forced to shoot himself.
- 47 Editor's note. Vasilii Konstantinovich Blyukher (1890–1938) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1916 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he held a number of party posts and commanded troops along a number of fronts. Following the civil war, Blyukher commanded Soviet forces in the Far East, but was caught up in Stalin's purge and executed.
- 48 Editor's note. Nikolai Dmitriyevich Kashirin (1888–1938) fought in the First World War and joined the Communist Party in 1918. During the civil war he commanded troops in the Orenburg area and elsewhere. Following the war, he remained in the Red Army, but fell victim to the purge and was executed.
- 49 The commander-in-chief of the White forces on the eastern front during the preliminary part of the campaign was General Boldyrev. The Czechoslovaks were temporarily operationally subordinated to him until the arrival of General Janin. Now, General Boldyrev, in his memoirs (*Direktoriya, Kolchak, Interventy, Sibkraizdat, 1925*), points out the reasons which caused him to halt along the northern operational axis. These reasons may be reduced to the following tenets:
1. The separatism of the White southern forces was too evident; under these conditions, the task of reaching the front Saratov—Tsaritsyn, which would have brought about the



establishment of operational cooperation between the eastern and southern White armies, was beyond the strength of the Constituent Committee's "People's Army."

2. The northern White government welcomed the Ufa Directory as an all-Russian regime and invited it to establish operational communications with its forces. In the military-economic sense, the choice of the northern axis would have opened the road to Kotlas, where there were some supplies. Communications with Archangel, which was a rich source of combat supply, could have been established further along the Dvina.
  3. One could have more quickly reinforced the Perm' axis with Siberian formations and Czechoslovak trains arriving from Siberia. Boldyrev does not point out that the northern axis seemed more preferable for both the Czechs and the military representatives of the Entente powers. It's not difficult to see from Boldyrev's explanations that the question of who would be first in Russia interested the Ufa Directory no less than the government of the southern counterrevolution. The vital interests of the southern and eastern White armies were sacrificed to local political considerations.
- 50 Editor's note. The Ufa Directory (Provisional All-Russian Government) was formed on 23 September 1918 by a coalition of anti-Bolshevik political parties, some of them former members of the disbanded Constituent Assembly. The Directory moved to Omsk in October and was overthrown by Kolchak's forces in November.
  - 51 Behind these forces, in the deep rear between Lake Baikal and the Pacific Ocean, were up to 100,000 Japanese, American, British, Serbian, and other troops, against which the local population was waging a stubborn partisan war. These forces were under the command of the Japanese general Otani. However, General Oba's Japanese division, which was occupying the Trans-Baikal area, was not subordinated to Otani and received orders directly from Tokyo (see Gen. Rouquerol's book).
  - 52 Editor's note. Tikhon Serafimovich Khvesin (1894–1938) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1911 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a number of armies and smaller groups of Soviet forces. Khvesin remained in the army following the civil war, but was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
  - 53 Editor's note. Pyotr Antonovich Slaven (Latvian, Peteris Slavens) (1874–1919) served in the czarist army and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he briefly commanded armies and a front. Slaven returned to Latvia in 1919, where he was arrested and died in prison.
  - 54 Editor's note. Vladimir Mikhailovich Azin (1895–1920) joined the Communist Party in 1918 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded an army and smaller units. He was later captured in battle by the Whites and executed.
  - 55 Editor's note. Georgii Vasil'yevich Zinov'yev (1887–1934) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1917 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a number of small units and armies in Siberia and Central Asia. Zinov'yev remained in the army following the civil war.
  - 56 Editor's note. Vladimir Oskarovich Kappel' (1883–1920) graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1913 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded White units of various sizes in Siberia. Kappel' died of disease during his forces' retreat.
  - 57 Editor's note. The Latvian riflemen were descended from those Latvian rifle regiments which served in the Russian Army during the First World War. During the civil war, the Latvian riflemen were among the most combat-worthy and loyal supporters of the Soviet regime. The Latvian rifle units were disbanded in 1920.
  - 58 At this time the Whites' Siberian Army was still completing its formation and was located in the deep rear.
  - 59 Editor's note. The "Internationale" became the unofficial anthem of the international working class movement toward the end of the 19th century and remains so to this day. Following the

- revolution, the “Internationale” became the national anthem of the Soviet Union until 1944, when another song replaced it and it began the anthem of the Soviet Communist Party.
- 60 Editor’s note. The use of the plural denotes Moscow as the medieval capital of the Muscovite state and St. Petersburg/Petrograd as the imperial capital.
- 61 Editor’s note. Mikhail Mikhailovich Lashevich (1884–1928) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1901 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he held a number of command and political posts. Following the war, he supported the anti-Stalin opposition and was expelled from the party, although he later recanted and was readmitted to its ranks.
- 62 Editor’s note. Yemel’yan Mikhailovich Yaroslavskii (real name Minei Izrailevich Gubel’mán) (1878–1943) joined the RSDRP in 1898. During the civil war he served in a number of party posts despite taking part in a number of opposition movements. Following the civil war he headed the Union of Militant Atheists and carried out anti-religious work for the party.
- 63 Editor’s note. Sergei Petrovich Natsarenus (1883–1942) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1904. During the civil war he held a number of political posts in the army at various levels and was later ambassador to Turkey. Following the civil war, Natsarenus served in state and party positions.
- 64 Editor’s note. Frederick Cuthbert Poole (1869–1936) joined the British Army in 1889 and took part in various colonial campaigns. He commanded the North Russia Expeditionary Force during 1918–1919. Poole later had an unsuccessful postwar political career.
- 65 Editor’s note. Aleksei Mikhailovich Yur’yev (1887–?) joined the RSDRP in 1917 and was quickly elected chairman of the Murmansk soviet. His deal with the former Allies was denounced and he was declared an enemy of the Soviet regime. Yur’yev was sentenced to prison in 1920, after which he disappeared.
- 66 Editor’s note. Nikolai Vasil’yevich Chaikovskii (1850–1926) was a nobleman who became active in revolutionary politics, most notably as a member of “The People’s Will” during the 1870s. He later joined the Socialist Revolutionaries, but later abandoned politics. During the civil war, Chaikovskii took part in a number of anti-Bolshevik movements, but was forced to emigrate following the White defeat.
- 67 Editor’s note. The “People’s Will” (Russ., *Narodnaya Volya*) was founded in 1879 as a revolutionary-terrorist organization dedicated to overthrowing the czarist autocracy. The “People’s Will” carried out the assassination of Czar Aleksandr II, but was itself broken up in the repression that followed. The organization was the forerunner of the later Socialist Revolutionary Party.
- 68 Editor’s note. Yevgenii Karlovich Miller (1867–1937) graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1892 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war, he held high-level military and political posts in the White-held areas of northern Russia. Miller later emigrated and became involved in émigré politics in Paris. He was later kidnapped by Soviet agents and transported to the USSR, where he was executed.
- 69 Editor’s note. William Edmund Ironside (1880–1959) joined the British Army in 1899 and fought in the Boer War and commanded a brigade during the First World War. He later commanded Allied forces in northern Russia during 1919. Ironside was appointed chief of the Imperial General Staff before the Second World War and chief of the Home Forces in 1940. Passed over for higher command, Ironside retired in 1940 and never served again.
- 70 This slowness, as we now learn from Rouquerol’s book, did not arise from the subjective qualities of General Poole’s character, but was due to the lack of correspondence between his men and materiel and the task assigned to him. According to the unanimous opinion of the Entente’s military representatives in Archangel, General Poole needed at least another five battalions for developing an energetic offensive. Neither the British nor the French high command could produce them. They appealed to the highest Allied authority—Marshal Foch. The latter considered it expedient for the United States to dispatch these five battalions from America directly to Archangel.

However, the US government turned down this request. Thus the question of sending five new battalions to Archangel grew into an international event. In this case, the Entente coalition shared the fate of all coalitions, and while the diplomatic and military chancelleries of the old and new world were exchanging notes among themselves and were engaged in a bureaucratic competition of red tape, General Poole stood in place and waited.

## Chapter 4—The Summer and Autumn Campaign of 1918 on the Southern Front and in the North Caucasus

- 1 Editor's note. Pyotr Nikolayevich Krasnov (1869–1947) fought in the First World War as a corps commander. During the civil war he was elected *ataman* of the Don Cossacks and organized the Don Army, which was supported by the Germans. He made several attempts to take Tsaritsyn and other cities, but was defeated. His base of support collapsed with Germany's defeat and he was forced to subordinate his forces to the Volunteer Army. Krasnov emigrated to Germany in 1919 and collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War, after which he was captured by the Soviets and executed.
- 2 Krasnov, in a letter to Emperor Wilhelm, put forth the following basic lines of his foreign "policy": 1) an independent Don, including Taganrog, Tsaritsyn and Kamyshin, 2) the payment of the Don's expenses by the Bolsheviks, according to Germany's demands, 3) the neutrality of the Don in the war between Germany and the Entente, etc. (Anishev, *Ocherki Istorii Grazhdanskoi Voiny 1917–1920 gg.*, Gosizdat, Leningrad, 1925, p. 154). However, Krasnov maintains in his foreign articles that his main goal was to organize a campaign on Moscow for the purpose of restoring a "unified and indivisible Russia."

Krasnov's letter to Wilhelm, which is cited below according to materials published by the Taganrog party historical section, are of significant interest for the historian. General Krasnov, with cynical frankness, invites yesterday's enemy in the world war—imperial Germany—to help the White Don, slavishly agreeing to the "free Don's" political and economic subordination to the latter.

"The *ataman* of Zimovaya stanitsa at the court of Your Imperial Majesty is authorized by me to request that Your Imperial Majesty recognize the rights of the Great Don Host to an independent existence and, with the liberation of the Kuban', Astrakhan' and Terek hosts and of the Northern Caucasus, the right to existence of the entire federation under the name of the Don-Caucasus Union. We request Your Imperial Majesty to recognize the boundaries of the Great Don Host in its previous geographical and ethnic borders, to help resolve the quarrel between Ukraine and the Great Don Host over Taganrog and its surrounding area in favor of the Great Don Host, which has ruled the Taganrog area for more than 500 years and for which the Taganrog area was a part of Tmutarakan' (Tmutarakan' is a former area on the Sea of Azov coast, with the city of the same name, where the Khazars lived; the Polovtsy conquered Tmutarakan' in the XII century, from which time its name disappears from history), from which the Great Don Host arose, and to request that Your Imperial Majesty assist in the annexation to the Host, out of strategic considerations, the Saratov province's cities of Kamyshin and Tsaritsyn, and the cities of Voronezh, *stanitsa* Liski and Povorino and to draw the boundaries of the Don Host as indicated on the map in Zimovaya *stanitsa*, and to request Your Imperial Majesty to put pressure on the Soviet regime in Moscow and force it to issue orders to clear out of the confines of the Great Don Host and other powers having the desire to enter into the Don-Caucasus Union, against marauding detachments of Red Guards and give us the opportunity to reestablish normal peaceful relations between Moscow and the Don Host. All of the Don

population's trade and industrial losses that have occurred due to the Bolshevik invasion must be made good by Soviet Russia. I request that Your Imperial Majesty assist our young state with guns, rifles, ammunition, and engineer equipment and, should you recognize this as profitable, to construct within the confines of the Don Host gun, rifle, shell, and bullet factories. The Great Don Host and the other states of the Don-Caucasus Union will not forget the friendly services of the German people."

- 3 Editor's note. The Don Assembly (Russ., *Donskoi Krug*) was a popular assembly of the Don Cossacks from 1549 until its abolition in 1721. The assembly was revived following the February Revolution of 1917. It elected an *ataman* and other officials.
- 4 K. Ye. Voroshilov, in his work, *Stalin i Krasnaya Armiya*, p. 9, "Giz," 1929, writes thusly: "Comrade Stalin displayed colossal energy and in a very short time he was transformed from an extraordinary plenipotentiary for food supply to the actual leader of all the Red forces along the Tsaritsyn front. This situation was formulated in Moscow and comrade Stalin was entrusted with the tasks of 'restoring order, uniting the detachments into regular units and to establish a proper command, getting rid of all those who do not obey' (from a telegram from the RVSR, with the inscription: 'This telegram is being sent in agreement with Lenin.')."
  - 5 According to some sources, this army numbered up to 20,000 men.
  - 6 Editor's note. Dmitrii Petrovich Zhloba (1887–1938) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1917 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a number of mounted and infantry units. Following the civil war, Zhloba remained in the North Caucasus, but fell victim to Stalin's purge.
  - 7 The revolutionary committee arose following the occupation of Ukraine by the Austro-Germans and was based in Kursk.
  - 8 Editor's note. Georgii (Yurii) Leonidovich Pyatakov (1890–1937) joined the RSDRP in 1910 and the Bolshevik faction two years later. During the civil war he held a number of political positions in Ukraine. Following the war, he became a high-ranking economic manager and opposed Stalin's rise to power, although he later recanted. Pyatakov was executed after the second of the Stalin-era "show trials."
  - 9 Editor's note. Ivan Lukich Sorokin (1884–1918) joined the Russian Army in 1901 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded Soviet forces in the North Caucasus, but was unsuccessful. Irritated by attempts to introduce a more regular organization into the army, Sorokin revolted against local authorities, but was later captured and executed.
  - 10 Editor's note. Karl Ivanovich Kalnin (Latvian, Karlis Kalnins) (1884–1937) joined the RSDRP in 1904 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded Soviet forces in the North Caucasus and divisions along other fronts. Following the war, Kalnin commanded a corps, but was later arrested and executed during Stalin's purge.
  - 11 Editor's note. The Ingush are a Sunni Muslim ethnic group from the North Caucasus closely related to the Chechens. The Ingush were exiled by Stalin to Central Asia during the Second World War, ostensibly for collaborating with the Germans. Following the dictator's death, they were allowed to return to their homeland.
  - 12 Actually, no unified authority was created in the area of the uprising. The civilian part of the government was geared in its work toward the east—to Bicherakhov's Petrovsk government, at the same time as the troop command (Colonel Fedyushkin) was striving to establish contact with the Volunteer Army.
  - 13 Editor's note. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Borovskii (1877–1939) joined the Russian Army in 1894 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded various units in the White armies in south Russia. He was later removed from command and immigrated to Yugoslavia.
  - 14 Editor's note. Andrei Grigor'yevich Shkuro (1887–1947) joined the Russian Army in 1907 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded anti-Bolshevik forces in south

- Russia before emigrating. During the Second World War he commanded Cossack troops under German command, for which he was subsequently executed by Soviet authorities.
- 15 Editor's note. Yepifan Iovich Kovtyukh (1890–1938) was drafted into the Russian Army in 1914 and took part in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a number of small units and the Taman' Army. Following the war, Kovtyukh commanded a division and a corps, but he was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
  - 16 Editor's note. Ivan Ivanovich Matveyev (1890–1918) joined the Russian Navy in 1914 and took an active part in revolutionary activities. During the civil war he commanded the Taman' Army during its retreat although he was later arrested and shot for refusing to carry out Sorokin's orders.
  - 17 Novorossiisk had been occupied by a German-Turkish detachment in connection with the general occupation of the Crimea by the Germans, and by the Turks and Germans of the Trans-Caucasus and Georgia. In Novorossiisk the occupiers were attracted by the desire to capture the ships of the Black Sea Fleet. However, upon the Germans' approach, part of the ships was scuttled by their own crews, while the other part returned to Sevastopol'.
  - 18 Editor's note. Viktor Leonidovich Pokrovskii (1889–1922) joined the Russian Army in 1906 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded White units in the North Caucasus, but his cruelty turned many against him. He later immigrated to Bulgaria, where he continued his anti-Soviet activity. Pokrovskii was later killed in a shootout with Bulgarian police.
  - 19 Editor's note. Grigorii Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze (1886–1937) joined the RSDRP in 1903 and adhered to its Bolshevik faction. During the civil war he occupied a number of high-ranking posts in the North Caucasus and played a leading role in establishing Soviet power in the Trans-Caucasus. Following the civil war he rose quickly in the party's ranks as a Stalin ally. However, he later became disillusioned with the dictator's destruction of the old party cadres and either died of a heart attack or committed suicide.
  - 20 Editor's note. Mikhail Karlovich Levandovskii (1890–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1910 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded Soviet units in the North Caucasus. Following the civil war, he commanded troops in Central Asia, the Trans-Caucasus and Siberia. He was arrested and executed during Stalin's purge.

## Chapter 5—The German Occupation and Revolution. The Internal Condition of the Sides and the Development of Their Armed Forces

- 1 Skoropadskii was a former general in the czarist army.
- 2 Editor's note. Vladimir Kirillovich Vinichenko (1880–1951) became involved as a young man in Ukrainian revolutionary politics and was arrested several times. He later emigrated and became a noted writer. During the civil war, he held high positions in a number of short-lived Ukrainian governments, but was later forced to emigrate.
- 3 Editor's note. Mikhail Sergeevich Grushetskii (1866–1934) was a noted Ukrainian historian and political figure. During the civil war he served in the parliament of the Ukrainian People's Republic, but later emigrated. Grushetskii returned to the USSR in 1929, but was later arrested and died during a medical operation.
- 4 Editor's note. This rather broad definition refers to those political organizations in Russian that espoused socialism to one degree or another, but who abhorred the Bolsheviks' radical methods and illegal seizure of power. The Social Democratic label often refers to the Mensheviks, although other groups were included, which were later banned and expelled from the Soviet Union and otherwise destroyed.
- 5 Editor's note. Fyodor Arturovich Keller (1857–1918) joined the Russian Army in 1877 and fought in the Russo-Turkish War. During the First World War he commanded a division and

- a corps. During the civil war he headed pro-monarchist forces in Ukraine under Skoropadskii. However, Keller was defeated by Petlyura's forces and he was later captured and killed.
- 6 Editor's note. The Ukrainian National Union was a center-right political coordinating body, which was founded in May 1918 in opposition to Skoropadskii's pro-German rule. With the establishment of the Directory in late 1918, it ceased to exist.
  - 7 Editor's note. The *Borotbists* (Ukr., "fighters") were left-wing Ukrainian nationalists who supported the Bolshevik program but who objected to many of the party's Great Russian elements. The party dissolved itself in 1920 and affiliated itself with the Ukrainian Communist Party.
  - 8 Editor's note. Hermann Emil Gottfried von Eichhorn (1848–1918) joined the Prussian Army in 1866 and fought in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars. During the First World War he commanded an army on the eastern front and was military governor of Ukraine until his assassination.
  - 9 Ludendorff, *Moi Vospominaniya*, vol. II, p. 192.
  - 10 *Ibid*, p. 297.
  - 11 *Ibid*, p. 191.
  - 12 Editor's note. Carl Adolf Maximilian Hoffman (1869–1927) joined the army in 1887. During the First World War he served in various staff positions and eventually rose to the position of chief of staff of the Central Powers' forces in the east. He later took part in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. After the war, Hoffman briefly commanded a brigade before retiring in 1920.
  - 13 Ludendorff, *Moi Vospominaniya*, vol. II, p. 296.
  - 14 Editor's note. This refers to the riflemen of the Ukrainian Volunteer Legion, which was raised in the Austro-Hungarian Army and fought in the First World War. During the civil war the legion carried out occupation duties in Ukraine and fought against Polish and other forces.
  - 15 Editor's note. Pyotr Fyodorovich Balbochan (1883–1919) joined the army in 1909 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded Ukrainian volunteer forces and supported both Skoropadskii and the Directory, before breaking with both. He was captured by Petlyura's forces and executed.
  - 16 Editor's note. This refers to the Bosphorus, which connects the Black Sea with the Sea of Marmara, and the Dardanelles, which connects the Sea of Marmara with the Mediterranean Sea. These straits were closed to Russia and its allies during the First World War, due to the Ottoman Empire's adherence to the Central Powers.
  - 17 Sakharov's and Sablin's detachments, numbering about 6,000 troops, were operating in the area of Khar'kov province; Sedyuk's detachment, numbering about 2,000 troops, was in the Poltava area; Kotov's and Makhno's detachments, numbering overall up to 15,000 troops, were in Yekaterinoslav province and Northern Tavriya; Grigor'yev's units, numbering 8,000 troops, were in the northern part of Kherson and Odessa provinces.
  - 18 Editor's note. The *Bund* was a secular Jewish socialist party active in Russia from 1897 to 1921. During the civil war it generally supported the Bolsheviks in the face of pogroms perpetuated by the Whites. The party dissolved itself in 1921, with most of its members joining the Communist Party.
  - 19 Editor's note. Galicia is a historic region in Eastern Europe previously ruled by the Kingdom of Poland and later by Austria-Hungary. The area passed to Polish control following the First World War, but the eastern part was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1939. The western part of Galicia now belongs to Poland and the eastern part to Ukraine.
  - 20 Editor's note. This body (full name, the Special Council under the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of South Russia) constituted the government of the White forces under generals Alekseyev and Denikin. The Council was renamed the Government under the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of South Russia in December 1919. It was later restyled the South Russian Government in March 1920.



- 21 Editor's note. The Northern Army was founded in August 1918 in Archangel by the Socialist Revolutionary Chaikovskii government, with the support of British forces. The Northern Army was defeated at the end of 1919 and its remnants evacuated from Russia early the following year.
- 22 Editor's note. The All-Russian National Center was an anti-Bolshevik organization, consisting of moderate political figures, founded in Moscow in May–June 1918. The center also included branches in many other cities, inside and outside Bolshevik-controlled territory. Some of its members served in the various White governments. The center was destroyed during the civil war.
- 23 Editor's note. This was the popular nickname for members of the Constitutional Democratic Party, a group of moderate liberals that sprang up in the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1905. The Kadets took part in the Provisional Government following the collapse of the monarchy, but gradually lost power to more radical elements. Following the Bolshevik coup, the group's newspapers were closed and many of its leading members were forced to emigrate.
- 24 Editor's note. The Russian State Council of National Unity was founded in Kiev at the end of 1918 by constitutional monarchists. With the approach of Red forces it later evacuated to Odessa, where it was dissolved upon the departure of the French.
- 25 Editor's note. The Union of Russian Rebirth was founded in the spring of 1918 in Moscow by left-wing anti-Bolshevik politicians. Some of its members served in the various White governments until the Bolshevik victory.
- 26 Editor's note. Konstantin Nikolayevich Sokolov (1882–1927) was a law professor, journalist and Kadet party activist who headed the propaganda branch of Denikin's government. Following the White defeat, Sokolov emigrated to Bulgaria.
- 27 Editor's note. Nestor Ivanovich Makhno (1888–1934) became involved in anarchist politics at an early age and was imprisoned several times. During the civil war he led the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine and fought both the Whites and Reds. Following the Whites' defeat, the Reds turned on Makhno and he was forced to flee abroad. He lived in Paris as a manual laborer until his death from tuberculosis.
- 28 Editor's note. This may be a reference to Matyas Rakosi (Rosenfeld) (1892–1971), who joined the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in 1910. He later served in the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First World War and was captured. As a member of the Hungarian Communist Party, he served in the government of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. He was arrested by Hungarian authorities in 1924 and freed in 1940 to return to the Soviet Union. Following the Second World War, he became head of the Hungarian Communist Party and also served as prime minister. Rakosi was forced to leave for the Soviet Union in 1956, where he died.
- 29 Editor's note. This organization sprang from the Constituent Assembly, which was elected on 25 November 1917, with a Socialist Revolutionary plurality. The Assembly met in Petrograd in January 1918, but was dispersed by Red Guards. In June 1918 five Assembly members formed the All-Russian Committee of the Constituent Assembly (*Komuch*) in Samara, with the support of Czechoslovak forces. The Committee later fell back into Siberia with the White armies and was finally overthrown by Kolchak in November 1918.
- 30 Editor's note. The Provisional Urals Regional Government was formed in August 1918 in Yekaterinburg by moderate liberal politicians. It dissolved itself in October and transferred its authority to the All-Russian Provisional Government in Omsk.
- 31 Editor's note. The Bashkirs are a Turkic ethnic group inhabiting the area on both sides of the Ural Mountains. The Bashkirs are Muslims and were incorporated into the Russian state in the 16th century.
- 32 Editor's note. The Kirgiz are a Turkic ethnic group inhabiting parts of Central Asia, predominantly in what is now Kyrgyzstan. The Kirgiz are Muslims and were incorporated into the Russian Empire in the 19th century.



- 33 Editor's note. The Alash-Orda (Kazakh, "Alash autonomy") was formed in Orenburg in December 1917 as an anti-Bolshevik force to defend local interests in what is now northern Kazakhstan. The autonomy was dissolved in early 1920, following the defeat of the anti-Bolshevik forces.
- 34 Editor's note. This evidently refers to the various pan-Islamic movements that sprang up in Russia following the overthrow of the monarchy in early 1917. The Soviet regime later repressed these movements.
- 35 Editor's note. The Siberian Regional Government was founded in June 1918, following the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Siberia by the Czechoslovak Corps. It later fused with the All-Russian Committee of the Constituent Assembly (*Komuch*) to form the All-Russian Provisional Government.
- 36 Editor's note. The *duma* is the traditional Russian word for an assembly with advisory or legislative powers. Municipal *dumas* existed in the late imperial period, as did the State Duma, which ran from 1905 to 1917. The current Russian legislature is also known as the State Duma.
- 37 Editor's note. The Ufa Directory was created by the Ufa State Conference in September 1918 and was a merger of the Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the Provisional Siberian Government. The Ufa Directory was overthrown by Kolchak in November 1918.
- 38 Editor's note. The Political Center was established in November 1919 by Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in order to destroy Kolchak's dictatorship. The Political Center transferred power to the Bolsheviks in January 1920.
- 39 Editor's note. The *zemstvos* were an institution of local government established throughout most of Russia in 1864. They had limited taxation powers and were responsible for such matters as public welfare and roads. Their powers were restricted under later rulers, but they were the first school of politics for many later politicians.
- 40 Editor's note. Pierre Thiebaut-Charles-Maurice Janin (1862–1946) headed the French military mission in Siberia during the Russian Civil War. He handed Kolchak over to the Bolsheviks in Irkutsk.
- 41 Editor's note. Stepan Georgiyevich Leanozov (Leanosyan) (1872–1949) was an Armenian industrialist and oil magnate. During the civil war he headed the Northwestern Government. He later emigrated to France.
- 42 Editor's note. This is modern-day Tallinn, the capital of Estonia.
- 43 Editor's note. Stanislaw Bulak-Balachowicz (1883–1940) joined the Russian Army in 1914 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war, he first fought in the Red Army, but later joined the Whites and fought the Reds in northwestern Russia and later joined the Poles in 1920. Following the war, he settled in Poland and later fought against the Germans in 1939. Bulak-Balachowicz was captured by the Germans and executed.
- 44 Editor's note. The Azerbaijanis are a Turkic people living in the current Republic of Azerbaijan and northern Iran. The Azerbaijanis are Muslims and part of them was incorporated into the Russian Empire in the 19th century.
- 45 Editor's note. This refers to an uprising against Russian and Soviet rule by the indigenous peoples of Central Asia. The revolt began in 1916 against the conscription of native people into the army and continued into the Soviet period against the new regime's more radical policies. The revolt was finally put down by the mid-1920s.
- 46 Editor's note. The "Green Arm" was the collective name of the various and predominantly peasant militia groups opposed to the Reds, Whites and foreign interventionists during the civil war. With the announcement of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, the Greens gradually lost support and the movement had ceased to exist by the summer of 1922.
- 47 Editor's note. The Bolshevik faction of the RSDRP was renamed the Russian Communist Party (RKP) in 1918 and in 1925 renamed the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (VKP(b))

- in 1925. The party was finally renamed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1952.
- 48 Editor's note. Bukovina is a historic region along the eastern part of the Carpathian Mountains. It formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, when it was annexed by Romania. The Soviet Union occupied the northern part of the province in 1940. The region is now divided between Ukraine and Romania.
- 49 Editor's note. The Hungarian Soviet Republic succeeded the Hungarian People's Republic on 21 March 1919, in the wake of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The republic carried out communist policies in areas under its control until it was overthrown by invading Romanian forces on 1 August 1919.
- 50 V. I. Lenin, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, 1923, vol. XV, p. 421.
- 51 Anishev, *Ocherki*, p. 185.
- 52 *Ibid*, p. 185.
- 53 Editor's note. *Tsentrotekstil'* was the central committee of the textile industry.
- 54 Anishev, *Ocherki*, p. 186.
- 55 Editor's note. An old Russian measure of weight equivalent to 16.38 kilograms.
- 56 Anishev, *Ocherki*, p. 181.
- 57 Editor's note. An old Russian measure of length, equivalent to 2.13 meters.
- 58 Editor's note. The Supreme Council of the National Economy (*Vysshiĭ Sovet Narodnogo Khozyaistva*, or VSNKh), was the chief economic management organ in the RSFSR/USSR from 1917 until 1932.
- 59 Editor's note. Grigorii Yevseyevich Zinov'yev (Apfel'baum) (1883–1936) joined the RSDRP in 1901 and quickly became one of Lenin's chief lieutenants. During the civil war he was the head of the Petrograd party organization and head of the Communist International (Comintern). Following the civil war, Zinov'yev lost out to Stalin in the struggle for supremacy in the party and was eventually stripped of all his posts. He was tried and executed in the wake of the first of the great show trials.
- 60 Editor's note. This is the popular nickname for St. Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad.
- 61 Editor's note. Konstantin Konstantinovich Mamontov (1869–1920) joined the Russian Army in 1888 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded Cossack troops in south Russia until his defeat by Red cavalry in the autumn and winter of 1919. Mamontov died of typhus in Yekaterinodar.
- 62 Editor's note. Konstantin Aleksandrovich Mekhonoshin (1889–1938) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1913 and was drafted into the Russian Army two years later. During the civil war he held a number of political positions within the armed forces. Following the war, he served in several military and non-military posts. Mekhonoshin was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 63 Editor's note. Nikolai Dmitriyevich Avksent'ev (1878–1943) joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1903 and became one of the leaders of its moderate wing. During the civil war, he headed the Ufa Directory until Kolchak's coup and his forced exile abroad.
- 64 Editor's note. Vladimir Mikhailovich Zenzinov (1880–1953) joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1903 and was involved in terrorism against the czarist regime. During the civil war, he was a member of the Ufa Directory until forced into foreign exile after Kolchak's coup.
- 65 Editor's note. The VChK (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission), or *Cheka*, was the first Soviet secret police organization, established in late 1917 to combat counterrevolution. The VChK was changed to the State Political Administration (GPU) in 1922, and with the establishment of the USSR at the end of 1922, the name was changed to the Unified State Political Administration (OGPU) in 1923.

- 66 A brigade consisted of three three-battalion regiments, one light artillery battalion of three batteries (12 guns), one engineer company, a signals company, and transportation.
- 67 The materials for this calculation are from the report by commander-in-chief Vatsetis on 23–25 February 1919, no. 49/op (“Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii,” delo 34806) and the supplement to his report, no. 500/m of 20 December 1918 (“Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii,” delo 34805), as well as M. S. Sveshnikov’s work *Bor’ba na Severnom Kavkaze*.
- 68 Editor’s note. Grigorii Moiseyevich Zusmanovich (1889–1944) was drafted into the czarist army in 1910 and served in the First World War. During the civil war he was the commander and commissar of the “food requisitioning” army and later served as a division commander. During the Second World War Zusmanovich was one of two Soviet Jewish general captured by the Germans. He died in the Auschwitz death camp.

## Chapter 6—The Strategic Plans of the Sides’ Command for 1919. The Campaign on the Southern and North Caucasus Fronts at the End of 1918. The Beginning of the Struggle on the Ukrainian Front

- 1 Editor’s note. The People’s Army was the armed force of the Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly, which was formed in June 1918 in Samara. Following the defeat of the White armies along the Volga in the autumn of 1918, the army began to disintegrate and it was finally dissolved in December following Kolchak’s coup.
- 2 See A. I. Denikin, *Ocherki Russkoi Smuty*, vol. IV, pp. 38–39.
- 3 Editor’s note. Lev Davydovich Trotskii (Bronshrein) (1879–1940) joined the RSDRP in 1898 and gravitated toward its Menshevik faction, reconciling with Lenin and the Bolsheviks only in 1917. During the civil war he served as People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs and People’s Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, in which post he is credited for building the Red Army. Following the civil war, Trotskii gradually lost out to Stalin in the intraparty struggle after Lenin’s death and was later expelled from the party and ultimately exiled from the USSR. After a decade spent in exile in several countries, Trotskii was assassinated by a Soviet agent.
- 4 Editor’s note. Innokentii Serafimovich Kozhevnikov (1879–1931) served as the leader of large partisan units in the civil war and later commanded an army. Following the war he served in a variety of diplomatic and other posts until his arrest and imprisonment in 1926. He was executed for escaping from prison.
- 5 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 22 (minutes and reports).
- 6 The actual rendition of these events does not quite correspond to data cited by Denikin in his book *Ocherki Russkoi Smuty* (vol. V). Denikin maintains that as early as December he transferred the 3rd Rifle Division, under the command of General Mai-Mayevskii, to the Donets Basin. Having been first moved into the Yuzovka area, the division had as its mission to cover the left flank of the Don troops in connection with the Germans’ withdrawal and to organize the defense of the Donets Basin. Denikin does not indicate the exact dates of arrival for Mai-Mayevskii’s 3rd Division to the Donets Basin, but later stresses that as early as the middle of January Mai-Mayevskii’s group, which was successively reinforced by the Volunteer Army’s main shock units (the Kornilov, Markov, Drozdovskii and Samur regiments), was occupying the Yuzovka area with its main forces, having advanced along the Khar’kov axis as far as Bakhmut and Konstantinovka, and along the Berdyansk axis as far as Pologi. Throughout February Mai-Mayevskii’s group was strengthened by General Shkuro’s Caucasus Division, General Petrovskii’s 1st Kuban’ Division, the 1st Terek Division, and other units, which had been freed up in the North Caucasus due to the defeat of the Red 11th Army, in

other words, by the main units of the so-called Caucasus Volunteer Army, which was headed by General Vrangeli'.

This transfer of the Volunteer Army's main units to the Donets Basin was a bone of contention between Vrangeli' and Denikin. Yuzefovich, Vrangeli's chief of staff, and then Vrangeli', who was undergoing treatment, as early as February had insisted on concentrating the Volunteer Army's main forces along the Tsaritsyn axis. Their plan came down to covering themselves from the north with the Don Army, to decisively advance on Tsaritsyn with all of the Volunteer Army's forces and to establish a united front along the Volga with Kolchak's attack. In Vrangeli's opinion, this should have resulted in the creation of a more favorable strategic situation for the subsequent, coordinated actions of the forces of the southern and Siberian counterrevolution against Moscow. Denikin rejected this plan as adventurist. The inevitable, as he maintained, defeat of the Don Army would have led to the arrival of Red forces to the north, through Novochoerkassk and Rostov against the Volunteer Army's communications and would have rapidly eliminated its successes along the Tsaritsyn axis.

- 7 In all, four rifle divisions (nos. 1–4) were formed and all the cavalry was grouped into the Kuban'-Terek Cavalry Division.
- 8 Commander-in-chief Vatsetis's directive of 4/1 1919.
- 9 Editor's note. Vladimir Zenonovich Mai-Mayevskii (1867–1920) joined the Russian Army in 1885 and fought in the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a division and corps in the Volunteer Army and later commanded the army itself. Relieved for drunkenness in 1920, Mai-Mayevskii was later reinstated in the army and died under mysterious circumstances in the Crimea during the White evacuation.
- 10 Subsequent events along the Crimean sector unfolded in the following manner. The attempts by the Crimea-Azov Army's units in the beginning of April to put up resistance along the Perekop Isthmus were eliminated by the Ukrainian Front's Red units. On 10 April the latter occupied the rail junction of Dzhankoi. The collapse of the Crimean government was strengthened by the revolutionary agitation in the Allied fleet, which manifested itself in a demonstration in Sevastopol' (20 April) by French sailors against the war. By the end of April units of the Crimean-Azov Army had been reformed into a division and, with the support of the French fleet, had been bottled up in the southeastern corner of the Crimea along the Akmanai positions, thus holding on to the Kerch' peninsula.
- 11 Editor's note. Nikipor Aleksandrovich Grigor'yev (1885–1919) joined the Russian Army in 1904 and fought in the Russo-Japanese War, before being discharged. He later served again during the First World War. During the civil war he supported, successively, Skoropadskii, the Ukrainian Directory and the Reds, before turning on the latter. Grigor'yev was later killed by Makhno's forces.
- 12 The abandonment of Odessa by Greco-French forces may only be conditionally called voluntary. For a description of the occupiers' situation around Odessa, the editorial board considers it expedient to cite a few excerpts from the fifth volume of Denikin's *Ocherki Russko Smuty*. "... A lack of confidence in its forces placed a completely passive imprint upon the strategy of the French command, which had concentrated all of its forces in Odessa closer to transports, while placing only reliable screens along the far approaches," complains Denikin. He also is quite disapproving of the combat qualities of the Greco-French units. "In the middle of February *ataman* Grigor'yev, who had betrayed Petlyura, led an offensive by unorganized bands numbering 1,700 men and three guns, on Kherson, which had been occupied by a Greek battalion and a French company, with two guns. The fighting continued several days, the chief weight of which lay upon the Greeks; under the cover of fire from the guns of ships that had arrived to support the two battalions, the Allied detachment, which had suffered

heavy losses, was loaded on transports and taken to Odessa... After Kherson, and without any kind of pressure from the enemy, the Allies abandoned Nikolayev in great haste as well..." "... Within several days (in March) the Allies suffered another defeat along the Voznesensk axis near Beryozovka station. Attacked by the Bolsheviks (that is, by rebels, the editorial board), they began a disorderly retreat, leaving six guns and five tanks, while abandoning their wounded, transport and ammunition." Denikin does not hide his disappointment in Allied aid. On the pages of his studies he repeatedly complains about the arrogant attitude of the French command's representatives toward his representatives. The examples put forward by him really and sufficiently convincingly describe the methods of the occupier's rule along the shores of the Black Sea—methods which were capable of causing even Denikin to lose his composure.

## Chapter 7—The Civil War in the Baltic States, on the Western Front and Along the Approaches to Petrograd

- 1 The 6th Rifle Division was operating along the Narva axis. The Red Estonian Division was still being formed.
- 2 Editor's note. This refers to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, which was created on 2 September 1918 as the Soviet Republic's highest military body. This body consisted of a chairman and his deputy, who also served as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The Revolutionary Military Council was abolished in 1934.
- 3 Its strength was 25,000 infantry and cavalry. The army consisted of two infantry divisions and the Russian White Guard Northwestern Corps.
- 4 At this time there were disputes in Eastern Galicia along the Czechoslovak border between the Czechoslovaks and Poles over the boundary line, while they also had to hold forces along the boundary with Silesia until the resolution of the dispute with the Germans.
- 5 Editor's note. Mikhail Vladimirovich Rodzyanko (1859–1924) spent his early years in provincial politics until his election to the State Duma in 1906 and his assumption of the chairmanship of that body in 1911. Although a monarchist, he was instrumental in persuading Nicholas II to renounce the throne in 1917. During the civil war he attached himself to the Volunteer Army. Rodzyanko died in exile in Yugoslavia.
- 6 Editor's note. This is now the Russian town of Kingisepp.
- 7 Editor's note. Jozef Haller (1873–1960) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1895 and fought in the monarchy's Polish Legion during the First World War. He joined the new Polish Army in 1918 and fought Ukrainians and the Soviets along the country's eastern frontier. Following the war, he continued to serve in the army until his dismissal in 1926, following Pilsudski's seizure of power. During the Second World War Haller served in the Polish government in exile and died in London.
- 8 Editor's note. This is a large area of forest and swamp stretching from the eastern border of Poland and including southern Belarus and northern Ukraine.
- 9 Editor's note. The Northwestern Corps was a White Guard military formation created in October 1918 with the aid of the German Army. The corps was renamed the Northwestern Army in July of the following year.
- 10 The composition of the Northwestern Corps before the start of its offensive was 4,700 infantry and 1,100 cavalry and 11 light guns (Nadezhnyi, *Na Podstupakh k Petrogradu*, Gosizdat, p.34). The Red command along the Narva sector disposed of 2,700 infantry and 160 cavalry, 12 light and six heavy guns (*Ibid*, p.35) against these forces. Such a weak securing of the Narva axis can

be explained by the fact that the Soviet command's center of attention and the center of its application of force had shifted toward Finland, the active interference from which was expected from spring 1919 (the same source).

11 We cannot concur with those statements, which one encounters in the military literature, that Yudenich's offensive was mainly the result of British pressure. While giving due to what was unquestionably pressure, we consider it necessary to emphasize that Yudenich's October offensive was brought about by an entire series of circumstances which inexorably pushed him to such measures which may only be described as a strategy of staking everything on a single role of the dice. These main circumstances are:

- a) the growing contradictions between the Estonian bourgeoisie, which was fighting for its independence, and Yudenich, as the bearer of the idea of a unified and indivisible Russia; these contradictions could not be softened either by Lianozov's sham northwestern government, which was created in the course of 45 minutes by orders of a British general
- b) the closeness of peace between Estonia and the RSFSR, which could be foiled only by Yudenich's successful offensive. The threat of such a peace faced the Northwestern Army with the very profound problem of creating its own base (Petrograd);
- c) the contradictions and conflicts within Yudenich's very army (for example, Bulak-Bulachowicz's opposition to Yudenich);
- d) The Northwestern Army's lack of readiness for a winter campaign.

Yudenich sought to compensate the lack of correspondence of his forces with their missions by rapid attack and maneuver. In his hurried race to Petrograd, he consciously chose to insufficiently secure the flank and rear of his operation (the II Corps sharply turned to help the I Corps, leaving only weak screens along the Pskov and Luga axes). This bet on a stunning blow and the desire to reach Petrograd as quickly as possible makes Yudenich's entire October operation look like a sort of raid. Betting on rapid maneuver and winning time, on the energy of the raid and the stunning force of such an energetic move, forced Yudenich to forego any other operational plans which required more time, although less risky (for example, Rodzyanko's plan). The confidence of Yudenich and the British in success was so great that at the moment when the units of the I Corps arrived at the Pulkovo heights, the British radio had informed the entire world about the capture of Leningrad and had given a detailed description of that festive welcome that was supposedly given to Yudenich by the "grateful" population.

12 Yudenich's first attack hit the weak 19th Division, which was still forming, as well as the 2nd Division, which was weak in strength and also not prepared for defense. In the latter's regiments, with the exception of the comparatively quantitatively strong 7th Samara Regiment, according to a number of sources (including stories by participants), there numbered at that time 200–300 infantry occupying a front of 5–6 kilometers and more. One should also take into account that by the start of the operation a certain weakening of the army's political apparatus was evident. The southern front was attracting the attention of Petrograd and that of the entire country at that time. New groups of Piter's mobilized communists and proletarians were sent there; part of the 7th Army's political workers was also sent there. The insufficiently high level of the army's political work may be described by the fact of the far from satisfactory results of the party week, which had been carried out in the 7th Army's ranks in October, and which yielded only 3,000 men, and this mostly at the expense of the Petrograd garrison.

13 Editor's note. Pavel Rafalovich Bermont-Avalov (1877–1974) joined the Russian Army in 1901. During the civil war he headed anti-communist Russian forces against the newly independent countries of Latvia and Lithuania. When the Germans withdrew their support for his movement in 1919, he withdrew his forces into Germany. Bermont-Avalov spent the rest of his life in exile, before dying in the United States.

## Chapter 8—The Winter and Spring Campaign of 1918–1919 on the Eastern Front. The Northern Front

- 1 For a description of the density of the civil war's fronts even along the shock axes, we put forth the following calculation: the length of the Whites' front from the Turinsk factory to the Yekaterinburg—Kungur highway (inclusively) was equal to 240 kilometers; the density of personnel per kilometer of front was 183 ½–195 ½ infantry and cavalry; for the Reds, with an approximately equal front, the density per kilometer was 125 infantry and cavalry.
- 2 Editor's note. Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii (1877–1926) was active in Lithuanian and Polish radical politics for much of his early life and only joined Lenin's Bolshevik faction in 1917. In December 1917 he was appointed to head the newly founded Soviet secret police, the *Cheka*, which carried out hundreds of thousands of executions during the civil war. Dzerzhinskii continued to head the *Cheka* (later renamed the GPU and OGPU) and held several other high-ranking positions.
- 3 Editor's note. This was the shorthand term for the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense.
- 4 See K. Ye. Voroshilov, "Stalin i Krasnaya Armiya," p.18, Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo, 1929.
- 5 From Rouquerol's book we learn that Kolchak's appearance on the historical stage in the capacity of dictator and, it follows, the complete master of ceremonies of all the counterrevolution's armed forces, was in no way to the liking of the French government. Under Kolchak, General Janin, who had not even managed to reach Omsk, ended up as a sort of "unemployed" man, insofar as the irritable admiral, who was unrestrained in his desire to interfere in all the details of command, was in no way inclined to share with anyone the rights of the supreme command. Although Rouquerol assures us in his book that as a result of negotiations between Janin and Kolchak, the latter proposed that Janin enter into the command of the anti-Bolshevik eastern front, we believe this to be highly unlikely. In any event, Janin, following a trip around the front and having gotten an unfavorable impression as to its stability, supposedly turned down this appointment. In the final analysis, the Allied Supreme Council intervened in the establishment of mutual relations between Kolchak and Janin and authorized Janin to carry out the role of operational commissar under Kolchak. Not a single major operational plan could be carried out except with the knowledge of General Janin. If this was truly the case, then the French General Staff has an even greater operational responsibility for the subsequent failures of the Whites and their command.
- 6 Editor's note. The Siberian Army grew out of anti-Bolshevik forces in western Siberia which were initially under the control of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. Following his seizure of power at the end of 1918, Admiral Kolchak incorporated these forces into his movement. However, following defeats in the spring and summer of 1919, the Siberian Army was disbanded and its forces distributed into other armies.
- 7 Editor's note. Mikhail Vasil'yevich Khanzhin (1871–1961) joined the Russian Army in 1890 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded White forces in Siberia under Kolchak and also served as war minister in the latter's government. He escaped to Manchuria following the White defeat, but was arrested in 1945 by Soviet troops and spent the next ten years in labor camps. He was later freed and died in Kazakhstan.
- 8 As the reader knows, the Turkestan Army adhered to the Eastern Front's forces upon their occupation of Orenburg. Its weak strength (12,000 men) forced us repeatedly to raise the question of its disbandment or organization into a division. However, the resolution of this question stretched out until the end of decisive operations on the eastern front.
- 9 This is rounded out. The exact number of men in the 2nd Army was 22,700.
- 10 Compiled on the basis of data from delo 336, Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii.



- 11 Editor's note. Gaya Dmitrievich Gai (1887–1937), an ethnic Armenian, joined the RSDRP in 1904 and later fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded divisions, an army and a corps on various fronts. Following the civil war, Gai held various command and military-academic posts until his arrest in 1935. He was executed in Stalin's military purge.
- 12 This group was formed on 19 March 1919 under Frunze's command and consisted of the 1st, 4th and Turkestan armies.
- 13 The details of the final formation of the Southern Group's counter maneuver may be sketched in the following manner. On 7 April Eastern Front commander S. S. Kamenev requested by wire comrade Frunze's agreement to unify the 1st, 4th, 5th, and Turkestan Armies under the latter's command. Agreement was given and comrade Frunze established in general the basic idea of his plan at a small meeting. Comrade Frunze insisted on the immediate beginning of the operation, without waiting for the concentration of all forces designated by the commander-in-chief for the Eastern Front (25th, 31st, 33rd, 35th, and 2nd Rifle Divisions), which would have required about another month.
- 14 This directive encountered Frunze's objections in the sense that precise instructions from the front for each of his armies made his control of them superfluous, insofar as they would deprive him of a certain degree of independence.
- 15 Editor's note. This refers to Trotskii.
- 16 Editor's note. Vasilii Ivanovich Shorin (1871–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1892 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded a division, an army and fronts. He later served as a deputy military district commander until his discharge from the army in 1925. Shorin was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 17 Editor's note. Pyotr Andreyevich Belov (1881–1920) joined the army in 1897 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded anti-Soviet units in eastern Russia and Siberia. He was captured by the Reds and executed.
- 18 At this time the 2nd Rifle Division was only arriving at Samara by rail. By 19 April only five regiments from this division had concentrated there. It was in need of reinforcement.
- 19 The length of the front was 80 kilometers, with 145  $\frac{1}{4}$  infantry and cavalry per kilometer.
- 20 The group's general reserve, the 74th Rifle Brigade, is counted as part of its division.
- 21 The length of the front was 120 kilometers, with 200 infantry and cavalry per kilometer.
- 22 There were 32  $\frac{1}{2}$  infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front.
- 23 On 25 April one of the enemy's detachments even seized this locale.
- 24 One of the 2nd Rifle Division's regiments was shifted to Melekes, one dispatched to Simbirsk, where the Eastern Front's headquarters was located, and commander-in-chief Vatsetis turned one of the regiments, which was still en route, to Glazov in order to reinforce the 3rd Army. The Eastern Front command subsequently dispatched an arriving brigade from the 4th Rifle Division to Melekes.
- 25 The 31st Rifle Division consisted of two brigades.
- 26 The front command was evidently counting on the quick arrival of the 33rd Rifle Division from Astrakhan' and the 4th Rifle Division from the country's center, which the high command was transferring to the eastern front and planned to use them to reinforce Frunze's group in exchange for units taken from it, all the more so as according to the Eastern Front command's new idea the offensive by Frunze's group was supposed to begin before the completion of the maneuver against the enemy's Sergiyevsk group. Subsequent events did not justify these assumptions. However, their immediate result was, as we mentioned, the dispatch of the 4th Rifle Division's brigade not to Alatyř', as the front command had initially petitioned, but to Melekes.
- 27 According to the Eastern Front command's idea, broader actions by the Northern Group of armies were supposed to begin upon the close of the spring thaw. The Northern Group was evidently

supposed to independently carry out just such an operation for eliminating the enemy facing it as was now beginning by the Southern Group. The Eastern Front commander, in his reports to the commander-in-chief, pointed out that for this the 3rd Army would have to be reinforced with one brigade and the 2nd Army with two. From this one may conclude that the Eastern Front command, in its evaluation of the possible scope of Frunze's operation, foresaw taking it as far as the Ufa parallel and thus thought of carrying out its task, on the whole, in a series of consecutive operations. Taking into account the size of the theater and the forces scattered in it, this of course was the only possible course of action.

- 28 Editor's note. The military opposition (Russ., *vojennaya oppozitsiya*) was the name given to a group of influential delegates to the VIII RKP party congress in 1919. These delegates disapproved of the party's efforts to employ former czarist officers and to build a regular Red Army. They were defeated at the party congress.
- 29 Editor's note. This is probably a reference to the All-Russian Communist Youth League, which was established in 1918 as the youth wing of the RKP. The organization was renamed the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, or *Komsomol*, in 1922.
- 30 Editor's note. This was the acronym for the All-Russian Council of Professional Unions, which was founded in 1918 as an umbrella organization for the country's labor unions and as a means of exerting party control over their activities. The body was renamed the All-Union Central Council of Professional Unions in 1924.
- 31 Editor's note. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee was the Soviet Republic's highest legislative body and elected by the various congresses of soviets to carry out their policies, including, but not limited to, choosing the composition of the Council of People's Commissars, or government. The body was renamed the All-Union Central Executive Committee in 1922, although it remained firmly under party control.
- 32 In order to firm up the assertion cited above regarding the beginning of the internal dissolution in the Whites' army, the details of the defeat of the Whites' 11th Infantry Division are quite interesting. It began with the 41st Infantry Regiment, which went over to the Reds and which first killed all of its officers with the exception of four, whom the soldiers considered their own due to their peasant background and for their extended stay in those areas where those soldiers, who had gone to man this regiment were from.
- 33 Editor's note. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Samoilo (1869–1963) joined the Russian Army in 1890 and served in the First World War as a high-ranking staff officer. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and later commanded an army and a front. After the war Samoilo served in various administrative and academic posts before his retirement in 1948.
- 34 Thus during the 11–19 May time period the 5th Army received an entire series of instructions, each one cancelling out the other. On 11 May Samoilo planned to dispatch it due north, for operations against the rear establishments of the enemy group fighting for the line of the Vyatka River, and then on 14 May turned it toward Belebei, on 17 May he once again turned it due north, and on 19 May shifted it to the northeast. Such methods of command brought about a sharp protest from the army's commander, M. N. Tukhachevskii. At the same time, in that purpose which Samoilo assigned to the 5th Army, one may espay his renunciation of an independent operation by the Northern Group of armies, which Kamenev had thought to carry out through the 2nd Army's attack in the direction of Sarapul' and Votkinsk, and an attack by the 3rd Army to envelop the enemy's right flank. Some researchers (Ogorodnikov) have pointed out that in this instance Samoilo was only the simple executor of commander-in-chief Vatsetis's orders.
- 35 Comrade Frunze did not agree with this situation. In telegram no. 01645 of 19 May, he insisted on the immediate conduct of an operation with the goal of capturing the Ufa area. After this there

followed Samoilo's directive of 19 May on continuing the pursuit. This directive and a directive of 18 May defined the tasks of the front's armies for the period of the Ufa operation. These tasks were laid out in the beginning of the chapter.

- 36 American units were operating along the Shenkursk axis. They, as did the other interventionist forces, with the exception of the British, gradually abandoned the northern front during the spring and summer of 1919.
- 37 These forces consisted of Russian White Guard and British troops. The other interventionists' forces (Americans, French and Italians) had abandoned the northern front earlier.

## Chapter 9—The Ufa Operation. The Forcing of the Ural Range by the Red Armies. The Pursuit of the White Armies in Siberia

- 1 Regarding the Red 5th Army's movement on Krasnoufmsk along this axis, see the directives issued to this army by comrade Samoilo in the preceding chapter.
- 2 Thus the Southern Group had to stand in place for another three days.
- 3 Editor's note. Sergei Ivanovich Gusev (Yakov Davidovich Drabkin) (1874–1933) joined the RSDRP in 1896 and took part in the party's underground activities. During the civil war he held a number of military-political positions. Following the war, he continued to serve in military-political posts and worked in the Comintern apparatus.
- 4 Editor's note. Konstantin Konstantinovich Yurenev (Krotovskii) (1888–1938) joined the RSDRP in 1905. During the civil war he held a number of party-political posts. After the war Yurenev served as ambassador to a number of countries. He was executed in Stalin's purge of the party apparatus.
- 5 Editor's note. Nikolai Ivanovich Muralov (1877–1937) joined the RSDRP in 1903 and later served in the First World War. During the civil war he served as a military commissar and military district commander. Following the war, Muralov joined the anti-Stalin opposition and was later convicted in a show trial and executed.
- 6 Editor's note. Ivan Nikitich Smirnov (1881–1936) joined the RSDRP in 1899 and spent several years in prison and exile. During the civil war he served in a number of political posts in Siberia. After the war he served in the government apparatus and joined the anti-Stalin opposition. Smirnov was arrested in 1933 and later executed.
- 7 Editor's note. Arkadii Pavlovich Rozengol'ts (1889–1938) joined the RSDRP in 1908. During the civil war he held a number of political-military positions. After the war he commanded the Soviet air force and served elsewhere in the government apparatus. Rozengol'ts was arrested and executed following a show trial.
- 8 Editor's note. That is, Trotskii.
- 9 This front operation was conducted under the leadership of its former commander, S. S. Kamenev, because A. A. Samoilo was recalled on 29 May 1919.
- 10 The plan for forcing the Urals range was adopted by the Eastern Front command on 22 June, while the 5th Army began its operation on the night of 23–24 June. One may assume, in calculating the time, that the army completed its regrouping earlier, on the initiative of its commander, and that this group of forces was part of the Eastern Front command's plan already ready.
- 11 Editor's note. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the city was renamed Yekaterinburg.
- 12 According to the testimony of the Siberian government's former war minister, Baron Budberg, the idea and working out of this plan belong to the Kolchak's chief of staff, General Lebedev. The latter was rated very low by the old army's major military specialists from the point of view of his operational creativity and for his inability to handle the control of major troop formations.

Lebedev's dispute with Gajda was one of the reasons for the retirement of Gajda—the most talented natural in the White camp. Budberg sees in particular the main shortcoming in the idea of the Chelyabinsk operation in the fact that the complex plan required first-class, in the sense of combat capability and training, troops and commanders with a well developed military intellect. Kolchak had neither of these. For details, see *Arkhiv Russkoi Revolyutsii*, 1924, vol. 14–15 (Budberg's notes) and Inostrantsev's article in the *Beloye Delo* collection, Berlin, 1926.

- 13 Editor's note. Genirkh Khristoforovich Eikhe (1893–1968) joined the Russian Army in 1915 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded a regiment, brigade, division, and army on the eastern front. Following the war Eikhe served in the government apparatus until his arrest in 1938. He was later rehabilitated and released from prison in 1954.
- 14 Editor's note. The Field Staff (Russ., *Polevoi Shtab*) was established as the RVSР Staff on 6 September 1918. On 8 November it was renamed the RVSР Field Staff. In 1921 the Field Staff became part of the reorganized RKKА Staff.
- 15 The failure around Chelyabinsk testifies to the beginning of the entire White eastern front's agony. Ruquerol describes this front during its summer retreat in 1919 as follows: "Fronts of enormous length were occupied by forces in a state of complete demoralization. The population in the rear of these troops was ready for an immediate uprising. The fighting was extremely rare. The matter most often came down to partisan skirmishes. Instead of employing weapons, both sides often resorted to fraternization" (pp.122–123).
- 16 At this time the front and immediate rear of Kolchak's armies appeared as follows. The hastily assembled reinforcements from the Urals were scattering every which way, taking their weapons with them. The front's line of resistance, which had been transformed into a thin screen, collapsed completely and the troops fell back rapidly to the east, stealing carts from the population for this purpose.
- 17 The 5th Army's divisions forced the Tobol River along a broad front: the 26th Rifle Division in the Ust'-Uiskaya—Ozernaya and Zverinogolovskaya area; the 27th Rifle Division in the Utyatskaya area, and the 5th Rifle Division in the area of the town of Kurgan.
- 18 Major disagreements arose between the 5th Army commander (Tukhachevskii) and the Eastern Front commander (comrade Ol'deroge) regarding the matter of the disposition of the 5th Army's main forces. The 5th Army commander, fearing the envelopment of his right flank and, quite the opposite, hoping to win the enemy's flank, decided to move his main forces along the Zverinogolovskaya road, that is, along the army's extreme right flank. But the Eastern Front commander, insisting once again, ordered him to gather along the Kurgan—Petropavlovsk railroad.
- 19 Editor's note. Lev Nikolayevich Domozhirov (1868–1920) joined the Russian Army in 1885 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he a brigade and division in Kolchak's army. Domozhirov was captured by the Reds and executed.
- 20 Here the attitude of the Siberian peasantry toward the Red Army, which was manifested in this case, should be noted. 24,000 troops voluntarily answered the call in Chelyabinsk province without any kind of pressure on the part of the local administrative apparatus, which itself was only just being organized. Nearly all of the volunteers poured into the ranks of the Red Army.
- 21 Editor's note. Viktor Nikolayevich Pepelyayev (1884–1920) received his law degree in 1903 and was later elected to the State Duma. During the civil war he served in Kolchak's Siberian government and was briefly head of the Council of Ministers. Pepelyayev was executed along with Kolchak.
- 22 Until recently there were several versions of the story of Kolchak being turned over to the "Political Center." One of the most widespread was the version of Kolchak's extradition carried out by the

Czechoslovaks with the direct approval of General Janin and the Allies' supreme commissars. Now, Roquerol, in his book lays out in documentary fashion the tale of Kolchak's extradition. According to Roquerol, the matter unfolded as follows. When fighting began in Irkutsk between Kolchak's forces and the supporters of the new "revolutionary government," Kolchak was informed by Entente representatives that the Czechoslovak forces would maintain their neutrality in this conflict, all the more so because somewhat earlier, namely on 21 December 1919, a telegram from Kolchak to *ataman* Semyonov, with whom Kolchak had become reconciled and who he now ordered to halt the Czechs' withdrawal by all means, not halting at blowing up bridges and tunnels along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, had been intercepted. The Japanese military command had not taken part in this notification to Kolchak. However, Kolchak, whose stay in Nizhne-Udinsk had become impossible because of the revolutionary ferment in the town, expressed the wish to be delivered to Irkutsk, in order to enter into personal negotiations with the Political Center. Then General Syrov, who commanded the Czechoslovak forces, which were guarding the railroad line, received orders from the Entente representatives to take all measures for Kolchak's safe delivery to Irkutsk. When the latter's train arrived at Irkutsk station a battalion of Japanese troops was already there. The latter's commander declared that his mission was to defend the government, that is, in this case, Kolchak and his ministers, but considered this impossible under present conditions. According to Roquerol, the Czechoslovak command was of the same opinion. It believed that further attempts to guard Kolchak would lead to an armed conflict between the Czechoslovaks and the rebels. This had been forbidden by the Czechoslovak government. General Janin agreed with this point of view and Kolchak was turned over.

We believe that the further elucidation by Roquerol of the motives why Janin was forced to agree to Kolchak's extradition and could not act otherwise cannot be of particular interest to the Soviet reader and is only important for Janin to justify himself before bourgeois historians.

- 23 Editor's note. The Far Eastern Republic was established in April 1920 as a political buffer to avoid conflict with Japanese forces in eastern Siberia. The Far Eastern Republic was disbanded in November 1922.
- 24 Editor's note. This is the modern Turkmen city of Ashgabat.

## Chapter 10—The Spring and Summer Campaign of 1919 on the Southern Front

- 1 On 24 January 1919 Southern Front commander Gittis transferred this division to Krasnyi Yar, in order to give a nudge to the 10th Army's Kamyshin group. On 8 February it had concentrated in Krasnyi Yar and on that day the remnants of the enemy's Tsaritsyn group surrendered around Archeda. The 14th Division had nothing more to do in Krasnyi Yar and it then had to catch up to its army on foot. There is no doubt that at this time this division could have been employed with greater success in the Donbas.
- 2 Editor's note. Vladimir Mikhailvoich Gittis (1881–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1902 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded armies and fronts. Following the war, Gittis commanded military districts and served in the central military apparatus. He was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 3 He originally commanded the 10th Army. He was appointed commander of the Southern Front on 21 January 1919, in place of comrade Slaven.
- 4 Six railroad bridges had been blown up along the Tsaritsyn—Povorino sector. The bridge at Yevstratovka, which we managed to repair only during 6–7 May 1919, was blown up along the Voronezh—Rostov-on-Don sector.

- 5 *Grazhdanskaya Voina v Rossii 1918–1919 g. Strategicheskii Ocherk Nastupatel'noi Operatsii Yuzhnogo Fronta za Period Yanvar'-Mai 1919 g.* (Moscow, 1919, p. 34).
- 6 According to our intelligence data, by 23 February 13 Volunteer Army trains had arrived in the Donbas, and by 1 March the Volunteer Army's forces in the Donbas numbered 17,000–18,000 men.
- 7 We consider it necessary to emphasize the extremely difficult situation which had arisen in the Reds' central 9th Army at the time of its arrival at the banks of the Donets. This army's rear, which consisted of three divisions, had become separated and had settled in that area from which they began their offensive. The 9th Army, during its advance, passed through an area infected by typhus; some units reached the Donets having lost 40–50% of their rank and file to sickness and death. The arrival at the Donets led to the units' crowding in the *stanitsas* and farmsteads adjacent to the river, which caused a new outbreak of typhus.
- 8 The army's partisan units and divisions were consolidated into two divisions, the 41st and 42nd Rifle Divisions. The army included the 13th Rifle Division and the arriving 9th Rifle Division, the first trainloads of which had begun to arrive in the army's area only on 25 March. The army's cavalry was organized into an independent cavalry brigade.
- 9 General Denikin, in his *Ocherki Russkoi Smuty*, maintains that the Armed Forces of South Russia along the entire northern front, including our 10th Army's sector, consisted of a total of 42,000–45,000 infantry and cavalry. He determined at that time Mai-Mayevskii's group and the so-called Caucasus Volunteer Army at 12,000 troops (infantry and cavalry). Denikin's information is sharply at odds with the information contained in our archives.
- 10 This was difficult to count on. The 9th Army's 16th Rifle Division was only just completing the relief of the 12th Rifle Division along the sector from the mouth of the Kalitva River as far as *stanitsa* Mityakinskaya.
- 11 Editor's note. Nikolai Dmitriyevich Vsevolodov (1879–?) joined the army in 1898 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and briefly commanded an army the following year, before defecting to the Whites. Following Denikin's defeat, he was evacuated and later lived in Turkey and Hungary, where all trace of him was lost.
- 12 The events which unfolded in the area of Grachevskii farm on 13–14 May are of some tactical interest, which is why we consider it necessary to pause a bit on them. In breaking through to the area of Grachevskii farm, the enemy spread rapidly to the northeast and by the morning of 14 May his forward units were approaching Glubokaya station, having put up weak screens to the west against *stanitsa* Mityakinskaya, where the 16th Division's cavalry brigade was located, and to the east, against *stanitsa* Staro-Kamenskaya, which it had fallen short of by 6–8 kilometers by the evening of 13 May. The seizure of *stanitsa* Staro-Kamenskaya by the enemy would have meant the seizure of all the crossings in the rear of the Kamenskaya bridgehead, which could have led to the encirclement of the units located on it (16th and 23rd Divisions). However, the enemy, in streaming to the northwest, evidently toward a link-up with the Vyoshenskaya rebels, did not take advantage of this opportunity. On the night of 13–14 May the 16th Division command abandoned the Kamenskaya bridgehead and at dawn on 14 May launched an energetic offensive with its freed-up forces to the west, launching the main attack along the Donets and thus cutting off from the crossings the White group that had broken through. The 16th Rifle Division's cavalry brigade was simultaneously from the area of *stanitsa* Mityakinskaya in the flank and rear of this White group in the direction of Grachevskii farm.
- 13 *Grazhdanskaya Voina 1918–1919*, p.24.
- 14 Here is a short list of the more significant reinforcements dispatched to the Southern Front throughout April and May 1919: on 5 April the 7th Rifle Division's 2nd Brigade (from the Yaroslavl' Military District) and the 3rd Kronshtadt Regiment, with a battery, were dispatched,

and on 25 April two reserve regiments, formed by the universal military training organization, arrived at Buturlinovka station. On 26 April the Kaluga and Oryol courses (700 infantry) were moved to Kozlov and Chertkovo. They were designated for fighting the Cossack uprising. On 28 April it was ordered to shift cadres from the 3rd Rifle Division from Nezhin and Kiev to the Kamyshin—Yelan' area, and cadres from the 2nd Cavalry Division to Kantemirovka station. On 5 May a brigade from the 23rd Rifle Division, which was headed to the eastern front along the Volga from Astrakhan' through Tsaritsyn, was turned to the area of Millerovo station. Another brigade from this division was dispatched there on 9 May. A composite brigade from reserve regiments was dispatched from the center to the Millerovo axis on 9 May. On 20 May it was ordered to dispatch the 5th Ukrainian Division from the Khar'kov area and subordinate it to the Southern Front. Besides this, on 27 April the Ukrainian 2nd Army along the left bank of the Dnepr was operationally subordinated to the Southern Front. On 3 May an independent rifle brigade and Zhloba's detachment, which were operating in the trans-Don steppes and which were part of the 11th Army, were operationally subordinated to the Red 10th Army. Finally, on 22 May the entire army was subordinated to the Southern Front.

- 15 Editor's note. Aleksandr Pavlovich Kutepov (1882–1930) joined the Russian Army in 1904 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he joined the Volunteer Army and commanded units from a company to an army. Following the White defeat and evacuation, Kutepov was active in émigré politics until he was kidnapped by Soviet agents and died under mysterious circumstances.
- 16 Editor's note. Sergei Georgiyevich Ulagai (1875–1944) joined the Russian Army in 1897 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded White units in south Russia. Ulagai emigrated to France after the White defeat and organized a group of Cossack horsemen to perform in a circus act.
- 17 According to some sources, the breakthrough was carried out at dawn on 25 May.
- 18 Editor's note. Boris Mokeyevich Dumenko (1888–1920) fought in the First World War and joined the Red Army in 1918. During the civil war he was active in raising cavalry forces for the Red Army and later commanded a cavalry brigade, division and corps. Dumenko was falsely accused of murdering a political commissar and executed.
- 19 The *ataman* movement that broke out here and there in Ukraine and which ate up the Red Army's rear, operated under the slogan of "Beat the Reds until they wise up, and beat the Whites until the turn red."
- 20 60 kilometers southwest of Astrakhan'.
- 21 Editor's note. Vladimir Il'ich Sidorin (1882–1943) joined the Russian Army in 1900 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded White units in south Russia, but was cashiered in 1920 following the White defeat in the North Caucasus. He later emigrated to Europe.
- 22 In the second half of May General Denikin assigned the name of the Caucasus Army to the forces attacking Tsaritsyn. General Vrangel' was appointed the army's commander. The forces of the former Caucasus Volunteer Army, which had been operating in the area of the Donets Basin, were simultaneously renamed the Volunteer Army, under the command of Mai-Mayevskii.
- 23 This figure included an entire series of units that had been transferred from the eastern front. By the way, Argir's brigade was taken from there and the 25th and 26th Rifle Divisions were removed, along with the brigades from the Kazan' and Saratov fortified areas. Besides this, an entire series of units for the Southern Front was formed along the middle Volga. The 47th Rifle Division was completing its formation there. It was also ordered to form another six rifle brigades there before 1 August. It was planned to form in the Simbirsk—Samara—Saratov area a special army, numbering up to 40,000 men.



- 24 Editor's note. An old Russian measure for land equivalent to 2.7 acres.
- 25 Editor's note. Vladimir Nikolayevich Yegor'yev (1869–1948) joined the Russian Army in 1887 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded fronts and also served as a military advisor to Soviet diplomatic delegations. Following the war, Yegor'yev was involved in military-academic work until his retirement in 1934.
- 26 Editor's note. Vladimir Ivanovich Selivachyov (1868–1919) joined the Russian Army in 1888 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. He was drafted into the RKKa in 1918 and commanded Red forces on the southern front. Selivachyov died of typhus.
- 27 Editor's note. Iona Emmanuilovich Yakir (1896–1937) joined the RSDRP in 1917 and the Red Army the following year. He commanded small units and a division along the Southwestern Front. Following the war he remained in Ukraine and later commanded the military district until his arrest and execution during Stalin's military purge.
- 28 Editor's note. German Ivanovich Konovalov (1882–1936) joined the Russian Army in 1902 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he served primarily in staff positions with the White forces in south Russia, before emigrating in 1920. Konovalov died from wounds received in an assassination attempt.
- 29 Editor's note. Semyon Mikhailovich Budyonnyi (1883–1973) was drafted into the Russian army in 1903 and he fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded cavalry units of increasing size. Following the war, Budyonnyi occupied a number of high-ranking posts, primarily due to his association with Stalin. During the Second World War he commanded a number of major field formations, but was unable to stop the Germans. From 1943 Budyonnyi was entrusted with purely ceremonial posts.
- 30 Editor's note. Aleksandr Mikhailovich Sutulov (1881–1958) joined the Russian army in 1900 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded small units and a corps with the White forces in southern Russia. Sutulov emigrated in 1920.
- 31 We consider it necessary to note that during this period the enemy was bending all the efforts of his political propaganda toward the dissolution of the Red Army. He broadly employed aviation for dropping demagogic appeals to the population in the rear of the Red forces. Aviation distributed among the 8th and 9th Armies during their retreat phony copies of *Pravda*, filled with panicky reports of failures along the Red forces' fronts, and printing a phony speech by Lenin on the death of the revolution, etc.

## Chapter 11—The Oryol Operation

- 1 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 868, listy 33–34.
- 2 Editor's note. Filipp Kuz'mich Mironov (1872–1921) joined the Russian Army in 1890 and fought in the Russo-Japanese War, but was discharged in 1905 for revolutionary activity. He rejoined the army in 1914 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and later commanded a cavalry army, despite political disagreements with his superiors. Mironov was arrested on false charges in 1921 and killed in prison.
- 3 In order to carry out this maneuver, the 14th Army was reinforced, by order of the front command, with the 7th Rifle Division and a brigade from the 9th Rifle Division.
- 4 On 19 September commander-in-chief S. S. Kamenev demanded an even more decisive maneuver from Shorin's group; he assigned it the task of reaching the line of the Don River as quickly as possible along the front Pavlovsk—Ust'-Medveditskaya, with the subsequent development of the attack to the west along the Don. Here the predominance of the point of view of the chairman of the revolutionary military council evidently began to tell.
- 5 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 738, list 93.

- 6 Editor's note. Pavel Andreyevich Pavlov (1892–1924) was drafted into the Russian Army in 1914 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and fought against anti-Soviet partisans and White forces in Ukraine and later in Central Asia. Pavlov was sent to China in 1924 as a military advisor to the government, where he died.
- 7 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 738, listy 94–95.
- 8 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 105.
- 9 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 111.
- 10 *Ibid*, delo 831, list 334. In this conversation the commander-in-chief informed comrade Yegor'yev that he was being relieved of the command of the front. Before long, A. I. Yegorov was appointed commander of the Southern Front.
- 11 Triandafillov, in his article "A Brief Strategic Sketch of the Southern Front's Offensive Operation to Eliminate Denikin's Army" (*Sbornik Trudov VNO*, Gosizdat, 1921, p.129), writes "It was planned that upon concentrating the shock group in the Oryol area, to attack in the general direction of the Oryol—Kursk railroad, while simultaneously attacking with Budyonnyi's cavalry from Voronezh," etc.
- 12 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 738, list 115.
- 13 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 114.
- 14 This decision determined General Denikin's subsequent actions along diverging axes on Oryol and Novokhop'yorsk, which deprived him of the opportunity of taking reserves from the Don Army for developing his attack along the main axis.
- 15 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 831, listy 348–49.
- 16 This calculation has been rounded out.
- 17 Editor's note. This was the popular name of the 3rd Infantry Division, named so in honor of Colonel M. G. Drozdovskii.
- 18 Editor's note. Yakov Davydovich Yuzefovich (1872–1929) joined the Russian Army in 1890 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World Wars. During the civil war he served in staff and command positions with the Armed Forces of South Russia. Yuzefovich lived in exile from 1920 and died in Poland.
- 19 This calculation has been rounded out.
- 20 This calculation has been rounded out.
- 21 This calculation has been rounded out.
- 22 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 2022 (twenty-fifth map).
- 23 This calculation has been rounded out.
- 24 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 739, list 117.
- 25 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 118.
- 26 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 119.
- 27 Editor's note. Mikhail Stepanovich Svechnikov (1881–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1901 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and fought in the Finnish civil war and later served in south Russia. Following the war, he served mainly in military-academic posts until his execution during Stalin's military purge.
- 28 From the editorial board. This work had already been printed up with K. Ye. Voroshilov's work *Stalin and the Red Army* (Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo, 1929) appeared, in which new data, describing the origins of the decision to launch the main attack against Denikin in the direction of Kursk, Khar'kov and the Donbas. As is known, the realization of this plan led to the defeat of Denikin.

K. Ye. Voroshilov writes (p.21): "The autumn of 1919 is remembered by all. The decisive turning point of the entire civil war was at hand. Supplied by the 'Allies' and supported by their staffs, Denikin's White guard hordes were approaching Oryol. The entire enormous southern front was falling back in slow waves. The situation was no less serious internally. Food difficulties

had become extremely exacerbated. The industrial areas were coming to a halt due to a shortage of fuel. Inside the country, and even in Moscow itself, counterrevolutionary elements were stirring. Danger threatened Tula and danger hung over Moscow.

“The situation had to be saved. So the Central Committee sent comrade Stalin to the southern front in the capacity of a member of the revolutionary military council. There is no longer any need to hide the fact that comrade Stalin, before his appointment, placed three main conditions before the Central Committee: 1) Trotskii must not interfere in the Southern Front’s affairs and must not cross its boundary lines; 2) an entire number of workers, whom comrade Stalin considered unfit to reestablish the situation among the troops, must be recalled from the southern front, and; 3) new workers, chosen by comrade Stalin, and capable of carrying out this task, must be immediately commandeered to the southern front. These conditions were accepted unconditionally.

“But in order to get a grip on this enormous entity (from the Volga to the Polish-Ukrainian border) known as the southern front, numbering in its ranks several hundreds of thousands of troops, a clearly formulated mission was needed for the front. Then this goal could be assigned to the troops and, by means of regrouping and concentrating the best forces along the main axes, to launch an attack against the enemy.

“Comrade Stalin found a very ambiguous and difficult situation at the front. We were being attacked along the main Kursk—Oryol—Tula axis; the eastern flank was helplessly standing in place. As regards operational directives, the old (September) plan was proposed to him for launching the main attack along the left flank, from Tsaritsyn to Novorossiisk, through the Don steppes:

“The basic plan for the Southern Front’s offensive remained unchanged, namely that the main attack be launched by Shorin’s special group, with the mission of destroying the enemy on the Don and Kuban.” (From the commander-in-chief’s directive, September, 1919).

“Upon familiarizing himself with the situation, comrade Stalin immediately adopted a decision. He categorically rejected the old plan and put forward new proposals and proposed them to Lenin in the following note, which speaks for itself. It is so interesting and so vividly paints comrade Stalin’s strategic talent, and is so typical in the very decisiveness of the laying out of the problems that we consider it useful to cite it in full.

“About two months ago the commander-in-chief did not object in principle against an attack from east to west through the Donetsk Basin as the main effort. If he nevertheless refrained from such an attack because, referring to the ‘heritage,’ acquired as the result of the southern forces’ retreat during the summer, that is, the unplanned disposition of forces along the southeastern front, the restructuring of which (the disposition of forces) would lead to a great loss of time and be profitable to Denikin. But now the situation and the disposition of forces linked to it has radically changed: the 8th Army (the main army on the former Southern Front) has shifted in the Southern Front’s area and is looking directly at the Donetsk Basin, Budyonnyi’s cavalry corps (the other main force) has also moved to the Southern Front’s area, while a new force has been added—the Latvian Division—which within a month, upon replenishing itself, will once again represent a powerful force against Denikin... What is forcing the commander-in-chief (supreme headquarters) to defend the old plan? Evidently stubbornness alone, or, if you like, factionalism, the stupidest and most dangerous for the republic, which is being cultivated in the high command, by a strategic ‘lightweight’ ... The other day the commander-in-chief issued a directive to Shorin for an offensive on Novorossiisk through the Don steppes along a line, along which it might be convenient for aviators to fly over, but which it is already impossible for our infantry and artillery to traverse. There is no reason to prove that this mad (proposed) campaign in a milieu hostile to us, in conditions of absolutely no roads, threatens us with total failure. It’s not difficult to understand that this campaign against the Cossack *stanitsas*, as our recent practice showed, can only rally the

Cossacks against us around Denikin for the defense of their *stanitsas* and can only put forward Denikin as the savior of the Don, and can only create an army of Cossacks for Denikin, that is it can only strengthen Denikin. This is precisely why it is necessary to now, without wasting any time, to change the old plan, which has already been cancelled in practice, replacing it with a plan for the main attack through Khar'kov and the Donets Basin to Rostov; first of all, here we will not be encountering a hostile milieu, but quite the opposite, one which is sympathetic to us, which will ease our movement; second, we gain a very important railroad network (Donets) and the main artery feeding Denikin's army, the Voronezh—Rostov line, and, third; by this movement we split Denikin's army into two parts, of which we will leave the Volunteer Army to be eaten up by Makhno and we threaten to get into the rear of the Cossack armies; fourth, we get the opportunity to get the Cossacks to quarrel with Denikin, who (Denikin) in the event of our successful advance will shift the Cossack units to the west, which the majority of Cossacks will not go for... and, fifth; we get coal, while Denikin will be without coal. We cannot delay adopting this plan... In brief, the old plan, which has already been cancelled by life, should in no way be retained—this is dangerous for the republic and will no doubt ease Denikin's situation. It should be replaced with another plan. The circumstances and conditions have not only ripened for this, but imperatively dictate such a replacement... Without this my work on the southern front becomes senseless, criminal and unnecessary, which gives me the right, or to be more exact, obligates me to go anywhere, even to the devil, if only not to remain at the southern front. Yours, Stalin.'

“Commentary about this document is superfluous. Worthy of note is by what measure comrade Stalin measures the shortest operational axis. In the civil war simple arithmetic was often insufficient and often mistaken. The path from Tsaritsyn to Novorossiisk may prove to be much longer, because it runs through a hostile class milieu. The opposite was true as well, as the path from Tula to Novorossiisk may prove to be far shorter, because it runs through workers' Khar'kov and the Donbas mining area. Comrade Stalin's chief qualities as a proletarian revolutionary and a true strategist of the civil war told in this evaluation of these axes.

“Stalin's plan was adopted by the Central Committee. Lenin wrote out in his own hand the order to the Field Staff for the immediate change of the out-of-date directive. The main attack was launched by the Southern Front along the Khar'kov—Donbas—Rostov axis. The results are well known: a turning point in the civil war was achieved. Denikin's hordes were overthrown into the Black Sea. Ukraine and the North Caucasus were liberated from the White Guards. A great service was rendered by comrade Stalin in this matter.”

29 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 738, listy 121–22.

30 *Ibid*, delo 738, listy 344–46.

31 *Ibid*, delo 738, listy 123–24.

32 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 128.

33 Cited according to the above-cited article by V. Triandafillov.

34 Uborevich, the commander of the 14th Army, in order to create a shock fist along the Sevsk axis in the form of the 57th Rifle Division, stretched the right flank of his right-flank division (46th Rifle) as far as Khutor Mikhailovskii, which enabled him to remove the 57th Rifle Division from its sector. Besides this, some of the 41st Rifle Division's units took part in the attack on Sevsk, attacking it from the north.

35 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 738, list 139.

36 *Ibid*, delo 738, list 167.

37 *Ibid*, delo 738.

38 Editor's note. *Subbotniks*, from the Russian word for Saturday (*subбота*), were those Saturdays in which various segments of the population would work without pay on some previously designated project.

39 I. Stalin, *Ob Oppozitsii*. (Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo, 1928), p.110.

- 40 Editor's note. Nikolai Nikolayevich Shchepkin (1854–1919) fought in the Russo-Turkish War and later held posts in the Moscow city government, before being elected to the State Duma. During the civil war he was one of the leaders of the All-Russian National Center and was engaged in anti-Bolshevik underground work. He was arrested and executed by the *Cheka*.
- 41 Editor's note. Nikolai Nikolayevich Stogov (1873–1959) fought in the First World War and joined the Red Army in 1918. He also collaborated with the All-Russian National Center until his arrest in 1919. He escaped from prison and later worked in various staff positions with the White armies in southern Russia. Stogov lived the remainder of his life in France, where he was active in émigré organizations.
- 42 Editor's note. Vsevolod Vasil'yevich Stupin (1883–?) joined the Russian Army in 1901 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served in staff positions until his arrest in 1919 for collaborating with the All-Russian National Center. He was later released and returned to work in the army.

## Chapter 12—The Pursuit of the Enemy and the Caucasus Front's Operation

- 1 The remnants of the Whites' Kornilov and Drozdovskii Divisions.
- 2 G. P. Rakovskii, *V Stane Belykh*, p.5.
- 3 Editor's note. Budyonnyi's cavalry corps was redesignated the 1st Cavalry Army on 19 November 1919.
- 4 6–8 kilometers to the west of Biryuch.
- 5 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 944, listy 287–319; delo 6142, listy 123–189, and delo 206, list 63.
- 6 Editor's note. Yakov Aleksandrovich Slashchyov (1885–1929) joined the Russian Army in 1905 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded White forces in south Russia. Following the White defeat, he emigrated, but returned to Soviet Russia in 1921 and thereafter taught in a military academy. Slashchyov was killed by a relative of a victim of his troops' excesses during the civil war.
- 7 Editor's note. Nikolai Ivanovich Shilling (1870–1946) joined the Russian Army in 1888 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded White units in southern Russia. He was sentenced to death in 1920 for the loss of Odessa, but the verdict was overturned and Shilling immigrated to Czechoslovakia. He was arrested by Soviet forces in 1945 but was later freed due to poor health.
- 8 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 73–016, listy 11, 17.
- 9 Editor's note. Grigorii Yakovlevich Sokol'nikov (Girsh Yakovlevich Brilliant) (1888–1939) joined the RSDRP in 1905, but was later exiled before escaping abroad. He returned to Russia in 1917 and during the civil war he held a number of military-political posts and commanded an army and a front. Following the war, he served as people's commissar of finance, but later joined the anti-Stalin opposition and lost his post and influence. Sokol'nikov was sentenced to prison in 1937 and murdered there.
- 10 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 47397, listy 146–49, 164–73.
- 11 In elucidating the events of January 1920 on the Don and Manych, delo 47397, listy 30–46 and 54–173 from the Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii was used.
- 12 Editor's note. This was the title given to cadets in 19th century Russian military schools prior to being awarded their first rank as officers.
- 13 *Ibid*, delo 63–711, listy 1–67.
- 14 *Ibid*, delo 73–016, list 11, and delo 1487, in accordance with an inventory by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic's Field Staff.

- 15 Besides this, the 34th and 50th Rifle Divisions were heading to the Caucasus Front by order of the commander-in-chief, while it was also planned to transfer there from the Southwestern Front the Latvian and 52nd Rifle Divisions.
- 16 We were unable to find the text of the conversation in the archives, but based on the words and permission of S. S. Kamenev we can present its operational contents here. It came down to a proposal to carry out a deep turning movement along the steppes against the enemy's position. In response to the commander-in-chief's doubts as to the possibility of carrying out such a cavalry raid in winter, in the uninhabited steppe, which saw frequent snow storms, Budyonnyi stated that he would go from winter quarters to winter quarters, and thus preserve his horses.
- 17 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 47397, listy 184–85.
- 18 *Ibid*, delo 47964, list 2.
- 19 *Ibid*, delo 249, no page indicated.
- 20 *Ibid*, delo 47964, list 3.
- 21 *Ibid*, delo 47964, listy 4–8.
- 22 Editor's note. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Pavlov (1867–1935) joined the Russian Army in 1885 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded cavalry units with the White forces in southern Russia, but was relieved after his defeat along the Don. Pavlov emigrated in 1920.
- 23 Editor's note. Mikhail Fedoseyevich Blinov (1892–1919) was drafted into the Russian Army in 1913 and he fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded cavalry units on the southern front, where he was killed in action.
- 24 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 36497, listy 1–5.
- 25 Editor's note. Adrian Konstantinovich Gusel'shchikov (1871–1936) joined the Russian Army in 1900 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a regiment, division and corps with the southern White forces. Gusel'shchikov emigrated in 1920.
- 26 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 47964, listy 26–30.

## Chapter 13—The External and Internal Political Situation at the Beginning of 1920. Mutual Relations Between Soviet Russia and Poland. Both Sides' Preparation for Continuing the War

- 1 Editor's note. That is, before the first partition of Poland by Russia, Austria and Prussia.
- 2 Editor's note. The Council of People's Commissars (Russ., *Sovet Narodnykh Komissarov*) was the early name of the Soviet government's executive branch. Ostensibly elected by the Central Executive Committee, it was completely controlled by the ruling party.
- 3 It is quite typical that our point of view as to the Polish government's intentional lack of desire to meet the Soviet government's proposals finds its confirmation in the book by General Szeptycki, the former commander of the Polish Belorussian front in 1920. This author, who based his work on historical documents, points out that Marshal Pilsudski's government, through its stubbornness and intractability in the matter of negotiations, missed a favorable occasion for ending the war. Instead of rejecting any compromise with the Soviet government, it was already proceeding with a new idea of a march on Kiev. See Stanislaw Szeptycki, *Front Litewsko-Bialoruski 10 Marca 1919–20 Lipca*. Krakow, 1925, pp.13–14.
- 4 Wladislaw Sikorski, *Nad Wisla i Wkra. Studjum Z, Polsko-Rosyjskiej Wojny 1920 Roku*. Lwow-Warszawa-Krakow, 1928, pp.215–18.
- 5 Editor's note. This refers to the First World War.

- 6 Editor's note. The Polish Legions (Pol., *Legiony Polskie*) were formed in 1914 under Austro-Hungarian auspices to fight against Russia during the First World War. In 1916 the name was changed to the Polish Auxiliary Corps, which was transferred to German command, although many troops were arrested for refusing to swear allegiance to the German Kaiser. Many of the legion's soldiers later played a prominent role in Polish military and political life.
- 7 Unfortunately, Polish sources do not offer a detailed distribution of this number among infantry, cavalry and ration strength.
- 8 Or one may allow for another assumption, namely that the 113,000 (rounded off) reinforcements of which we spoke earlier, had not yet been fed into their units by 1 April 1920.
- 9 In the book mentioned earlier, General Szeptycki mentions that in the beginning of April he received orders to pull one infantry division of legionnaires into the high command reserve to Baranovichi. Before long, this division was transferred to Ukraine, where on 13 April Colonel Rybak's group was formed in the Yel'sk area, consisting of nine battalions of infantry, 12 squadrons and five batteries. A cavalry division and a heavy artillery group were being formed in Ukraine. Reinforcements were also being sent there.
- 10 The situation on the Polish front once again demanded the exertion of all of the country and army and decisive measures for reinforcing the Western Front. On 12 May V. I. Lenin telegraphed the Caucasus Front's revolutionary military council: "The divisions which the commander-in-chief ordered to be sent to the west must depart without delay and at once. You must personally see to this. Take measures that the divisions not lose strength along the road and that the front does not rob them before leaving. If you consider it possible to dispatch additional units, then raise this question before the commander-in-chief. We must more energetically help the Western Front." Typically, comrade Lenin foresaw the inevitability of the Polish offensive before Pilsudski's April movement. For example, on 11 March 1920 he telegraphed to the Caucasus Front's revolutionary military council (Ordzhonikidze): "... The Poles will evidently make war with us inevitable; thus the main task right now is not to worry about the cavalry-labor army, but to prepare for the very rapid transfer of the maximum number of troops to the Western Front; concentrate all of your efforts on this task..." In this ability to grasp in a timely way and decisively issue new, even yesterday's tasks, to strategy we see the brilliant perspicacity of Lenin, the actual author of Soviet strategy in the civil war of 1918–1921.
- 11 From the above-cited number of divisions that arrived at the Polish front throughout May and June, 11 rifle and one cavalry divisions were directed to the Belorussian theater.
- 12 General Szeptycki expresses doubts that Pilsudski had any kind of definite war plan. It was, at least, unknown to the commanders of the Polish armies. Szeptycki's opinion is indirectly confirmed by the absence of any kind of definite indications of an overall war plan in all of the Polish sources that have heretofore appeared in print.
- 13 Editor's note. The RKKA (Russ., *Raboch'ye-Krest'yanskoye Krasnaya Army*) was the abbreviation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.
- 14 The First, Fourth and Seventh Armies had been formed along the Lithuanian-Belorussian front at the end of March 1920. In Ukraine the Third Army was formed by 20 April 1920 from units of the Second Army and arriving reinforcements.
- 15 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 58–263, list 10; delo 58–275, list 132.
- 16 *Ibid*, delo 80–986, list 36.
- 17 Editor's note. Aleksandr Stepanovich Antonov (1888–1922) joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1904 and was later arrested and imprisoned for terroristic activities. During the civil war he served the Bolsheviks, but later led a rural uprising against the Soviet regime in his native Tambov province. Antonov was killed in a firefight with the secret police.
- 18 Editor's note. Yulii Osipovich Martov (Tsederbaum) (1873–1923) joined the RSDRP as a young man but later broke with Lenin and became the acknowledge head of the party's



Menshevik faction. He supported the Soviet regime against the Whites during the civil war, but had become nearly completely marginalized. He was allowed to leave Russia in 1920 and died in Germany.

- 19 Editor's note. This refers to Rafael Abramovich Rein (1880–1963) joined the RSDRP in 1901 and adhered to the Menshevik faction, although he was also affiliated with the Jewish *Bund*. He was arrested in 1918, but allowed to leave Russia in 1920, first to France and then to the US.
- 20 Editor's note. Aleksei Alekseevich Brusilov (1853–1926) joined the Russian Army in 1872 and fought in the Russo-Turkish War. During the First World War he commanded an army and a front and was briefly supreme commander-in-chief. Brusilov remained neutral in the civil war, but supported the Soviet regime against the Poles.
- 21 Editor's note. The Comintern (Russ., *Kommunisticheskiĭ Internatsional*), or Third International, was founded in 1919 to succeed the Second International, which had broken up over the issue of the First World War. Originally conceived as an independent body, it soon fell completely under the sway of the Soviet government and became a tool of Soviet foreign policy. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943 by Stalin as a sop to the Western Allies.
- 22 Editor's note. *Vsevobuch* (Russ., *vseyeobshchee voyennoye obucheniye trudyashchikhsya*) was established in April 1918 as a universal military service body to instruct workers and peasants in military skills. Those who completed the 8-week program were considered eligible for military service. The organization was abolished in 1923.

## Chapter 14—The White Poles' Ukrainian Operation. The Battle on the Berezina. The Red Armies' Counter Maneuver in Ukraine

- 1 In signing the agreement, Pilsudski was of course not calculating on Petlyura's real forces, of which there were only a few thousand, but of Petlyura's potential forces in the form of political banditry on the Ukrainian right bank.
- 2 Editor's note. Jozef Rybak (1882–1953) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1901 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1918 and held a number of staff and command assignments over the years. Rybak also served in the Soviet-backed Polish Army during the Second World War.
- 3 Editor's note. Jan Romer (1869–1934) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army and fought in the First World War. Upon Polish independence, he commanded Polish troops against Ukraine and the Soviet regime. Following the war, Romer served as inspector of the army.
- 4 The number of cavalry in the 5th Cavalry Brigade, which had recently arrived in Ukraine and which had become part of General Romer's composite cavalry division, is unknown.
- 5 We possess no information as to the strength of the 15th Infantry Division. Only the strength of one of its regiments, defined as 1,406 infantry, is known. Thus we have taken the 15th Infantry Division's strength to be 4,300 infantry. The Ukrainian Infantry Division represented only cadres numbering 1,886 infantry and four light guns.
- 6 Thus the Polish Third Army disposed of 115 infantry and cavalry (rounded out) per kilometer of front; the Polish Second Army had 138 infantry and cavalry (rounded out); the Polish Sixth Army had 231 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front.
- 7 Editor's note. Edward Rydz-Smigly (1886–1941) was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Army and served in the First World War. After Poland achieved independence he commanded armies in the Soviet-Polish War. Following the war he came to occupy a very influential position in Polish politics following Pilsudski's death. He later commanded the Polish armed forces in the brief war against Germany in 1939. Interned in Romania, Rydz-Smigly later returned to Poland to serve in the underground, but died of a heart attack.

- 8 Editor's note. Sergei Aleksandrovich Mezheninov (1890–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1910 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served in a variety of staff and command positions. Following the war, he served in the central military apparatus and was deputy chief of the General Staff. Mezheninov was arrested and executed during Stalin's purge.
- 9 Editor's note. Ieronim Petrovich Uborevich (Uborevicius) (1896–1937) was drafted into the Russian Army in 1916 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and later commanded a division and several armies. Following the war, he commanded military districts and served in the central military apparatus. He was arrested and executed in Stalin's military purge.
- 10 The 41st Rifle Division was stationed along the line of the Dnestr River in cordon formation against the Romanians.
- 11 33 infantry per kilometer of front.
- 12 Editor's note. This may be a reference to Wojciech Stanislaw Falewicz (1863–1935), who joined the Russian Army in 1881 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1918 and commanded the fortress of Grudzia during the Soviet-Polish war. Falewicz retired in 1921.
- 13 These forces consisted of comrade Budyonnyi's 1st Cavalry Army, which marching from the North Caucasus to Ukraine.
- 14 This army, which had been fighting for the independence of Eastern Galicia, was pushed out of its confines by the Poles into Ukraine in the summer of 1919, after which it settled on the Ukrainian right bank, and in turn was forced, due to its materiel disorganization and mass epidemics in its ranks, to recognize the power of all the temporary occupiers of the Ukrainian right bank. It did not play a particular role in the civil war, due to the above-listed reasons, and recognized the Soviet regime in February 1920.
- 15 Editor's note. These are the colors of the Ukrainian flag.
- 16 Editor's note. Yuriy Osipovich Tyutyunnik (1891–1930) joined the Russian Army in 1913 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he fought for various factions in Ukraine, including the Poles during the Polish-Soviet war. He returned to the USSR in 1923 and worked there before his arrest in 1929 and execution.
- 17 On trucks.
- 18 The Polish Third Army, in its previous composition, was to be disbanded, while the 4th Infantry Division was to become part of Pilsudski's reserve.
- 19 Cited in comrade Tukhachevskii's book, *Pokhod za Vislu*, 1923, p.7.
- 20 As is now becoming clear, these assumptions of M. N. Tukhachevskii had a certain basis. On 11 May Pilsudski issued instructions in Kalinkovichi to the commander of the Polish Fourth Army, General Szeptycki, to prepare for an offensive in the general direction of Zhlobin and Rogachyov. Szeptycki designated the 6th and 14th Infantry Divisions and part of the 9th Infantry Division for the offensive. The offensive was supposed to begin on 17 May. (See Szeptycki's above-cited book, p.17).
- 21 Editor's note. Avgust Ivanovich Kork (1887–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1908 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and held staff positions and commanded armies during the civil war. Following the civil war he commanded military districts and served in the central military apparatus. Kork was arrested and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 22 Editor's note. Yevgenii Nikolayevich Sergeev (1887–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1909 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and held various staff and command positions during the civil war. Following the war, he served primarily in staff positions in military districts. Sergeev was arrested and shot during Stalin's military purge.
- 23 Editor's note. Nikolai Vladimirovich Sollogub (1883–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1900 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and

held staff and command positions. Following the war, he served primarily in academic positions. Sollogub was arrested and executed in Stalin's military purge.

- 24 In taking into account such a grouping of his forces, Sollogub proposed to the front command his operational variation, which boiled down to the launching of the 16th Army's main attack against Bobruisk. Then it would coincide in time with the launching of the 15th Army's attack on Vil'na and Molodechno. In essence, this attack by the 16th Army on Bobruisk should have been a powerful demonstration, which was how the army commander viewed it. The Western Front commander turned down this proposal, pointing out that the 16th Army was not demonstrating, but launching a supporting attack to aid the 15th Army. (For details, see Shilovskii's book *Na Berezhine*).
- 25 Editor's note. Gustaw Zygodowicz (1869–1923) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1890 and fought in the First World War. He joined the new Polish Army in 1919 and commanded Polish forces along the northern front during the Soviet-Polish War. Following the war, Zygodowicz headed the Polish General Staff Academy.
- 26 There were 234 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front, rounded off.
- 27 Editor's note. Stanislaw Maria Szeptycki (1867–1950) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army and fought in the First World War on the side of the Central Powers. He joined the newly created Polish Army in 1918 and attained high rank during the war with Soviet Russia. He later fell out with Pilsudski and was dismissed from the service. Szeptycki later headed the Polish Red Cross after the Second World War.
- 28 There were 694 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front, rounded off.
- 29 Cited according to Ye. A. Shilovskii's materials.
- 30 There were 637 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front, rounded off.
- 31 In view of the 21st Rifle Division's overall lateness, the 23rd Rifle Brigade was subsequently relieved by the Alatyř' Rifle Brigade, which was also moving to join the 16th Army and which had managed to arrive earlier.
- 32 Thus the 16th Army's supporting attack was very late in time for reasons highlighted by us above.
- 33 Editor's note. Kazimierz Sosnkowski (1885–1969) joined the Polish Socialist Party as a student and took an active part in anti-Russian activities. He joined the Polish Legions in 1914 and fought in the First World War. He joined the new Polish Army in 1918 and commanded the Polish northern front during the war against Soviet Russia. After the war, he served as minister for military affairs. Following the Polish defeat in 1939, he escaped to the West and joined the Polish Government in Exile and later became commander-in-chief of its armed forces. He fell out with the British in 1944 and immigrated to Canada.
- 34 Editor's note. Leonard Wilhelm Skierski (1866–1940) joined the Russian Army in 1887 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1919 and commanded units up to an army in strength. Skierski retired in 1931, but was arrested by the Soviets in 1939 and executed the following year along with thousands of other Polish officers near Katyn.
- 35 The 54th Division was being transferred from the former Northern Front to the Western Front. Its lead brigade had also been transferred by the Western Front commander to the commander of the 15th Army.
- 36 By the end of the day the 15th Army's front had taken on the following broken outline: Ozeryany—excluding Postavy—excluding Dunilovichi—Krivichi—Shklyantsy.
- 37 To be sure, between 11 and 13 June Pilsudski ordered 2½ infantry divisions (the 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division, the 16th Infantry Division, and a brigade from the 6th Infantry Division) back to the Ukrainian theater, but they were late to the turning point in the campaign in the Ukrainian theater, which was not developing in favor of the Poles.

- 38 Editor's note. Grigorii Ivanovich Kotovskii (1881–1925) became a revolutionary during his student years, for which he was repeatedly arrested and nearly executed. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served as a cavalry commander and political officer in Ukraine. Following the war, he commanded a division and a corps and helped suppress various anti-Soviet uprisings. Kotovskii was murdered by an associate from the Odessa criminal world.
- 39 On 27 May this army was disbanded; its headquarters was changed to the headquarters of the Ukrainian Front (Zhitomir); the 13th Infantry Division was transferred to the Sixth Army and the 7th Infantry Division to the Third Army.
- 40 One brigade from the 5th Infantry Division had been dispatched to Belorussia.
- 41 This breakthrough by the 1st Cavalry Army is worthy of our attention not only for its major operational significance, but also for its specific weight in the history of military art in the period following the World War. The well-known French military officer and theoretician, General Faury, p. 353), whom we will repeatedly cite in subsequent chapters, in his review of the major historical work by the Polish General Sikorski, *Nad Visloj i Vkroi*, which appeared in a journal in 1929, stresses that the 1st Cavalry Army's breakthrough was testimony to the collapse of the Polish military doctrine of the cordon defense, which was a heritage of the world war. Faury points out that it was precisely the Red command that guessed in advance the evolution of military art in this area, preferring the echeloned concentration of ramming masses to a long cordon. Before long the Polish command in the Belorussian theater got a new and no less sensitive lesson in the operational art of a major maneuver war from the Soviet command.
- 42 Editor's note. Aleksandr Grigor'evich Golikov (1896–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1915 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded cavalry divisions, although he was arrested on grounds of political disloyalty. Following the civil war, he served in the army's educational apparatus. Golikov was arrested during Stalin's military purge and executed.
- 43 We have already pointed out that for this he ordered again between 11 and 13 June the transfer of 2½ divisions (3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division, 16th Infantry Division, and a brigade from the 6th Infantry Division) from the Belorussian theater to Ukraine.
- 44 The successful operations of the Mozyr' Group and the Red 12th Army's right flank in the *Poles'ye* attracted Pilsudski's particular attention. He did not lose hope before the end of June of organizing a counteroffensive with Sikorski's *Poles'ye* Group (two infantry divisions and Balachowicz's brigade) and the Polish Third Army for the purpose of throwing the Reds out of the space between the Pripyat' and Dnepr rivers. Thus the *Poles'ye* Group was reinforced by another infantry division (16th Infantry) at the expense of the Polish Belorussian theater. This plan was foiled by the rapidly developing offensive by our southern armies. All that remained of it were the negative consequences, for the Poles, in the form of the weakening of Gen. Szeptycki's main front by one infantry division.
- 45 We have no information on the 24th Rifle Division's combat strength.
- 46 These actions were expressed in the conduct of a series of brief attacks by the Western Front's Red armies along various sectors of the opposing Polish front. Such fighting took place on 20–21 June along the Polish First Army's sector, and on 25 June the Reds' offensive attempts were repeated in the area of Lake Mezhuhol, and on 26 June there were local battles in the area of the Chernitsa River. On 17 and 24 June the Reds conducted an offensive along the upper Berezina in the Polish Fourth Army's sector. Lively combat between the forward units of both sides did not cease in the Bobruisk area. It was especially fierce on 27 June.
- 47 General Szeptycki defines the combat strength of his front by the end of June 1920 (evidently also not counting staging and reserve units) at 69,000 infantry and cavalry, with 464 guns. Further on, by the start of the decisive battle in Belorussia these forces, in his words, had fallen to 62,000

infantry and cavalry, due to the departure of small units and losses through illness, wounds, etc. In our calculations we included the Polish Seventh (observation) Army, which was not subordinated to Szeptycki, as well as staging units. By dropping them, our calculation should quite exactly coincide with Szeptycki's first variant. Thus one should admit that the strength of Szeptycki's combat forces did not exceed 40,000 infantry and cavalry, with 464 guns.

48 According to M. N. Tukhachevskii's data in his book *Pokhod za Vislu*.

## Chapter 15—The General Engagement in Belorussia. The Pursuit of the Polish Armies in Belorussia and Ukraine

- 1 The 3rd Cavalry Corps, consisting of the 10th and 15th Cavalry Divisions, was formed from the 15th Cavalry Division, which had been formed by the Western Front, while the corps headquarters and the 10th Cavalry Division had been transferred from the Caucasus. Comrade Gai commanded the corps.
- 2 The 48th Rifle Division was stationed along the 120-kilometer Opochna—Drissa sector of the front along the demarcation line with Latvia. The army's other divisions were deployed along the 40-kilometer front Drissa—Lake Zhado. There were 345 infantry and cavalry per kilometer of front along this sector.
- 3 Editor's note. Vladimir Salamanovich Lazarevich (1882–1938) joined the Russian Army in 1903 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded armies. Following the war, he commanded a front and later served in the army's central educational apparatus. He was arrested in 1938 and executed during Stalin's military purge.
- 4 The difference in the figure of 95,000 infantry and cavalry, which was cited by us in the preceding chapter, is due to the fact that here the 48th Rifle Division, which was stationed along the demarcation line with Lithuania and thus did not take a direct part in the operation, is not counted.
- 5 Editor's note. Lucjan Zeligowski (1865–1947) joined the Russian Army in 1885 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. He joined the Polish Army in 1919 and led a revolt the following year to return Vil'na (Pol., Wilno) to Polish control. After the Soviet-Polish war he served as minister of military affairs, before retiring in 1926. Zeligowski escaped to the west following Poland's defeat in 1939 and served in the Polish government in exile.
- 6 Editor's note. Wladyslaw Jedrzejewski (1863–1940) joined the Russian Army in 1884 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. He joined the Polish Army in 1918 and commanded a division and an army in the war against the Soviet Union. Jedrzejewski retired in 1925. He was arrested by the NKVD in 1939 and later executed.
- 7 Editor's note. Jan Piotr Rzakowski (1860–1934) joined the Russian Army in 1880 and commanded Polish troops during the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1918 and commanded a division in the Soviet-Polish War. Rzakowski retired in 1923.
- 8 However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the 7th Observation Army was not subordinated to Szeptycki, but was directly subordinated to Pilsudski. The latter informed his commanders on 27 June that they must count only on their own forces, because he had no more reserves.
- 9 Throughout June Szeptycki detached army and front reserves, which were stationed, according to his instructions, as follows: the First Army's reserves—8th Infantry Division—in the Germanovichi area, and a brigade from the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1st Infantry Division to Tumilovichi and behind the First Army's right flank. The front's reserve was in two groups: the 17th Infantry Division in Golubichi (behind the First Army) and in the Zhodin area (to the northeast of Minsk).

- 10 This document explains Szeptycki's subsequent actions and is a direct indictment of Pilsudski, who in his book, *1920*, sharply criticizes Szeptycki's subsequent maneuvering, which had been proposed by him.
- 11 Szeptycki had a personal conversation with Pilsudski on this score on 1 July in Warsaw: Pilsudski, in his book, *1920*, quite openly hints at Szeptycki's cowardice. He saw this in Szeptycki's declaration of the necessity of concluding peace with the Bolsheviks. While not rejecting this suggestion, Szeptycki says that it was made in the form of instructions to employ an immediate favorable event to conclude peace. Subsequent events showed that due to the press of events, the Polish government was forced to take the path proposed by Szeptycki. In evaluating this episode from an objective point of view, we are not inclined to consider Pilsudski's accusation well-founded, because Szeptycki was able to insist on accepting battle on the Auta and Berezina.
- 12 Editor's note. Kazimierz Jędrzej Sawicki (1888–1971) studied medicine but joined the Polish Legion in 1914 and fought in the First World War. He later commanded a regiment during the Soviet-Polish War. He held a number of command assignments during the interwar years and later commanded units of the National Army during the German occupation. He took part in the Warsaw uprising of 1944 and was captured and released at the end of the war. He later settled to Great Britain.
- 13 In his work, *Nad Visloj i Vkroi*, General Sikorski also confirms the evaluation rendered by us of the events of 4 July. He writes: "Under the pressure of such a scrupulously prepared preponderance of force, as under a hurricane, the left flank of the Northeastern Front collapsed. We were not in a condition to render sufficiently powerful resistance to either such a well thought-out attack plan or such intelligently employed men and materiel during its conduct, despite the fact that we guessed the enemy's intentions even before the beginning of the battle." (The above-cited work, p.19).
- 14 This decision by Pilsudski was confirmed by him in his "instructions" of 9 July 1920, although he maintains in his book, *1920*, that these "instructions" were not approved by him. According to these instructions, it was planned to delay the advance of the Red forces along the line: Vil'na—the old German trenches—Luninets, and then along the line of the Styr' and Zbruch rivers. General Sikorski, in the work cited by us, calls these instructions "unrealistic" and "incapable of being carried out." (*Nad Visloj i Vkroi*, p.20). Subsequent events confirm General Sikorski's opinion.
- 15 It is quite typical to note in this regard the leaking of strength which accompanied the Polish withdrawal. The Polish First Army declined in strength in a week by 19,000 infantry, that is, by 57%.
- 16 Only on this day, that is, 14 July, did Pilsudski agree to the cession of the city of Vil'na to the Lithuanians, but this was already too late.
- 17 In carrying out this maneuver, Szeptycki planned to pull the 14th Infantry Division out of the *Poles'ye* Group into his reserve at Volkovysk, but cancelled this decision before long, ordering the transfer of only the 41st Infantry Regiment to Grodna.
- 18 The Grodna fortress had been stripped of its arms by the Poles as early as the summer of 1919. By the time it had been seized by Gai's cavalry corps, its garrison consisted of 3,000 infantry, predominantly staging and reserve units, with 300 cavalry and 14 light and heavy guns. This brigade was hurriedly transferred by rail from the *Poles'ye* Group to Belostok on 17 July, in accordance with Pilsudski's instructions. While doubting the possibility of holding out along the line of the old German trenches, he was still hoping to organize a defense along the line of the Shara and Neman rivers.
- 19 In falling behind the Neman and Shara, Szeptycki undertook to significantly strengthen his First Army at the expense of the *Poles'ye* Group and the Fourth Army. Yet another brigade (17th) from the 9th Infantry Division was transferred from the former to the Belostok axis, but it arrived late to the fighting of 20–21 July, the 41st Infantry Regiment from the village of Cheremkha to



Kuznitsa, and a composite infantry brigade to Brest, on Pilsudski's orders. Szeptycki removed the 2nd Legionnaire Infantry Division from the Fourth Army to the town of Sokolka for his front reserve. It was also planned to reinforce the Polish First Army with this division. This casting of forces from the right to the left flank was undertaken quite late in time, which is why it could not influence the situation of the Poles' resistance along the Neman and Shara. According to the situation, it should have been undertaken earlier.

- 20 In evaluating this rejection, it is necessary to keep in mind that the British government was already conducting negotiations of the same sort regarding Vrangeli's army. These negotiations had only that immediate result in that Vrangeli had time to prepare to continue the struggle against Soviet Russia. The Soviet government was correct in calculating the proposals by the British government regarding Poland were pursuing the same goal. Moreover, at the moment of Curzon's appeal the Polish government had not made any kind of concrete proposals for its part.
- 21 As early as 21 July Pilsudski, in his directive to Szeptycki, pointed out that "the holding of the line of the Neman and Shara has decisive significance for the overall course of the war."
- 22 Evidently the main idea for employing the line of the Western Bug River and the fortress of Brest as the jumping-off line for a future counter maneuver had long ago arisen in the mind of General Henrys, the head of the French military mission in Poland. One may judge about this by indirect hints in Sikorski's book cited above. On page 21 of his book, Sikorski links Henrys' 3 August 1920 letter to the chief of the Polish General Staff, General Rozwadowski, to Pilsudski's directive of 27 July 1920. According to this directive, it was planned, while stubbornly defending along the line of the Western Bug—Ostrow—Grajewo and, in an extreme case, along the line Western Bug River—Ostroleka—Omulew, to go over to an offensive with two groups of reserves: one from the Brest area and the other from the Ostrow area (*Ibid.*, pp.21–22).
- 23 The decision to withdraw to the line of the Vistula River did not come about immediately following the fall of Brest. Sikorski writes that General Rozwadowski, despite the fall of Brest and despite the fact that the Polish Fourth Army was already retreating in complete disorder and that the First Army had been thrown back to the Bransk and Tykocin area remained stubborn in his intention to go over to a general counterattack from the Siedlce area in order to take Brest back and was seeking to organize just such an offensive along the left flank of the Polish Northeastern Front (p.28), insofar as General Rozwadowski was not the supreme commander-in-chief, but only the chief of the General Staff, we believe that this idea belonged not to him, but to Pilsudski. Sikorski, for his own reasons, decided to mask the figure of Pilsudski with that of Rozwadowski.
- 24 This quote is taken from Pilsudski's book *1920 g.*, p.100.
- 25 Sikorski, *Nad Visloji i Vkroi*, pp.237–39.

## Chapter 16—The Preparation of the Operation Along the Vistula

- 1 Editor's note. The tenth party congress was held in March 1921.
- 2 Lenin, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, vol. XVIII, part I, p.108.
- 3 Editor's note. VNUS (VChK) were the internal security troops, organizationally subordinated to the VChK, or *Cheka* secret police. This organization was founded in 1920 to guard important government sites, factories, military stores, and railroads. These forces also served as a reserve for the Red Army.
- 4 Editor's note. The labor armies (*trudovye armii*) were created in 1920–21 out of regular Red Army units along the formerly active fronts to help with the country's economic reconstruction following the civil war. These armies were made up of regular soldiers and were subject to military discipline. With the inauguration of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, these armies were gradually disbanded.



- 5 N. Ye. Kakurin, V. A. Melikov, *Voina s Belopolyakami*. (Moscow, 1925), p.288.
- 6 Lenin, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, vol. XVII, p.205.
- 7 Kakurin, Melikov, *Voina*, p.206.
- 8 The line, proposed by Curzon, ran approximately along the Brest meridian.
- 9 Kakurin, Melikov, *Voina*, p.475.
- 10 Lenin, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, vol. XVII, p.331.
- 11 *Ibid*, p.331.
- 12 *Ibid*, p.349.
- 13 *Ibid*, p.335.
- 14 *Ibid*, p.308.
- 15 *Ibid*, p.336.
- 16 *Ibid*, p.337.
- 17 Wladyslaw Ulanowski (1893–1937) joined the Polish Socialist Party at an early age and the Polish Communist Party in 1918. He left Poland for the USSR in 1925 and worked in the Comintern apparatus. He disappeared and was presumably executed in Stalin's purge.
- 18 Editor's note. *Die Rote Fahne* (Ger., *The Red Flag*) was a newspaper first published in 1876 under the auspices of the German Socialist Worker's Party. The name was revived in 1918 by the communists, who published, with interruptions, until 1933, when the paper was proscribed by the Nazis.
- 19 Kakurin, Melikov, *Voina*, p.210.
- 20 *Ibid*, p.210.
- 21 The question of the commander-in-chief's directives, which were issued in Minsk, require special illumination in connection with the statements by A. I. Yegorov in his book, *L'vov—Varshava* (p. 33), that directive no. 4343/op was issued in Minsk on 21 July and directive no. 4344/op there on 22 July.

By scrupulously checking all of the available material and memoirs by the participants, the following has come to light:

On 20 July 1920 nos. 4343, 4344, 4345, and 4346 were removed from the commander-in-chief's outbox in his train (no. 4346 remained unused. See Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo no. 1507, the Field Staff's outbox, list 151).

On 22 July, the commander-in-chief left Smolensk after midday for Minsk, where he arrived before morning on 23 July. On the night of 22–23 July and the morning of 23 July, both directives were issued by the commander-in-chief. The first was directive no. 4344/op, which contains the stamp 0030, 22 July, which is an obvious slip of the pen, for its shows the directive being issued as if during the night of 21–22 July. On this night, as we now know, the commander-in-chief was not in Minsk, but was still in Smolensk. As regards directive no. 4343/op, which was addressed to the commander of the Southwestern Front, we personally once again checked the date of its issue and are convinced that it was indeed issued on 23 July, and not 21 July, which anyone who wants to can see by turning to Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo no. 1742, list 159. On the basis of these data, we categorically insist on our dates: the night of 22–23 July and the morning of 23 July.

- 22 For the complete text of this directive, see A. I. Yegorov's book *L'vov—Varshava* (Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo, 1929, p.32). We will limit ourselves here to citing its main content. It differs from the Southwestern Front commander's intentions, which were laid out in telegram no. 609 (secret), 4095/op, of 22 July to the commander-in-chief. In this telegram, A. I. Yegorov proposed, in light of the strong enemy resistance being encountered along the L'vov axis, "to shift the center of my armies' main blow to the confines of Galicia," aiming the 12th Army, following the capture of Kovel', to Chelm and Lublin, and to dispatch the 1st Cavalry Army

to bypass Lvov and launching the main attack with it in the general direction of Berestechko, Rava-Russka and Jaroslaw. The 14th Army was to attack in the general direction of Tarnopol' and Mikolayev (p.27).

- 23 Sikorski, *Nad Visloji i Vkroji*, p.32. All the arguments as to whether or not we should have taken it upon ourselves to capture Lvov and who is guilty in assigning this goal, strike us as completely excessive. Given the assigning of tasks to the Southwestern Front's armies, as was contained in directive no. 4343/op, the question of capturing Lvov had to come before the Southwestern Front command sooner or later. Thus we believe that the Lvov operation was not directly, but indirectly, defined by the high command itself. In order to throw the enemy sharply to the south of his communications lines, which ran to Lvov, it was necessary to deeply outflank it, and this outflanking would lead to the same Lvov.
- 24 A. I. Yegorov, *Lvov—Varshava*, pp.58–59.
- 25 Editor's note. Yefraim Markovich Sklyanskii (1892–1925) joined the RSDRP in 1913 and was drafted into the Russian Army in 1916. During the civil war he served as Trotskii's deputy on the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. He was removed in 1924 as part of the ongoing anti-Trotskii campaign within the party. Sklyanskii was dispatched to the United States in 1925, where he drowned.
- 26 Yegorov, *Lvov—Varshava*, p.63.
- 27 *Ibid*, p.65.
- 28 *Ibid*, pp.67–68.
- 29 Even before the receipt of the Southwestern Front commander's directive on pulling the 1st Cavalry Army's cavalry divisions into the reserve (directive no. 748/s/4521, 2400, 7 August), the latter, due to the exhaustion of its units, had independently pulled the 4th and 11th Cavalry Divisions into the reserve and had gone over to the defensive along a significant part of its front, while actively operating only along its right flank (24th Rifle and 14th Cavalry Divisions). When the above-cited directive was received, the 1st Cavalry Army command was attempting to pull the remaining cavalry divisions (14th and 6th Cavalry Divisions and a special cavalry brigade) into the reserve. However, the enemy's counteroffensive not only prevented it from doing that, but even forced it to once again commit into the fighting the 4th Cavalry division, which had just been pulled back into the reserve. Thus the entire 1st Cavalry Army was not actually pulled into the reserve, in accordance with the directive cited above, but only one of its divisions (11th Cavalry).

Insofar as the subsequent days up until 12 August were characterized by a powerful uptick in activity along its front, we were unable to pull all of the 1st Cavalry Army's cavalry divisions into the reserve, and thus we should consider that during 8–12 August the 1st Cavalry Army was not operationally free, although the Southwestern Front command was striving to make it operationally free by pulling it into the reserve.

- 30 Kakurin, Melikov, *Voina*, p.278.
- 31 *Ibid*, p.277.
- 32 As early as 5 August the Western Front commander ordered the commander of the 16th Army to direct no less than three divisions from his army to Wegrow and Siedlce, thus shifting the center of concentration of the 16th Army's forces to its right flank (N. Kakurin and Melikov, *Voina s Belopolyakami*, p.218).
- 33 Cited according to the calculations of comrade Shaposhnikov, which are listed on p.288 of the work *Voina s Belopolyakami*.
- 34 Yegorov, *Lvov—Varshava*, pp.31–32.
- 35 Deblin is the Polish name of the Russian fortress of Ivangorod.

## Chapter 17—Establishing the Coordination of the Fronts

- 1 This directive is fully cited in A. I. Yegorov's book, *L'vov—Varshava*, p.97.
- 2 This conversation is fully cited in A. I. Yegorov's book, *L'vov—Varshava*, pp.94–95.
- 3 Editor's note. This would appear to be a mistake, as the context makes clear that they are referring to the Southwestern Front's right-flank armies.
- 4 *Ibid*, 100–101.
- 5 *Ibid*, p.109.
- 6 We omit those details which do not have an substantial bearing on the accomplished fact, but quite typical of that situation of confusion in which the commander of the Southwestern Front found himself, having received on 12 August the commander-in-chief's instructions in furtherance of his directive of 11 August, which had not yet been decoded in the Southwestern Front's headquarters. For this, we direct the reader to A. I Yegorov's book, *L'vov—Varshava*, pp.112–14.
- 7 *Ibid*, p.114.
- 8 *Ibid*, p.109.
- 9 *Ibid*, p.117.
- 10 *Ibid*, p.120.
- 11 This was fully cited in the book, *L'vov—Varshava*, pp.125–126.
- 12 Many of our authors quite incorrectly translate the Polish word “ochotnize” literally as “hunting,” which may give rise to misunderstandings and completely fails to capture the meaning of the concept.
- 13 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.48.
- 14 We will remind the reader here once again of the army's strength of 11,225 infantry and cavalry.
- 15 By the way, the division was not there. On 13 August it was still along the Polish screen's extreme right flank in the Wojslawice area (to the southwest of Hrubieszow); it then moved to the Chelm area, from which it attacked directly on Wlodawa.
- 16 A. I. Yegorov, *L'vov—Varshava*, p.175.
- 17 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.245.
- 18 Comrade Budyonnyi, the former commander of the 1st Cavalry Army, evaluates the Southwestern Front commander's directive of 15 August regarding the shift of the 1st Cavalry Army from the L'vov area to the Vladimir-Volynskii—Ustilug area in the following manner.
 

“The shift of the 1st Cavalry Army on 15 August from L'vov to the Vladimir-Volynskii—Ustilug area should be viewed as the death agony of the Western Front commander's plan, which was built on the regrouping of his forces to the north, without the timely formulation of the question of cooperation with the Southwestern Front. By 15 August the situation was as follows:

  - “1) The Western Front commander's directive on the cavalry army's shift to the Lublin axis was so delayed that the cavalry army was no longer able to render serious support to the Western Front through its shift to the Vladimir-Volynskii—Ustilug area. In order to carry out this regrouping, the cavalry army would have had to force the Western Bug River two times, by moving back and once again moving forward to the northwest.
  - “2) If the Western Front command had not needlessly made us edgy with its directives for the shift of the cavalry army, and instead agreed to the 1st Cavalry Army command's proposal, then the fall of L'vov, would have been assured under any conditions. From this it follows that both the Western and Southwestern fronts' situation would have been completely different: first of all, the enemy would have been forced to commit significant forces to take L'vov back and the Western Front's situation would thus have been eased; secondly, the occupation of L'vov by our forces would have secured the cavalry army's arrival to the Lublin area by the shortest routes, moving between the Western Bug and Vistula rivers. This would

have won us time and a major threat would have been created for the enemy facing our Western Front. In any event, the reigning situation dictated the absolute necessity of seizing L'vov.

“3) One should admit that the fall of L'vov would undoubtedly have created a shift in our favor as regards the restoration of equilibrium in the course of the entire campaign “S. Budyonnyi.”

- 19 For details on this, see N. Kakurin and V. Melikov, *Voina s Belopolyakami*, pp.342–46.
- 20 Directive no. 361/op was signed by the Western Front commander and for the member of the front's revolutionary-military council by the staff's commissar at 1840 on 15 August. Due to a telegraphic mistake, the telegram was transmitted to the 1st Cavalry Army with only the Western Front commander's signature. This resulted in a delay in carrying out the order. To the Western Front commander's repeat directive no. 406/op of 17 August, in which the 1st Cavalry Army was instructed to “exert all efforts and concentrate, whatever the cost, in the Vladimir-Volynskii—Ustilug area, for the purpose of subsequently attacking into the rear of the enemy's shock group,” (N. Kakurin and V. Melikov, *Voina s Belopolyakami*, p.321) the cavalry army replied that “it cannot withdraw from the fighting for a new regrouping at the present moment.” (A. I. Yegorov, *L'vov—Varshava*, p.152). It was only following a directive by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, which followed on 20 August, that the 1st Cavalry Army set about carrying out the Western Front commander's directive (N. Kakurin and V. Melikov, *Voina s Belopolyakami*, pp. 346–47).
- 21 Editor's note. Maxime Weygand (1867–1965) joined the French Army in 1887. During the First World War he served in staff positions and was France's representative to the Supreme War Council. He was a member of the Interallied Mission to Poland in 1920. Following the war, he served as army chief of staff until his retirement in 1935. He was recalled to duty in 1939 and was appointed to command French forces in 1940, after the Battle of France had already been lost. He later served as defense minister in the collaborationist Vichy regime until arrested by the Germans in 1942. Weygand was later charged with collaborating with the Germans, but was cleared of all charges in 1948.
- 22 The numerous “notes” from General Weygand to General Rozwadowski from 30 July through 5 August 1920 testify to this.
- 23 Paul Prosper Henrys (1862–1943) served in Algeria and Morocco and during the First World War commanded a corps on the western front and the French Army in Salonika. During 1919–20 he headed the French Military Mission to Poland. Henrys retired in 1924.
- 24 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.40.
- 25 *Ibid*, p.46.
- 26 It was assumed that Romania, although it had up until now maintained neutrality, would actively enter the war as soon as the Reds' deep invasion of Galicia became apparent, as this invasion would indirectly touch upon the vital interests of Romania (Bukovina). In any event, Pilsudski consciously took the risk of temporarily losing Eastern Galicia and even the city of L'vov.
- 27 The latter figure is according to Polish sources.
- 28 Pilsudski calculated that the effect of his counter maneuver along the Warsaw axis would not tell before 19 August (Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.571).
- 29 Editor's note. Boleslaw Jerzy Roja (1876–1940) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1899 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish army in 1918, but was demoted for his defeatist attitudes during the Soviet-Polish War and transferred to the reserves in 1922. Roja was arrested by the Germans in 1940 and later murdered in a concentration camp.
- 30 This was a composite group made up of various volunteer formations and regular units. Its main core was the 18th Infantry Brigade and the 8th Cavalry Brigade, and its overall strength on 1 August was 4,390 infantry and cavalry. (Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, pp.67–69).
- 31 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, pp.57–58.

- 32 *Ibid*, p.69.
- 33 *Ibid*, p.98.
- 34 Editor's note. Tadeusz Jordan-Rozwadowski (1866–1928) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1886 and fought in the First World War. He joined the new Polish Army in 1918 and fought against Ukrainian forces and was a part of the Polish delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. He later served as chief of staff during the war with Soviet Russia. He opposed Pilsudski's coup of 1926 and was imprisoned. Rozwadowski was later freed, but died under mysterious circumstances.
- 35 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.60.
- 36 The division was being transferred from the Ukrainian front.
- 37 Editor's note. The brigade was originally formed in July 1918 from Polish prisoners of war who had served in the Austro-Hungarian Army and local Polish residents in Siberia. The brigade first fought under Kolchak's command and suffered heavily during the latter's retreat. The remnants of this force reached Poland in June 1920 and were absorbed into the new Polish Army.
- 38 The brigade was on the march from Warsaw.
- 39 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.60.
- 40 *Ibid*, p.60. Out of fear that this order might become known to the Reds, General Rozwadowski wrote it out in his own hand, reproduced it and assigned it the fictitious no. 10000.
- 41 *Ibid*, p.61.
- 42 Editor's note. Franciszek Krajowski (1861–1932) joined the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1883 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1918 and took part in the Soviet-Polish War. Krajowski retired in 1923.
- 43 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, pp.61–62.
- 44 *Ibid*, pp.66–67.
- 45 Editor's note. Adam Igancy Koc (1891–1969) became involved in the struggle for Polish independence as a student. He joined the Polish Legion in 1915 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1919 and commanded a division in the war against the Soviet Union. A supporter of Pilsudski, he held a number of high-ranking governmental posts following the war. He fled to the US in 1940 and died there in exile.
- 46 Here Weygand evidently has in mind the dispatch of the Siberian brigade to Zgerze, not yet knowing that Sikorski had already turned it toward Modlin.
- 47 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, pp.77–78.
- 48 *Ibid*, pp.79–80.
- 49 *Ibid*, pp.81–82.
- 50 *Ibid*, p.86.
- 51 *Ibid*, pp.90–91.
- 52 Editor's note. Mikolaj Ignacy Osikowski (1873–1950) joined the Russian Army in 1892 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Polish Army in 1918 and commanded a division in the Soviet-Polish War. He retired in 1923. He escaped to the west following Poland's defeat in 1939 and died in exile in Great Britain.
- 53 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.94.
- 54 *Ibid*, p.100.
- 55 *Ibid*, p.101.
- 56 Editor's note. Boris Mikhailovich Shaposhnikov (1882–1945) joined the Russian Army in 1901 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served in a variety of senior staff positions. Following the war, Shaposhnikov served several times as Red Army chief of staff until ill health forced him to step down in 1942.
- 57 Editor's note. The Battle of Cannae took place in 218 B. C. in northern Italy during the Second Punic War. Here Carthaginian forces under Hannibal defeated Roman forces under

Gaius Terentius Varro in a double envelopment. The word has since become a synonym for the encirclement battle.

- 58 Editor's note. The Battle of Sedan was fought on 1–2 September 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War. French forces under MacMahon were surrounded and defeated by Prussian-German forces under Helmuth von Moltke. As a result of the battle, Emperor Napoleon III was taken prisoner and his empire collapsed.
- 59 Editor's note. The Battle of Tannenberg took place during 26–30 August 1914, at the outset of the First World War. German forces under Paul von Hindenburg defeated the Russians under Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Samsonov in an encirclement battle that upset Russian plans for an invasion of Germany.
- 60 B. Shaposhnikov, *Na Visle*, p.142.
- 61 *Ibid*, p.146.
- 62 *Ibid*, p.147.
- 63 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, pp.103-04.

## Chapter 18—The General Engagement Along the Vistula and Wkra Rivers

- 1 This happened because the 27th Rifle Division, upon capturing Drohiczyn, advanced directly forward, while the 17th, 2nd and 10th Rifle Divisions had to first shift to the right and then aim themselves along their new axes of advance.
- 2 Only now is the specific operational gravity of the fighting for Radzymin beginning to become fully clear. The famous French author, Faury, himself a participant in the events of 1920 on the Polish front, defines our success along the Radzymin sector of the battlefield as a breakthrough of the Polish First Army's center. According to him, the Red units were already 15 kilometers from the bridges over the Vistula and it required the commitment of a significant part of the front's reserves for counterattacks, which lasted two days (see Faury's review of Sikorski's book, which has been mentioned repeatedly by us, in the *Revue Militaire Francaise*," 1929.
- 3 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.106.
- 4 *Ibid*, p.117.
- 5 This calculation by Sikorski is very important. It shows that we could have achieved a partial victory along the Polish northern wing earlier than the consequences of the attack by Pilsudski's "central group of armies" could have told.
- 6 It is necessary to pay attention to the truly difficult situation of Sikorski's army at the moment he received orders to assume the offensive and which Faury and the review cited above emphasize: having been operationally encircled and not yet able to concentrate and deploy his army fully, Sikorski was forced to accept battle on the Wkra River.
- 7 During this battle comrade Sollogub, the commander of the 16th Army, was seriously ill and deprived of the ability to move. The operational center of the 16th Army's headquarters, which had been moved forward to Siedlce, could not, of course, fully replace the army commander.
- 8 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.124.
- 9 Editor's note. Aleksandr Dmitriyevich Shuvayev (1886–1943) joined the Russian Army in 1904 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and served in a variety of command and staff posts during the civil war. Following the war, he continued his service as a staff officer. Shuvayev was arrested in 1937 and sentenced to prison, dying two months after his release.
- 10 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, pp.132–33.
- 11 *Ibid*, p.131.

- 12 *Ibid*, p.134.
- 13 *Ibid*, pp.138–39.
- 14 *Ibid*, Page not indicated in the original.
- 15 *Ibid*, p.146.
- 16 General Sikorski, in his book, *Along the Vistula and Wkra*, mistakenly believes that the fighting around Wianzowna took place during the night of 16–17 August.
- 17 Order no. 110 to the Polish Third Army, which was intercepted on 14 August by the Red 12th Army, became known to the Western Front commander only on 15 August.
- 18 Some of our historians point out that this episode took place in Ciechanow, putting forth the figure of 1,200 prisoners taken. This actually took place in the area of Sonsk and Sarnowa Gora.
- 19 Sikorski, *Nad Visloi i Vkroi*, p.154.
- 20 In Faury's opinion, the Polish Fifth Army's actions throughout 14–16 August are a shining example of how an awful operational situation may be changed under the influence of tactical successes. To be sure, the latter took place exclusively due to a series of major failures by the Red 4th Army's headquarters.
- 21 The details of the organization of this offensive are traced in the following manner: By the close of 16 August the Polish Fourth Army was supposed to reach the front Radun—Zelechow—Gonczyce. It divisions were being directed as follows: the 21st Infantry Division on Lukow and Siedlce; the commander of the Polish Fourth Army, General Ridz-Smigly, was with this division in order to speed up its offensive pace; the 16th Infantry Division was directed toward Zelechow, Stoczek and Kaluszyn. The 14th Infantry Division, which is where Pilsudski was, was moving along the Warsaw highway toward Gonczyce, Garwolin and Novo-Minsk.

While securing the Polish Fourth Army's fist from the right, two infantry divisions and a cavalry brigade (4th) from the Polish Third Army were assigned the following tasks: the Polish 1st Legionnaire Division was ordered from the area of the village of Pugaczew to Parzew. The 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division was directed to Wlodawa from the area north of Chelm. The 4th Cavalry Brigade, which was following in the gap between them, was to secure communications between both divisions.

In the review by Faury mentioned earlier, he offers several interesting and characteristic details about the organization of the counterblow by the "central group of armies," which we consider necessary to cite here.

The Polish Fourth Army command considered that securing of its right flank, which was supposed to be formed by the Polish Third Army's offensive echelon, which had been pulled back half a day's march, to be insufficient. Thus it broke up its right flank, echeloned from the left, in order to establish closer communications with the Polish Third Army's 1st Legionnaire Division. Faury finds this decision extremely sensible. Thus it was, from the point of view of methodical caution, but we have to at the same time point out that it was precisely thanks to this decision that the Red 16th Army's cavalry, the artillery of the 10th and 17th Rifle Divisions, and part of these divisions, fell back along the Siedlce highway right under the Poles' nose on 17 August.

- 22 In view of the fact that the 4th Army command at the moment of its retreat was not with it, the leadership of the retreat fell to the lot of comrade Gai, the commander of the 3rd Cavalry Corps. He broke through the enemy's encirclement ring twice with the 3rd Cavalry Corps. The breakthroughs were eased by the circumstance that all of the pursuing Polish armies were approaching the East Prussian border at various times, such as: on 21 and 23 August the Polish First Army reached Mlawa and Chorzele; on 24 August the Polish Fourth Army's lead units were approaching Kolno; the Polish Second Army occupied Grajewo on 25 August; as regards the Polish Fifth Army, it followed behind Gai's cavalry corps, insofar as the latter managed to break through its encirclement ring around Mlawa.



- 23 To be sure, we also enjoyed such favorable accidents, having seized an order for the Polish Third Army, although we did not react to it in time.
- 24 Faury makes a very valuable admission, saying that in the beginning of the operation on the Vistula it seemed to all of the military specialists that the fate of Poland was *completely doomed* (our emphasis) and that not only was the strategic situation hopeless, but there were threatening symptoms in terms of the Polish forces' morale, which, it seemed, must finally bring the country to ruin.
- 25 The 21st Rifle Division, the Red 3rd Army's reserve, upon first hearing of the enemy's occupation of the village of Druskeniki, was brought up by the 3rd Army commander, comrade Lazarevich, on 27 September, to the area of the village of Ostrino; the 2nd Rifle Division (transferred to the 3rd Army) was at this time on the march from the village of Zhirmuny to the village of Ozery.
- 26 This was chiefly expressed in the shortages of clothing.
- 27 Editor's note. The name of the country's parliament.

## Chapter 19—The 1920 Campaign on the Crimea—Tavriya Front

- 1 B. Shustov, *Krymskaya ASSR*, Izdatel'stvo Gosplan, Moscow, 1927, p.33.
- 2 Editor's note. Aleksei Vasil'yevich Mokrousov (1887–1959) was drafted into the Russian navy in 1908. During the civil war he commanded Soviet forces in Ukraine. Following the civil war he held a number of economic and diplomatic positions and later took part in the Spanish civil war and the Second World War.
- 3 Editor's note. Georgii Vladimirovich Nemirovich-Danchenko (1889–1939) was the son of the Russian dramatist Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko. During the civil war he headed the publication section of the South Russian government until his removal by Vrangeli. Nemirovich-Danchenko was close to the early Nazis in Germany following the civil war and he later moved to France.
- 4 Editor's note. This is probably Nikolai Nikolayevich Leuchtenberg (1868–1928), who joined the Russian Army in 1891 and fought in the First World War. He was active in anti-Bolshevik circles and was Krasnov's representative in Berlin to secure German aid for his forces. The duke was in exile in France after 1920.
- 5 Editor's note. Nikolai Nikolayevich Romanov (1856–1929) was first cousin to Emperor Nicholas II. He joined the army in 1873 and fought in the Russo-Turkish War. Upon the outbreak of the First World War, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces until relieved by the emperor in 1915, after which he successfully commanded Russian forces in the Caucasus. He left Russia in 1920 and settled in France.
- 6 Editor's note. Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Krivoshein (1857–1921) received a legal education and gradually rose in the government bureaucracy. During the civil war he escaped to southern Russia and served in Denikin's government and later headed Vrangeli's South Russian Government, where he sought to win over the peasantry through agricultural reforms. Following the fall of the Crimea, Krivoshein died in exile in Germany.
- 7 Editor's note. Pyotr Arkad'yevich Stolypin (1862–1911) joined the government service in 1885 and later served as provincial governor and interior minister, in which post he was instrumental in helping to put down civil unrest following the revolution of 1905. He was appointed prime minister in 1906 and sought to put through sweeping agricultural reforms to strengthen the monarchy. Following a number of attempts on his life, he was assassinated.
- 8 Before Vrangeli's assumption of the command of the remnants of the Volunteer Army gathered in the Crimea, the defense of the Crimea was led by General Slashchyov.
- 9 Editor's note. Afrikan Petrovich Bogayevskii (1873–1934) joined the army in 1890 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded units in the Volunteer Army and

with Vrangeli's forces and was elected *ataman* of the Cossack Host. Following the White defeat, he emigrated to the Balkans and France.

- 10 Editor's note. Anatolii Kiprianovich Kel'chevskii (1869–1923) joined the Russian Army in 1891 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war, he held a number of high-ranking staff positions with the White forces in southern Russia. Kel'chevskii was later relieved and exiled by Vrangeli' for political intrigues and died in exile in Germany.
- 11 Editor's note. Aleksandr Maksimovich Du-Shail (1885–1945) studied in Russia before the war and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he served in various administrative posts with the White forces in south Russia, until his arrest in 1920 for Cossack separatist intrigues. He was released and spent the rest of his life in exile.
- 12 The editorial board was unable to determine sufficiently precise figures describing the sides' forces before the start of decisive operations in Northern Tavriya. However, despite the contradictory nature of the materials at the disposal of the editorial board, we may fully and categorically maintain that by the beginning of the operation Vrangeli' had an approximately two-to-one superiority over the part of the 13th Army facing him.
- 13 According to some data, by the beginning of June the overall ration strength of Vrangeli's army had reached 150,000. This coincides approximately with the admission by Vrangeli' himself that there were six mouths in his army for every soldier.
- 14 Editor's note. This is now the city of Zaporozh'ye.
- 15 The journalist, G. N. Rakovskii, who was close to the Don Army's leadership, maintains in his book, *The End of the Whites* ("Volya Rossii" publishers, 1921), that Vrangeli' initially pursued more modest goals. He simply sought to carry out a sortie for food out of the "Crimean bottle" to the continent, which is why he had to move to the line indicated in point one of Vrangeli's above-cited plan. Operations in the Caucasus, according to Rakovskii, were not initially planned at all. It was planned to raise a revolt along the Don for the purpose of politically securing the main operation from the flanks, and to link up with the Ukrainian rebels.
- 16 Editor's note. Ivan Ivanovich Raudmets (1892–1937) joined the Russian Army in 1915 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded small units along several fronts. Following the war, he continued to serve in the army until his arrest and execution during Stalin's military purge.
- 17 Editor's note. Pyotr Konstantinovich Pisarev (1874–1967) joined the Russian Army in 1898 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a division and corps with the White armies in southern Russia. He lived in exile from 1920.
- 18 Editor's note. Fyodor Fyodorovich Abramov (1871–1963) joined the Russian Army in 1888 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a regiment, division and corps in the White armies in southern Russia. He was in exile from 1920 and collaborated with the Germans during the Second World War. He later fled to the US and died there.
- 19 Editor's note. Vladimir Stepanovich Nesterovich (1895–1925) joined the Russian Army in 1916 and the Red Army two years later. During the civil war he commanded infantry and cavalry units. Following the war, he served in a number of military and diplomatic posts.
- 20 Editor's note. Vasilii Ivanovich Morozov (1888–1950) joined the Russian Army in 1908 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a regiment and division with the White armies in southern Russia until he went into exile in 1920. During the Second World War he raised Cossack troops for the Germans, but managed to avoid repatriation to the USSR and died in exile in Austria.
- 21 Editor's note. Aleksandr Petrovich Revishin (1870–1920) joined the Russian Army in 1889 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded a cavalry brigade and division with the White units in southern Russia. Revishin was captured by the Reds and presumably executed.

- 22 It is of no little interest that in his memoirs General Slashchyov speaks of some sort of unbelievably difficult and heroic battles by his corps.
- 23 Editor's note. Martyn Ivanovich Latsis (real name, Yan Fridrikhovich Sudrabs) (1888–1938) joined the Bolshevik faction in 1905 and during the civil war held a number of positions in the *Cheka*. Following the war, he continued to serve in the party and government apparatus until his arrest and execution during Stalin's purge.
- 24 Editor's note. Vladimir Konstantinovich Vitkovskii (1885–1978) joined the Russian Army in 1903 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a brigade, division and a corps with the White forces in southern Russia. He later took an active part in émigré affairs in Europe and the US.
- 25 Editor's note. Ivan Gavrilovich Barabovich (1874–1947) joined the Russian Army in 1894 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded a regiment, brigade, division, and a corps with the White forces in southern Russia. He was heavily involved in émigré activities after 1920 and died in exile in Germany.
- 26 Ivan Fyodorovich Fed'ko (1897–1939) joined the Russian Army in 1917 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded various units in Ukraine. Following the war, he held a number of increasingly important posts in the central military apparatus, until his arrest and execution during Stalin's purge of the military.
- 27 This is how comrade Lysenko, the commander of the 2nd Cavalry Division, describes the events of 29/VI in his report to the corps commander, comrade Zhloba: "The division had gathered on the church square in the village of Chernigovka at 0600. Due to the lead units leaving the village late, the division was delayed in the latter until 0900. Up to 12 enemy planes appeared from the northwest and dropped bombs on the village. At 1000 the division left the village of Chernigovka and moved with the 1st Cavalry Division along the road. Upon reaching the villages of Kontenusfel'd and Shparrau, the division turned to the left and went along the valley in the direction of the village of Rudnerveid, where it arrived at 1200. From there the division moved along the road to the village of Aleksandertal', but upon reaching the hill three kilometers west of the village, noted the enemy's movement of up to a cavalry division in strength, with two armored cars, from the village of Frantsital'. The division moved to the village of Mariental' and began to gather along the southern outskirts of the latter, in the woods. Having noticed this, the enemy began to move left along his front and went over to the attack. The 4th Brigade's left flank could not withstand it and began to fall back in the direction of the village of Kontenusfel'd, which also forced the 3rd Brigade, which intended to counterattack, to fall back to the valley of the Yushanly River. Eight enemy planes headed toward the division's retreating units and Dybenko's division and, having dropped up to 20 bombs, disrupted the troops. Losses among the men and horses are significant and five guns from the 2nd Artillery Battalion were knocked out and their horses and crews wounded, as a result of which the guns were abandoned, but were recovered completely as the result of a second attack by the division's units. Upon gathering on the outskirts of the village of Gnadenfel'd, the division, together with the group's remaining cavalry, attacked at 1800 and threw the enemy off the heights. The enemy, without meeting the attack, hurriedly left in the direction of the villages of Aleksandertal' and Mariental', from where, without stopping, he moved out in the direction of the villages of Manuilovka and Mariyanovka. The division gathered in the valley of the Yushanly river, having sent a detachment in pursuit. At 2000 there again appeared 20 planes over the front, which dropped up to 15 bombs. The division's losses were significant in the day's fighting and the details are being sorted out. The losses are predominantly from artillery and planes. It is necessary to speed up the dispatch of the corps' planes to the front, because there is noticeable dissatisfaction among the soliders because of the pointless losses." (This document has been stylistically edited by us. The editorial board).

Here we see the complete cooperation between cavalry and aviation among the Whites and the unreadiness of our cavalry to combat aviation.

- 28 Editor's note. Vyacheslav Matveyevich Tkachyov (1885–1965) joined the Russian Army in 1904 and became a pilot in 1912, and later fought in the First World War. During the civil war he organized and led White air units in southern Russia. Following the war, he served in the Serbian air force until his retirement in 1934. Tkachyov collaborate with the Germans during the Second World War until his arrest in 1944. He spent ten years in prison until his release in 1955.
- 29 Editor's note. Fyodor Dmitriyevich Nazarov (1884–1930) joined the Russian Army in 1914 and fought in the First world War. During the civil war he commanded units with the White forces in southern Russia. Following Vrangels's defeat in 1920, he traveled to the Far East to continue the anti-Bolshevik struggle there. He fought on the Chinese side in the brief 1929 war over the Chinese Eastern Railway. His forces were later surrounded during a cross-border raid and he committed suicide.
- 30 Editor's note. A Ukrainian term, meaning here "chief."

## Chapter 20—Operations Along the Lower Dnepr and the Kuban'

- 1 The basis of the right-bank group was the Latvian Rifle Division, which had been operating opposite Kakhovka as early as the beginning of July 1920 (see above). In the beginning of August the right-bank group included: the 15th and 52nd Rifle Divisions, as well as the Kherson group (three battalions of internal security troops). Besides this, the 51st Rifle Division, which had been transferred from the Eastern Front, was being brought up to Berislav from Apostolovo station. It arrived at the moment when the right-bank group's combat actions were developing. Thus the right-bank group consisted of the Latvian, 15th, 51st, and 52nd Rifle Divisions, and the numerically small Kherson and Nikopol' groups. On 4 August 1920 a headquarters for this group was formed. An operational staff for the group was formed and comrade R. P. Eideman took command of it. The 51st Rifle Division arrived at the moment the operation was developing, which is why it was not included in the preliminary count of the right-bank group's strength by us, although it was the strongest, having 9,787 soldiers, 182 machine guns and 24 guns. (Arkhir Krasnoi Armii, delo 58–333, list 2; delo 78–929, list 215; delo 49946, listy 30,32; delo 78–833, list 54; delo 53653, listy 291–93).
- 2 The front line in the first days of August is shown on the map.
- 3 Arkhir Krasnoi Armii, delo 81–201, list 123; delo 78–833, listy 14, 57, 128–32; delo 78–832, listy 6, 60–70, 75.
- 4 All figures are rounded out.
- 5 Arkhir Krasnoi Armii, delo 53653, listy 291–93; delo 78929, list 180.
- 6 There were cases in which an infantry regiment, numbering 3,600 rifles and eight machine guns, expended 2,500,000 rifle rounds in a single day. There was an incident in 1916 in which an artillery brigade, consisting of 36 light guns, expended 12,000 shells in a single day, that is, 334 (rounded out) shells per gun.
- 7 Arkhir Krasnoi Armii, delo 58–263, list 10.
- 8 *Ibid*, delo 78–832, listy 112–15; delo 78–833, listy 235, 237; delo 81–204, list 123; delo 58–734, list 77; delo 58–734, listy 85–86.
- 9 *Ibid*, delo 78–929, list 27.
- 10 *Ibid*, delo 78–929. No page number indicated.
- 11 The first contained the army supply section, the army artillery depot, pharmacy branches nos. 1 and 18, an isolation checkpoint, and disinfection train no. 4. The second included food stores nos. 1 and 4, the army bakery, field hospital no. 283, the 10th Worker's Battalion; an isolation checkpoint was also located at Sinel'nikovo station.

- 12 These data and also all other data featured above and below on the organization of the right-bank group's rear were compiled on the basis of the following files in the Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 49948, list 282; delo 49946, list 27.
- 13 Arkhiv Krasnoi Armii, delo 78–929, list 100; delo 58–275, listy 169–74.
- 14 In the fighting for the Korsun' Monastery the 15th Division suffered heavily and the headquarters and the division commander, comrade Solodukhin, perished. The division had been reinforced before this in Yekaterinoslav and took in a high percentage of poorly trained and politically shaky contingents from among deserters.
- 15 Editor's note. Mikhail Arkhipovich Fostikov (1886–1966) joined the Russian Army in 1907 and fought in the First world War. During the civil war he commanded a regiment, brigade and a division with the White forces in southern Russia. Following the White defeat, he settled in Yugoslavia.
- 16 Now Krasnodar.
- 17 Aktara on the map.
- 18 Editor's note. This probably refers to Viktor Viktorovich Kharlamov (1869–1933), who joined the Russian army in 1887 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and World War I. He joined the White movement in 1918 and was later appointed chief of the army's reserve units. He emigrated in 1920 and died in Bulgaria.
- 19 Editor's note. Aleksandr Nikolaevich Cherepov (1877–1964) joined the Russian Army in 1896 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a brigade and a division with the White forces in southern Russia. He later settled in Yugoslavia and collaborated with the Germans during the Second World War. He later settled in the US.
- 20 Editor's note. Nikolai Gavrilovich Babiyev (1887–1920) joined the Russian Army in 1906 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded cavalry units with the White forces in southern Russia. Babiyev was killed in action.
- 21 Editor's note. Nikolai Vladimirovich Skoblin (1893–1937/38?) joined the Russian Army in 1911 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded units in the Volunteer Army up to the level of division. He was coopted by Soviet intelligence in exile and carried out assignments against Russian émigrés and others. He disappeared following General Miller's kidnapping and is presumed to have been killed.
- 22 Editor's note. Nikolai Vsevolodovich Shinkarenko (1890–1968) joined the Russian Army in 1909 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded various units with the White forces in southern Russia. Following the war, he lived in Western Europe and later took part in the Spanish civil war on the anti-Republican side and ended up settling in Spain.
- 23 This new operation was the result of Vrangeli's overestimation of the overall strategic situation in connection with events along the Polish-Soviet front.

As we will see below, these events also forced the French government to change its point of view toward Vrangeli's escapade and to search for businesslike contact with him.

In overestimating the Poles' successes along the banks of the Vistula and attaching exaggerated significance to the White rebellion in Ukraine, Vrangeli renounced the continuation of further operations in the Kuban', which in his opinion were possible only on the condition of abandoning Tavriya and retreating behind Perekop, but also put forward a project for the "creation of a united and continuous front with a united military leadership" for the unification of the struggle against Bolshevism. The united front was being mulled together with the Poles, while the political goal required the shifting of the center of gravity to the western operational axes. In order to realize this project, Vrangeli looked for support from the French government. However, nothing came of this project. The Poles agreed only to the formation of the so-called Russian Third Army, made up of the remnants of Russian White Guard detachments (Bulak-

- Balachowicz and others) which had gone over to the Polish side at various times and which would officially be subordinated to General Vrangel', but would actually be led by Savinkov.
- 24 Editor's note. Nikolai Emil'yevich Bredov (1873–?) joined the Russian Army in 1891 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded White forces in Ukraine and the Crimea. Following the war, he immigrated to Bulgaria, where he lived until his arrest by Soviet authorities during the closing months of the Second World War. His subsequent fate is unknown.
  - 25 As Vrangel' points out in his notes, beginning on 11 October he set about a new regrouping, which had been brought about by the threatening pressure of the Red 13th Army's units along the Melitopol' axis. It was precisely Vrangel' who transferred to the eastern sector of his front the Kornilov Division, which on 11 October once more crossed near Nikopol' to the left bank of the Dnepr and headed east. At the same time, the Markov Division was gradually being pulled back to the left bank of the Dnepr. All of the cavalry from the Whites' groups that had crossed to the Dnepr's right bank was unified under the General Babiye's command and moved to Apostolovo station.
  - 26 In his notes, Vrangel' points to a report he received from his aviation that the Reds were abandoning the Kakhovka bridgehead.
  - 27 According to Vrangel's own testimony, the retreat of the III Corps' units and former cavalry group of General Babiye, who was killed on 13 October, over the Dnepr flats, took place in extreme disorder.
  - 28 Editor's note. Konstantin Alekseyevich Avksent'yevskii (1890–1941) joined the Russian Army in 1916 and fought in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and held a number of field and political assignments in the army, including that of commander-in-chief of the Far Eastern Republic's army. Following the war, he held other command posts until his retirement in 1931. He was arrested in 1938 and freed the following year.
  - 29 Editor's note. Daniil Pavlovich Dratsenko (1876–1945) joined the Russian Army in 1893 and fought in the Russo-Japanese and First World wars. During the civil war he commanded various White units in southern Russia and Vrangel's Second Army. Following the White defeat, Dratsenko emigrated to Yugoslavia, where he collaborated with the Germans during the Second World War.

## Chapter 21—The Elimination of Vrangel'

- 1 The 1st Cavalry Army command (Budyonnyi, Voroshilov) at a meeting in Khar'kov, which took place in October, proposed to the Southern Front command and the commander-in-chief, who was present at the meeting, a more decisive plan for the operational employment of the 1st Cavalry Army. According to this proposal, the cavalry army was to break through the Sal'kovo isthmus into the Crimea and cut off from the south the path of retreat of Vrangel's army. This plan was turned down by both the Southern Front command and the high command. At present, when the historian possesses materials characterizing the condition of the Whites' rear and the disposition of their forces by the beginning of the Red Army's decisive operations, it is impossible not to admit that the cavalry army command's bold and very risky plan might have yielded completely exceptional results in those conditions. This is how Vrangel' himself describes the situation around Sal'kovo on the night of 29–30 October, when the movement of the cavalry army's southern group toward the Sal'kovo isthmus had already taken shape.

“The Reds' 1st Cavalry Army had moved with its entire mass into the rear of our armies, striving to cut them off from the Crimea. Meanwhile, General Kutepov was moving slowly. Throughout all of 29 October he continued to remain in the Seragozy area. I issued him orders over the radio to hurriedly move toward Sal'kovo, while striving to press the enemy breakthrough



against the Sivash. However, it was clear that the enemy would reach the isthmus before General Kutepov's units could arrive there. The enemy was moving unhindered and one could expect him in the Sal'kovo area by the evening of the 30th. The fortified position which was covering the exit from the Crimea was only occupied by weak guard commands. The Red units could have easily seized the Sal'kovo defile in a raid, thus cutting any communications between the Crimea and the army. It was necessary to hurriedly occupy the defile with troops. I dispatched an order to General Abramov to dispatch during the night of 29–30 October toward Sal'kovo the 7th Infantry Division, which was concentrated in Melitopol', under the cover of armored trains. Throughout the night troop trains moved along the railroad. However, as the result of the obstructed railway, this movement went extremely slowly. The temperature went down to  $-20$  degrees centigrade. The water towers, which had not been adapted for such cold, froze. The troop trains got stuck along the way. Horrible hours set in. I had no troops at hand and access to the Crimea was open to the enemy. Throughout all of 30 October everyone who could be gathered who was capable of carrying a weapon was dispatched toward Sal'kovo; the cadet school from Simferopol', an artillery school, my escort; General Fostikov's Kuban' units, which had not had time to finish forming, were summoned from Feodosiya. At twilight the Red cavalry's forward units reached Sal'kovo and began to exchange fire with our weak units."

This testimony by Vrangl' seems to leave no doubt that given a vigorous movement to the Sal'kovo isthmus; the Red cavalry could have preempted the Whites and broken into the Crimea.

- 2 The Comrade Frunze Study in the RKKA Military Academy, delo 28, listy 79–80.
- 3 *Ibid*, delo 30, listy 53–54. According to data available in delo 28, list 52 from the same study, the enemy's overall strength is shown as 57,815 infantry and cavalry.
- 4 The reader may find some interesting data in the third volume of M. V. Frunze's complete works.
- 5 The 1st Cavalry Army's transfer took place in extremely difficult conditions: the autumn rains, the necessity of moving through area which had been seized by Petlyura's bandits, and the significant wear and tear of the horse park, which had also not been renewed by regular upkeep, all slowed down the pace of the army's transfer. On 4 October V. I. Lenin telegraphed the 1st Cavalry Army's revolutionary military council: "It is extremely important to make every effort to speed up the movement of your army to the Southern Front. I request all measures for this, including heroic ones. Telegraph me just what you are doing."
- 6 Editor's note. This may refer to Vasilii Aleksandrovich Yushkevich (1897–1951), who was drafted into the Russian Army in 1915 and fought in the First world War. He joined the Red Army in 1919 and commanded small units. He later fought in the Spanish Civil War and was arrested in 1938, but released the following year. During the Second World War Yushkevich commanded armies and a military district following the war.
- 7 Editor's note. Grigorii Ivanovich Dolgopyatov (1897–1948) joined the Russian Army in 1915 and fought in the First World War. During the civil war he commanded a regiment, brigade and a division with the White forces in southern Russia. Following the White defeat, he moved to Czechoslovakia, where he was arrested by the Soviets in 1945 and held in the USSR. Dolgopyatov returned to Czechoslovakia in 1948.
- 8 Editor's note. Pavel Grigor'yevich Kantserov (1866–?) joined the Russian Army in 1885 and fought in the First World War. He later joined the White movement and commanded divisions under Denikin and Vrangl'. Following the White defeat, he was evacuated to Romania, where all trace of him was lost.
- 9 The commander-in-chief noted this circumstance in his telegram no. 640/op, to the commander of the Southern Front, pointing out that only the Latvian Division and the 1st Cavalry Army fought during the most decisive moments of the operation, without any kind of assistance from the front's other units. The Comrade Frunze Study, delo 28, list 56.



- 10 On the night of 10–11 November, following great difficulties, we managed to throw across the Sivash a thin 200-meter footbridge, two logs wide. The 266th Rifle Regiment (30th Rifle Division) was the first to cross this fragile bridge unnoticed by the enemy. The regiment attacked the enemy's position along the Crimean shore under already heavy fire and, despite huge losses established itself in the enemy's first line of trenches. The 30th Rifle Division's remaining regiments began to cross behind the 266th Rifle Regiment. The fighting was extremely stubborn and bloody. The losses of some units (89th Rifle Brigade) were up to 75%. By the close of 11 November the 30th Rifle Division had captured the Tyup-Dzhankoi area and had reached Taganash station. (see map 22)

## Supplement. The Campaign in Bukhara 1920 and a Brief Sketch of the 1921 and 1922 Campaigns

- 1 Editor's note. "Usul-i-jadid" ("a new method") was a socio-political reform movement that began in the early years of the 20th century in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.
- 2 The local name for the native bandit movement.
- 3 Editor's note. Dzhunaid-Khan (1857–1938) rose to power in the service of the khan of Khiva and later became *de facto* ruler of the khanate. He fought the Soviets over the years, but was defeated and fled abroad, although he continued to lead anti-Soviet groups into the 1930s.
- 4 Editor's note. The Khorezm People's Soviet Republic was proclaimed in February 1920 to succeed the Khiva Khanate. It was renamed the Khorezm Soviet Socialist Republic in October 1923 and a year later was divided between the Uzbek and Turkmen soviet socialist republics.
- 5 Editor's note. An area in eastern Central Asia to the east and southeast of Lake Balkhash.
- 6 Editor's note. One of the tribes inhabiting Turkmenistan.
- 7 Seven rifle regiments, 3 ½ regiments of cavalry, and 40 light and five heavy guns (according to comrade Rozhdestvenskii's materials).
- 8 Editor's note. The Uzbeks are a Turkic-speaking ethnic group, concentrated in modern-day Uzbekistan and surrounding countries.
- 9 Editor's note. The Tadzhiks are a Persian-speaking ethnic group residing in modern-day Tadzhikistan, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan.
- 10 Editor's note. Ivan Panfilovich Belov (1893–1938) was drafted into the Russian Army in 1913 and took part in the First World War. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and commanded Soviet forces in Central Asia. Following the civil war, Belov commanded several units and military districts. He was arrested during Stalin's purge and executed.
- 11 G. V. Zinov'yev, the commander of the 1st Army, initially took this task upon himself: he and a cavalry detachment chased the emir as far as the town of Qarshi.
- 12 Editor's note. The Bukharan Soviet People's Republic was proclaimed in October 1920, following the overthrow of the emir. The territory of the republic was renamed the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic in 1925.
- 13 Editor's note. Ismail Enver Pasha (1881–1922) joined the Turkish Army in 1903 and in 1908 was one of the leaders of the Young Turk movement that curtailed the powers of the sultan. He became war minister in 1914 and led the Ottoman Empire into war on Germany's side. Following Turkey's defeat, he fled abroad and later offered his services to the Soviets in Central Asia. He betrayed them, however, and became leader of local anti-Soviet forces and was killed in battle.



# Index

- 10th Army (Reds) 40, 64, 66–67, 71, 104–05, 107–08, 183–87, 192–95, 197, 200–01, 203, 206–07, 211–12, 231, 234–36, 238–47
- 10th Cavalry Division (Reds) 299, 315
- 10th Cavalry Division (Whites) 233, 240, 299, 315
- 10th Infantry Division (Poles) 283, 286, 304, 306–07, 309–11, 315, 372, 374–75, 377
- 10th Rifle Division (Reds) 127, 129–30, 139, 283, 285, 304, 317, 320, 377, 390–91
- 11th Army (Reds) 105, 109–111, 243–44, 248
- 11th Cavalry Division (Reds) 239, 440–41, 444, 446
- 11th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37
- 11th Infantry Division (Poles) 263, 286, 304, 306–07, 315, 371
- 11th Infantry Division (Whites) 151, 168
- 11th Rifle Division (Reds) 111, 129, 264, 283, 285, 304, 374
- 12th Army (Reds) 109–11, 123, 183, 195, 197, 200, 203–05, 214, 224, 231, 234–35, 269, 270, 272–74, 276–81, 290, 292–95, 317, 319, 335, 337–38, 341, 345–49, 351–56, 359, 369, 377–83, 386, 388–89, 430
- 12th Infantry Division (Japanese) 46
- 12th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 290
- 12th Infantry Division (Whites) 147, 167–68, 170, 403, 412
- 12th Rifle Division (Reds) 188, 190, 232, 234, 236, 238, 287, 290, 303, 376
- 13th Army (Reds) 187–88, 190–94, 201–02, 206–07, 213–15, 219–26, 231–35, 265, 275, 393, 396–407 411–12, 416, 421–22, 424–25, 428–29, 431–36, 438–39, 441–42, 445–51, 453
- 13th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 289–90
- 13th Infantry Division (Whites) 168, 399, 403, 406–07, 412, 45
- 13th Rifle Division (Reds) 184–86
- 14th Army (Reds) 195, 197, 201–02, 204–05, 209, 213–16, 218–26, 229, 231–35, 263, 269–70, 272–74 276–81, 289–90, 295–96, 298, 317, 319–20, 335, 337–38, 365, 383, 386
- 14th Cavalry Division (Reds) 297, 437, 441, 449
- 14th Infantry Division (Poles) 283, 304, 314
- 14th Rifle Division (Reds) 184, 187, 190, 194, 238
- 154th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37
- 15th Army (Reds) 122, 124, 126–27, 129, 282–83, 285–88, 299–300, 303–05, 307, 311–12, 314–16, 320 322, 340, 343, 369, 371, 373–76, 379 82, 389
- 15th Cavalry Division (Reds) 264, 283, 285, 287, 315
- 15th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37
- 15th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 278–79, 286, 304, 311, 314, 377–78
- 15th Rifle Division (Reds) 236, 238, 396, 398, 401, 403, 414–17, 422, 428, 437, 448, 451, 453, 455
- 16th Army (Reds) 130, 263, 283, 285–88, 294, 300, 303–05, 310–14, 316–17, 320–22, 326, 332, 338–41, 343, 363, 369, 371–73, 377–78, 380–81, 386
- 16th Cavalry Division (Reds) 236, 425, 426, 434, 436, 438–39, 441–44, 454, 470
- 16th Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 16th Infantry Division (Poles) 263, 283, 304
- 16th Rifle Division (Reds) 187, 190–91, 194, 236, 299, 304, 374
- 17th Cavalry Division (Reds) 270, 272, 277, 391
- 17th Infantry Division (Poles) 263, 283, 287, 307, 309–10, 315, 360–63, 373

- 17th Rifle Division (Reds) 283, 285, 304, 320, 377, 381, 386
- 18th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 290, 296–97, 352, 358–60, 362–63, 373–75, 379, 391
- 18th Infantry Division (Whites) 147
- 18th *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36
- 18th Rifle Division (Reds) 285, 303, 307, 314, 374, 376, 379–80
- 19th Rifle Division (Reds) 127, 129
- 1st Army (Reds) 40, 51–3, 55, 57, 96, 132–33, 135–38, 140–41, 143–45, 147, 150–55, 161, 163–65, 169, 181, 462, 470
- 1st Cavalry Army (Reds) xviii, 226, 231–36, 238, 239, 241–47, 262, 278, 280–81, 289–90, 292–98, 316–17, 319–20, 333–35, 337–38, 341–43, 345, 347–48, 352–54, 359, 369, 378, 380, 383, 386, 388, 429–31, 434, 436–41, 443–44, 446–50
- 1st Cavalry Division (Poles) 294, 296–97
- 1st Cavalry Division (Whites) 398, 403, 405, 422, 425, 446
- 1st Division (Estonian) 129
- 1st Don Cavalry Division (Whites) 239, 435, 440
- 1st Don Division (Whites) 437, 440–41, 443
- 1st Infantry Division (Poles) 29
- 1st Infantry Division (Whites) 127, 219, 223, 283, 287, 304, 306
- 1st Kuban' Cavalry Division (Vrangel') 425, 435, 446
- 1st Kuban' Division (Denikin) 194, 240
- 1st Legionnaire Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 277–78, 289, 294, 296–97, 352
- 1st Moscow Worker's Division (Reds) 188
- 1st Rebel Division (Makhno) 193
- 1st Rifle Division (Reds) 239, 425–26, 428, 437
- 1st Siberian Army (Reds) 50
- 1st Siberian Division (Reds) 51
- 1st Trans–Dnepr Division (Reds) 184
- 1st Ukrainian Army (Reds) 195
- 20th *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36
- 20th Rifle Division (Reds) 136, 140–41, 143–44, 150, 153–54, 238, 246
- 212th Infantry Division (Germans) 37
- 215th Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 217th Infantry Division (Germans) 37
- 21st Cavalry Division (Reds) 425–26, 436–37, 439, 441, 443–44
- 21st Rifle Division (Reds) 92, 177, 207, 210, 212, 217, 238–39, 279, 285, 304, 371, 373, 377,
- 224th *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36
- 22nd *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36
- 22nd Rifle Division (Reds) 140, 144, 212, 420
- 23rd Rifle Division (Reds) 190, 194, 212, 238, 285, 403, 428, 436, 438, 442, 451
- 24th Rifle Division (Reds) 136, 140–41, 143–44, 151, 153–54, 161, 166, 169–70, 292, 295
- 25th Rifle Division (Reds) 140, 144–45, 154–55, 163–64, 202, 290, 294–95
- 26th Rifle Division (Reds) 138, 141, 144, 166–67, 170, 174, 176–77
- 27th Rifle Division (Reds) 138, 144–45, 166–67, 170, 176–77, 179, 299, 304, 321, 369, 371
- 28th Rifle Division (Reds) 137, 153, 156, 202, 238, 245
- 29th Rifle Division (Reds) 264, 283, 285
- 2nd Army (Reds) 40, 52–3, 55, 57, 132, 136–38, 143, 145, 151, 153–56, 163–67, 169, 202
- 2nd Cavalry Army (Reds) 421–28, 432, 434–37, 439, 441–50, 454
- 2nd Cavalry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37
- 2nd Cavalry Division (Reds) 396–97, 400–03, 405, 425–26, 436–37, 441–42, 444
- 2nd Cavalry Division (Whites) 398, 401, 403, 405–06, 422, 446
- 2nd Division (Poles) 29
- 2nd Don Cavalry Division (Whites) 403, 435
- 2nd Don Division (Whites) 398, 406, 435, 437, 440–41, 443, 450
- 2nd Don Rifle Division (Reds) 436–38, 441, 450–51
- 2nd Kuban' Cavalry Division (Whites) 424, 453
- 2nd *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36
- 2nd Legionnaire Infantry Division (Poles) 283, 304, 314
- 2nd Partisan Division (Reds) 184
- 2nd Pskov Division (Reds) 119
- 2nd Rifle Division (Reds) 121, 139, 145, 148, 151, 154–55, 299, 304, 317, 403, 470

- 2nd Terek Division (Whites) 194  
 30th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37  
 30th Rifle Division (Reds) 436, 438, 441–44, 450–51, 454–55  
 31st Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37  
 31st Infantry Division (Whites) 209  
 31st Rifle Division (Reds) 144–145, 163  
 32nd Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37  
 32nd Rifle Division (Reds) 201, 238, 246  
 33rd Rifle Division (Reds) 236, 299, 304, 376, 379, 420  
 34th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37  
 34th Infantry Division (Whites) 399, 403, 407, 412, 453  
 34th Rifle Division (Reds) 243, 399, 403, 407, 412, 453  
 35th *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36  
 35th Rifle Division (Reds) 139, 144–45, 148, 152, 166–67, 170, 174, 176  
 37th Rifle Division (Reds) 212, 238  
 38th Rifle Division (Reds) 238  
 39th Infantry Division (imperial) 24, 26, 44  
 39th Rifle Division (Reds) 238, 246  
 3rd Army (Reds) 37, 40, 49–53, 57, 93, 131–35, 137–38, 148, 154, 156, 164–65, 169, 171, 177–78, 195, 299, 300,–01, 303–05, 307, 309, 311–12, 314, 320–21, 340, 343, 360, 369, 371–74, 376–79, 381, 388–90  
 3rd Cavalry Corps (Reds) 303, 305, 307, 311, 314–16, 320, 371–72, 374, 376, 380–81  
 3rd Cavalry Division (Reds) 144–45  
 3rd Cavalry Division (Whites) 398, 401  
 3rd Don Division (Whites) 398, 403–04, 406, 438, 440–41  
 3rd Guards Division (imperial) 67  
 3rd Infantry Division (Poles) 29, 297  
 3rd Infantry Division (Whites) 219, 222  
 3rd Kuban' Cavalry Division (Whites) 240, 424  
 3rd *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36  
 3rd Legionnaire Infantry Division (Poles) 283, 287, 294, 296–97, 352  
 3rd Rifle Division (Reds) 111, 212, 219, 232, 235, 396–97, 400, 425, 428, 441  
 3rd Turkestan Rifle Division (Reds) 462  
 40th Rifle Division (Reds) 232, 236, 238, 403–05, 428  
 41st Rifle Division (Reds) 188, 190, 220, 223, 232–33, 249, 273, 289, 295  
 42nd Rifle Division (Reds) 188, 219, 232, 275, 397, 428, 436, 438  
 44th Rifle Division (Reds) 205, 270, 273, 277–79, 289, 295  
 45th Infantry Division (Germans) 36  
 45th Rifle Division (Reds) 205, 220, 272–73, 278–79, 289, 292, 294–97  
 46th Rifle Division (Reds) 220, 224–26, 232–33, 235, 396–97, 400–01, 403, 425–26, 428, 434, 436, 441, 443–44  
 47th Rifle Division (Reds) 204, 270, 277–78  
 48th *Landwehr* Division (Germans) 36  
 4th Army (Reds) 52–53, 57, 133, 135, 140, 143, 164–65, 169, 181, 212, 299–300, 303, 305, 307, 311–12, 314–15, 320–21, 340, 343, 357, 360–62, 369, 371–76, 378–82, 386, 388, 390, 431–32, 434, 436, 439, 441–42, 445, 448–49, 451, 461  
 4th Cavalry Division (Reds) 296–97, 437, 441, 448–49  
 4th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 286, 304  
 4th Infantry Division (Whites) 167, 174  
 4th Kuban' Cavalry Division (Whites) 424  
 4th Kuban' Division (Whites) 424  
 4th Rifle Division (Reds) 110–11, 139, 235, 264, 270, 283, 285, 304, 374  
 50th Rifle Division (Reds) 243, 246  
 51st Rifle Division (Reds) 412, 417, 421–23, 428, 437–38, 444, 447, 451, 453–55  
 52nd Cavalry Division (Reds) 421  
 52nd Rifle Division (Reds) 396–97, 401–03, 416–17, 421–23, 426–28, 434–35, 437–39, 441–42, 444, 446, 448, 451, 453, 455  
 53rd Rifle Division (Reds) 283, 285, 287, 303, 376  
 54th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37  
 54th Rifle Division (Reds) 287, 304, 374, 376, 379–80  
 55th Rifle Division (Reds) 219, 221, 303, 386  
 56th Rifle Division (Reds) 201, 202, 207, 211, 264, 283, 285, 304  
 57th Rifle Division (Reds) 220, 223, 283, 304, 390  
 58th Rifle Division (Reds) 204, 270, 277, 295, 341, 343, 346, 378  
 59th Infantry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37

- 5th Army (Reds) 40, 51–52, 53, 55, 57, 96, 131, 132, 136–41, 143–45, 147–48, 151–56, 161–63, 165–71, 174, 176–78, 180
- 5th Cavalry Division (Reds) 428, 436, 438, 440
- 5th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 286, 290, 304, 306, 315
- 5th Rifle Division (Reds) 139, 164, 170, 174, 176–77, 299, 304
- 60th Rifle Division (Reds) 272, 279, 289–90
- 65th Rifle Division (Reds) 390
- 6th Army (Reds) 60–61, 158–59, 203, 424, 426–29, 432, 434–35, 437–38, 448, 451, 455
- 6th Cavalry Division (Reds) 296, 440–42, 444, 446
- 6th Infantry Division (Poles) 263, 283, 287, 294, 297, 304, 351, 453
- 6th Infantry Division (Ukrainian) 289, 351
- 6th Infantry Division (Whites) 147, 151, 163, 211, 422, 431, 435, 438, 440–41, 445, 453
- 6th Rifle Division (Reds) 264, 283, 285, 304, 376
- 7th Army (Reds) 96, 117–18, 123–30
- 7th Cavalry Division (Austro-Hungarians) 37
- 7th Cavalry Division (Poles) 289
- 7th Cavalry Division (Reds) 289, 438, 450–51
- 7th Infantry Division (Germans) 37
- 7th Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 289, 293, 304, 351, 436
- 7th Infantry Division (Whites) 147, 174, 431, 436, 440–41, 446
- 7th Rifle Division (Reds) 132, 165, 192, 201, 235, 270, 277–78, 290, 294–95
- 89th Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 8th Army (Reds) 105, 107–08, 183–88, 190–94, 201–02, 206–09, 212–17, 222, 224–26, 231–36, 238, 242–46
- 8th Cavalry Division (Reds) 289, 295, 298, 442
- 8th Infantry Division (Poles) 283, 286, 290, 304, 306–07, 309–11, 315
- 8th Rifle Division (Reds) 283, 285, 304, 309, 320–21, 377–78
- 91st Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 92nd Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 93rd Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 95th Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 98th Infantry Division (Germans) 36
- 9th Army (Reds) 66, 105, 107–08, 184–88, 190–91, 193–94, 197, 201, 206–07, 209–10, 212, 214–17, 226, 231–32, 234, 236, 238–47, 249, 419
- 9th Cavalry Division (Reds) 428, 436, 438
- 9th Infantry Division (Poles) 283, 304, 315, 363, 373
- 9th Rifle Division (Reds) 112, 187, 219, 223, 232, 235–236, 436, 438, 451
- Afghanistan 466, 468–69
- Aksai River 26, 186, 236, 242, 245
- Aksai 236, 242, 245
- Aktyubinsk 50, 136, 140–41
- Aleksandrovsk 26, 37, 181, 198, 397, 404, 407–08, 415–16, 421, 423–25, 427, 429, 431–32, 435–36, 438, 440
- Alekseyev Division (Whites) 239, 424
- Alekseyev, M. V. 6, 80
- Alekseyevka 206, 209, 399, 403, 439
- Aleshki 113, 203, 402–03, 417
- All-Russian Central Executive Committee 150, 253, 391–92
- Amu-Darya River 464, 466
- Annopol' 295–96, 319, 341, 348
- Antonov-Ovseyenko, V.A. 23, 25, 27, 35–37, 39–40, 112, 114
- Apostolovo 415–16, 417, 425
- Arbat 397, 449–51
- Archangel 7, 18, 45, 59–61, 86, 156, 158–59
- Ardagan 1
- Armavir 70–71, 73, 109–10, 241, 244, 247
- Armed Forces of South Russia xv, 81–82, 102–03, 183, 197–200, 203–04, 218, 230–31, 234–35, 241, 247–49, 251–52, 254, 393
- Astrakhan' Cossacks 81
- Astrakhan' 64, 73–74, 81, 93, 10911, 115
- ataman* 5
- Austria-Hungary 1, 45, 77, 258–59
- Austria 78, 88, 268
- Avksent'ev, N. D. 94
- Avksent'yevskii, K. A. 428
- Azin, V. M. 53, 55, 245
- Azov 68, 236, 239
- Baku 14, 87, 115
- Balashov 53, 64, 66, 197–98, 206, 226

- Balbochan, P. F. 79  
 Balfour, A. J. 7  
 Baltic Division (Germans) 41–42  
 Baltic Fleet 124, 128, 130  
 Baltic Sea 4, 117, 119, 123  
 Baltic States 2, 10–11, 77, 89, 117, 121–22, 130, 462  
 Barabovich, I. G. 403, 411, 417, 431, 433–36, 439, 454–55  
 Baranovichi 122, 262, 306, 314, 324  
*Basmachestvo* 87  
 Bataisk 26, 68, 194, 236, 238–42, 247  
 Batalpashinskaya 73, 110, 418, 420  
 Batum 1  
 Bavarian 2nd Cavalry Division (Germans) 36–37  
 Bavarian Soviet Republic 8  
 Beijing 5  
 Belaya River 155, 156, 161–65  
 Belaya Tserkov' 76, 279, 289–90  
 Belebei 131, 138, 140, 147, 151, 153–56, 161  
 Belgorod 23–24, 40, 197, 207, 209, 213, 232–33  
 Belorussia 12, 89, 117–19, 123, 253–56, 260, 262–63, 269, 280, 282, 286, 288, 293, 303, 305–07, 309, 311–12, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 369, 386, 391–92  
 Belorussian People's Army 351  
 Belostok 256, 315–16, 324, 326, 355, 364, 366, 381, 389  
 Belov, P. A. 143, 147, 150–51, 168, 170  
 Berdichev 270, 272, 288, 290, 292–93, 336, 346, 388  
 Berdyansk 113, 230, 234, 397, 404  
 Berezina River 126, 256, 263, 269, 279–80, 283, 285–89, 298–99, 306–07, 309–1  
 Berislav 403, 405, 414–6, 431  
 Berlin 8, 80, 332, 350  
 Berzin, R. I. 23, 27, 36, 48, 51, 53  
 Bessarabia 3, 34–35, 89, 192  
 Biala 258, 321, 378, 380–81  
 Birsk 132, 135, 138, 143, 154, 163, 166–67  
 Black Hundreds 15, 84, 331  
 Black Sea Fleet (Reds) 23, 26–27, 34, 43–44  
 Black Sea Fleet (Whites) 198  
 Black Sea 11, 36–37, 68, 71, 79–80, 88, 98, 101, 112–15, 123, 200, 204, 218, 248–49, 395, 431, 437  
 Blinov, M. F. 245  
 Blyukher, V. K. 50, 421–23  
 Bobrov 66, 104, 198, 217  
 Bobruisk 28–29, 263, 283, 305, 310, 313  
 Boguchar 64, 105, 193, 207, 214  
 Bol'shaya Belozerka 403, 441–44  
 Bol'shoi Tokmak 403, 406–7, 422, 436, 438  
 Bolshevik Party (see Communist Party)  
 Bolshevik/s xiv, 4, 9, 11, 14, 24, 27–29, 31–32, 35, 42, 67, 77–79, 85, 88, 102, 113, 193, 212, 218, 242, 269, 331, 339  
 Bolshevism 2, 8–9, 12, 21, 76–77, 122, 252, 428  
 Borisov 253, 263, 283, 285, 287  
 Borovskii, A. A. 70  
 Brest (Brest-Litovsk) 4, 36, 76, 256, 258, 297, 313, 317, 319–20, 334–36, 358, 378, 381, 386  
 Brest-Litovsk (Treaty of) 3, 5–6, 27–28, 41, 50, 66  
 Brody 297, 319, 320, 335, 356  
 Brusilov, A. A. 267  
 Bryansk 23–24, 36, 103, 139, 220, 300  
 Bubnov, A. S. xxi, xxii, 67  
 Buchanan, G. W. 5  
 Budyonnyi, S. M. 207, 210, 212, 215–17, 225–26, 231, 234–35, 239, 243, 247, 289, 296, 312, 313, 317, 319, 346, 355  
 Bugul'ma 52, 57, 131, 138, 143, 148, 151–55, 161  
 Buguruslan 131, 141, 143–44, 147–48, 151–53  
 Bukhara 459–64, 466–69, 472–73  
 Bukovina 89  
 Bulak–Balachowicz 87, 390–92  
 Bulgaria 1  
*Bund* 79  
 Buzuluk 141, 143–45, 164, 197  
 Caspian Fleet 115  
 Caspian Sea 18, 109, 115, 136, 140, 144, 181, 197, 462  
 Caspian-Caucasus Front (Reds) 96, 109  
 Caucasus Army (Whites) 198, 206, 216, 218, 240, 244  
 Caucasus Front (Reds) 231, 235–36, 239, 245, 247, 398  
 Caucasus Mountains 10, 16, 35, 71, 88, 103, 289, 327, 423–24



- Caucasus Rifle Corps (Whites) 240  
 Cecek, S. 45–47, 52, 55  
 Cecil, R. 3  
 Central Asia x, 10, 459–61  
 Central Committee (Communist Party) 133,  
 149–50, 165, 227–28, 266, 329, 384  
 Central Military Commission 93  
 Central Powers 1, 3, 37, 77, 258  
 Central *Rada* (Ukrainian) 3, 23, 26–28, 35,  
 41, 75  
 Chaikovskii, N. V. 59–60, 86  
 Chardzhou 464, 466, 468–70  
 Chelm 35, 319, 348, 351, 378, 380  
 Chelyabinsk 45–51, 131, 135–37, 161, 165,  
 168–70, 173–74, 267  
 Cherepov, A. N. 418, 420  
 Cherkassy 27, 112, 279  
 Chernigov 67, 79, 213, 216  
 China 5–6, 18, 31, 178  
 Chinda, S. 4  
 Chistopol' 51, 138, 143, 145, 148, 151–54  
 Chongar 395–98, 401–02, 440, 447, 449–51  
 Churchill, W. S. 2  
 Ciechanow 360, 369, 373, 375–76, 379,  
 381–82  
 Clemenceau, G. 9–10, 89  
 Comintern (Communist International) 268,  
 323  
 Committee of the Constituent Assembly  
 (*Komuch*) 17, 84  
 Committees of the Poor 93, 95, 149  
 Communist Party xxi, 14, 47, 55–56, 61,  
 75–76, 88, 91–95, 97, 105, 111, 125–26,  
 128, 131, 133, 139 148–50, 165, 172, 200,  
 208, 226–29, 266–68, 276, 325, 328–29,  
 332, 383–85  
 Constantinople 10, 12, 113, 394  
 Constituent Assembly 17, 84, 131, 133–34,  
 266  
 Cossack Cavalry Corps (Whites) 176  
 Cossack Peasant Congress 70  
 Cossacks 16–17, 19, 21, 24–28, 30, 40–41,  
 43–44, 46, 63–64, 66, 68, 74, 80–83, 103,  
 105, 107–09, 190, 193, 196, 199, 202,  
 211–12, 215, 230–31, 242, 396–97, 418,  
 430, 436  
 Council of Government Unity 82  
 Council of People's Commissars 253, 267  
 Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense xix  
 Courland 37, 119, 121–22  
 Crimea 10, 11, 26, 37, 68, 83, 88, 98, 113,  
 196, 198, 204, 231–32, 235, 249, 252, 254,  
 266, 393–97, 400–01, 404, 41–12, 417,  
 421, 423–24, 429, 432–33, 435, 446–47,  
 449–51, 453, 455–57  
 Crimean Corps (Whites) 113  
 Curzon, G. N. 12, 315–16, 324, 328–29, 332  
 Czechoslovak Corps 6–7, 28, 31, 33, 39, 43–  
 47, 49–51, 56–57, 86, 168, 172, 178–80  
 Czechoslovakia 252, 323  
 Czechoslovaks (see Czechoslovakia)  
 d'Esperey, F. 9  
 Dagestan 109, 218, 242, 247  
 Danube River 34  
 Danzig 41, 323, 358–59, 364  
 Dardenelles, the (Straits) 9, 79, 100  
 de Robeck, J. M. 12  
 de-Lazari, A. N. xxi  
 Deblin 257–58, 338, 340–41, 343, 352–53,  
 355–59, 364–65, 381  
 Defense Council (Reds) 133  
 Denikin, A. I. xv, xx, 11–12, 26, 44, 68,  
 70–71, 77–78, 80–83, 85–86, 88, 93, 98,  
 102–05, 113, 122–23, 195, 198–200, 202,  
 205–06, 208, 212–13, 216–18, 223,  
 227–30, 232, 233, 247, 251, 265–66,  
 274–75, 301, 385, 393, 399, 407, 418,  
 430, 456  
 Desna River 198, 213–14, 216, 218–20  
 Diamandi, C. 4  
 Directory (see Ukrainian Directory)  
 Disna 263, 283, 300, 307  
 Diterikhs, M.K. 46, 168, 173  
 Dmitrovsk 220–26  
 Dnepr River 20, 27, 37, 40, 106, 112, 123,  
 196, 198, 213, 231, 234–35, 254–55,  
 262, 274, 279–80, 282, 289–90, 292, 390,  
 397–98, 401–03, 407, 411–12, 414–17,  
 419, 421, 424–27, 429, 432, 434–39, 442  
 Dnestr River 34–37, 102, 114, 195, 249, 254,  
 272, 277, 290, 294–95, 316, 383  
 Don Army (Whites) 63–64, 66–68, 99, 101,  
 103–05, 107–08, 183–84, 187, 192, 198,  
 206, 216–18, 226, 231, 234–35, 241,  
 247–48

- Don Assembly 64  
 Don Cavalry Division (Whites) 448  
 Don Corps (Whites) 212, 396, 398–99,  
 402–04, 424, 431, 433, 435–36, 440,  
 445–50  
 Don Cossacks 12, 25, 77, 408  
 Don Revolutionary Committee 25–26  
 Don River 1, 6, 10, 16  
 Don Soviet Army 40  
 Donbas (Donets Basin) 14, 20, 23–25, 33, 36,  
 39–40, 64, 101, 105–08, 112–14, 183–88,  
 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 231, 234, 252,  
 421, 423, 431  
 Donets Army (Reds) 39  
 Donets River 24, 185–88, 190–91, 194  
 Dowbor-Musnicki, J. 23, 28–29, 258  
 Drissa 122, 263, 301, 304  
 Drozdovskii Division (Whites) 219, 220, 222,  
 239, 398–400, 403, 406–07, 446, 453–55  
 Drozdovskii, M.G. 40, 44, 70  
 Dubno 235, 298, 317  
 Dukhonin, N. N. 3  
 Dumenko, B. M. 238–39, 245  
 Dutov, A. I. 23, 29–30, 50, 143, 178, 181  
 Dvinsk 119, 121, 158, 306  
 Dzerzhinskii, F. E. 133, 276, 430  
 Dzhankoi 398, 422, 454–55
- East Prussia 257, 303, 355, 362, 382  
 Eastern Front (Reds) 30, 33, 48–53, 57, 66,  
 93, 105, 123, 131–41, 145, 148, 151–52,  
 154–56, 161–62, 164–65, 168–69, 171,  
 174, 176, 178, 201–03, 207, 210, 212  
 Eideman, R. P. xxi, xxii, 50–51, 233, 422  
 Entente xiv, 1–8, 11–12, 31–32, 35, 43–44,  
 49, 57, 59–61, 78–89, 98, 100, 102, 106,  
 112–13, 115, 156, 168, 172–73, 178–80,  
 199, 218, 251–52, 259, 303, 315–16, 323,  
 329–31, 433, 462  
 Enver Pasha, I. 459, 473  
 Estonia 2, 8, 12, 20, 37, 41, 78, 98, 117–19,  
 121–22, 129  
 Estonian Division (Reds) 221, 223–24,  
 232–33, 275
- Far Eastern Republic 180  
 Far Eastern Territorial Committee of Workers',  
 Peasants' and Cossacks' Deputies 31
- Fastov 27, 289, 292–93  
 February Revolution 17, 45, 459  
 Fed'ko, I. F. 403, 405, 407, 425–27  
 Feodosiya 395, 399, 455  
 Field Staff (see RVSR Field Staff)  
 Fifth Army (Poles) 263, 357–63, 365, 369,  
 372–80, 382  
 Finland 1–2, 8, 10–12, 16, 18, 20, 32–33, 35,  
 37, 41, 77, 98, 117–18, 124–26, 130, 316,  
 329, 457  
 First Army (Kolchak) 168  
 First Army (Poles) 283, 287, 297, 301, 304–07,  
 310–12, 314–15, 360, 372, 374, 378, 382  
 First Army (Vrangel') 428  
 First World War xiv, xv, xvii, xviii, xix, 2, 20,  
 24, 26, 28–29, 32–35, 37, 45, 78, 89, 91,  
 171, 252, 256, 258–59, 309, 350, 354, 460,  
 468  
 Foch, F. J. M. 4, 354  
 Fostikov, M. A. 418, 420–21, 453, 455,  
 Fourth Army (Poles) 263, 279, 282–83, 286,  
 304–05, 307, 309–16, 352, 356–57,  
 378–79, 381, 389  
 France 3, 5, 6, 8–12, 45, 98, 114, 122, 251–52,  
 258–59, 323, 326, 329–30, 363, 411, 428  
 Francis, D. R. 5–6  
 Franco-Prussian War xv  
 Frunze, M. V. xvii, 131, 135, 139–41, 143–45,  
 147–48, 150, 152–56, 161, 164, 178, 421,  
 429, 433, 436, 439, 445–47, 462, 461–62,  
 464, 466, 469, 472
- Gai, G. D. 136, 143, 147, 151, 238–39, 245,  
 315–16  
*gaidamaks* 24, 27, 129  
 Gajda, R. 45–46, 131, 134, 138, 143, 153,  
 156, 168  
 Galicia 79, 114, 123, 192, 252, 255, 319–20,  
 332, 337–38, 341–42, 350, 383, 391  
 Galitskii, K.N. xxii  
 Gatchina 124, 127  
 Gef'singfors (Helsinki) 42, 78, 149  
 Genichesk 235, 249, 396–97, 438, 444, 446,  
 448, 450–51  
 Georgia xx, 1, 247–48, 420, 453  
 Germany xxi, 1–4, 8–11, 35, 42, 50, 75,  
 77–78, 88–89, 119, 122, 130, 252, 258–59,  
 260, 268, 323, 326, 329, 331

- Gittis, V. M. 184–88, 190–92, 202  
 Glubokaya 25–26, 186, 194  
 Glubokoye 24, 285, 287, 303–04, 333  
 Gomel' 23–24, 27–28, 36, 41, 294, 300  
 Goryn' River 294, 296–97, 389  
 Graivoron 197–98, 206, 232  
 Grajewo 324, 381, 391  
 Great Britain 3–8, 10–11, 84, 98, 125, 251, 268, 323, 326, 395  
 Green Army 88  
 Greens 218, 242  
 Grigor'yev, N.A. 114, 193, 266  
 Grodna 121, 256, 258, 313–15, 355, 364, 366, 388–90  
 Gromovka 398, 401, 434, 441  
 Grushetskii, M. S. 75  
 Gulf of Finland 11, 117, 124–26, 130
- Haller, J. 121–23, 204, 258–59, 273, 306, 360–62, 366, 372–73, 377  
 Harbin 7, 46  
 Henrys, P. 355  
*hetman* 41, 75, 77, 79  
 Hisor Range 459, 466–67, 470, 472  
 Hrubieszow 345, 351–53, 377–79, 383  
 Hungarian Soviet Republic 8, 89  
 Hungary 89
- I Army Corps (Denikin) 219  
 I Army Corps (Vrangel') 398, 400–01, 406, 424, 431, 433–34  
 I Corps (Poles) 28–29  
 I Corps (Yudenich) 127  
 I Don Corps (Whites) 240  
 I Reserve Corps (Germans) 36–37  
 Iasi 9, 34–35  
 Igumen 262, 283, 285–86, 303, 312–13  
 II Army Corps (Vrangel') 398–99, 403, 405, 407, 417, 425, 431, 433–37, 441, 453, 455  
 II Cavalry Corps (Whites) 194  
 II Corps (Austro-Hungarians) 36  
 II Corps (Kolchak) 145, 148, 152  
 II Corps (Poles) 28  
 II Corps (Yudenich) 127  
 II Don Corps (Whites) 197, 240  
 II Guards Corps (imperial) 23, 27–28  
 II Orenburg Corps (Whites) 147
- III Army Corps (Vrangel') 425–26, 431, 433, 436, 440, 445–50  
 III Corps (Denikin) 204  
 III Corps (Kolchak) 147, 148  
 III Don Cavalry Corps (Whites) 240  
 III Don Corps (Whites) 217, 240  
 III Kuban' Corps (Whites) 241  
 Ilets'k Cossack Division 147  
 Irkutsk 30, 85–86, 172, 178–80  
 Italy 8, 78, 98, 268, 326, 331  
 IV Composite Mountain Corps (Whites) 240  
 IV Corps (Whites) 147, 151, 178  
 IV Don Cavalry Corps (Whites) 240  
 Ivangorod (see Deblin)  
 Ivanovo-Voznesensk 14  
 Izhevsk 19, 48, 51, 56–57, 103, 138, 156, 163, 165  
 Izyaslavl' 294, 296–97  
 Jablonna 340, 371, 375, 377  
 Janin, P. 85, 179–80  
 Japan 3–7, 31, 83, 98,  
 Jedrzejewski, W. 304, 306–07, 309, 311, 315
- Kadets (Constitutional Democrats) 82, 94  
 Kagan 464, 468–70  
 Kakhovka xix, 40, 113, 396, 398, 401–03, 405, 407, 411, 417, 421–26, 431–32, 436–37, 439–41, 447  
 Kakurin, N. Ye. xxi, 414–15  
 Kaledin, A. M. 6, 16, 23, 25–26, 36  
 Kalinkovich 288, 300, 304–05  
 Kalmykov, I. P. 85  
 Kalnin, K. I. 68  
 Kaluga 103, 267  
 Kama River 18, 51, 56, 61, 131–32, 134, 137–38, 143, 145, 148, 154–56, 164–65  
 Kamenev, S. S. xxi, 165, 202, 207, 281, 293, 340  
 Kamenskaya 24–25, 40, 108, 188, 190–91, 234  
 Kamyshin 64, 66, 107, 197, 200–03, 205  
 Kantemirovka 107–08, 185  
 Kappel', V. O. 55, 135, 147, 154–55, 163, 166–67, 178, 180  
 Kars 1  
 Karshi 464, 468, 470  
 Kashirin, N. D. 50, 436, 438, 441  
 Kato, T. 6

- Kazan' 33, 49, 51–53, 55–56, 61, 84, 102, 134, 139, 141, 145, 148, 180, 212
- Kazatin 204–05, 235, 272, 277–79, 281, 289–90, 292
- Keller, F. A. 76
- Kerenskii, A. F. 17, 43
- Khanzhin, M. V. 134, 136, 138–39, 143, 147, 151, 162–65, 168–69
- Khar'kov xx, 23–25, 27, 36, 39, 79, 83, 112–14, 196–98, 200, 202–03, 207–09, 213, 215, 231–33, 276, 347
- Kharlamov, V. V. 418, 420
- Kherson 37, 77, 79, 81, 98, 114, 198, 200–01, 204–05, 230, 235, 274, 416–17, 428, 434, 437
- Khiva 459, 460–61, 466
- Khopyor River 107, 202, 211, 214
- Khortitsa Island 424–27
- Khovrin, N. A. 24
- Khvesin, T. S. 53, 193, 304
- Kiev 23, 27–28, 34, 36–37, 39, 45, 75, 77, 79–80, 112, 114, 198, 204–05, 209, 222, 231, 233–35, 249, 269, 272–73, 278–82, 288–90, 292–93, 430
- Kirillovka 396, 399–401
- Kobrin 316–17, 383, 386, 388–90
- Kock 347, 352–53, 356–57, 373
- Kolchak, A. V. xv, 11, 17, 52, 84–88, 93, 99, 102–03, 122, 133–35, 149–52, 155–56, 162, 164, 168, 171–73, 178–80, 196, 265–66, 301
- Kork, A. I. 282–83, 304, 432
- Kornilov Division (Whites) 209, 219, 222–23, 233, 403, 406, 424, 435, 438–39, 441–42, 454
- Kornilov, L. G. 6, 14, 25–26, 43–44, 61
- Korosten' 195, 277, 288, 290, 292–93
- Kotlas 59–60, 158
- Kotov, N. Ya. xxi, 83
- Kovel' 316–17, 319–20, 333–34, 386, 389–91
- Kovna 121, 123
- Kovtyukh, Ye.I. 71, 419
- Kozhevnikov, I.S. 105, 107–08, 112, 183–87
- Kozlov 198, 206, 211
- Krajowski, F. 359–60, 374, 379
- Krasnoufimsk 102, 132, 161, 165, 167
- Krasnov, P. N. 63, 77, 80, 99, 104–05, 107, 199
- Kremenchug 27, 36, 113, 204, 234
- Kromy 219–25
- Krylenko, N. V. 29
- Kuban' Division (Vrangel') 398, 402
- Kuban' Army (Whites) 235, 242–44, 247–49
- Kuban' Cossack Division (Reds) 24
- Kuban' Cossack Division (Reds) 24, 81
- Kuban' Cossack Division (Whites) 403
- Kuban' Cossacks 12, 24, 43, 44, 70, 81, 199, 218, 230, 235, 240–43, 247–49, 395–96, 403
- Kuban' *Rada* 43, 80–81, 199–200, 202, 218, 242
- Kuban' River 10, 26, 42–44, 63, 67–68, 70–71, 73, 76, 80–82, 95, 98, 199, 211, 241–42, 244, 246–48, 397, 411, 418, 420–21, 427, 430
- Kuban' Volunteer Army (see Volunteer Army)
- kulaks* xx, 14–16, 20, 29–30, 44, 75, 77, 79, 87–88, 92, 95, 173, 192, 252, 255, 266, 274–75, 393, 395, 418, 430, 456, 462
- Kupyansk 24, 39–40, 105, 108, 184, 207, 209, 233
- Kurgan 135, 165, 174, 177
- Kursk xx, 36–37, 39, 67, 82–83, 96, 198, 201–02, 210, 214–15, 217, 219–20, 222, 224–25, 232–33
- Kustanai 135, 140, 151, 169, 174
- Kutepov, A. P. 194, 219, 398, 400, 422, 428, 431, 444–49, 451
- L'vov xvi, 255, 319–20, 334–37, 341–42, 345–48, 354, 356, 359, 380, 383, 388
- L'vov, G. Ye. 5
- Lake Baikal 18, 46
- Lake Pelik 283, 299, 301, 304
- Lashevich, M. M. 56, 162, 210–11
- Latvia 2, 12, 20, 37, 41, 78, 98, 117–19, 121–22, 262, 316, 329, 332
- Latvian Rifle Division (Reds) 93, 118, 215, 219–23, 225, 232–33, 396–97, 400–02, 421–22, 428, 437, 442, 444, 446, 448–50, 454–55
- Lebedev, P. P. xxi
- Left Socialist Revolutionaries 31, 33, 36, 49, 50, 77, 79, 180, 229
- Lenin, V. I., xiii, xiv, xix, xxi, 15, 89, 91–93, 95, 104, 128, 132, 139, 149–50, 162, 264, 267, 300, 325, 328–29, 331, 385

- Leningrad (see Petrograd)
- Lepel' 130, 263
- Letichev 263, 270, 272, 295
- Levandovskii, M. K. 74, 419
- Lianozov, S. G. 87
- Libava 119, 121–22
- Lida 122, 263, 283, 306, 310, 313–14, 388–89
- Likhaya 24–26, 40, 105, 185, 191, 197
- Liski 24, 66, 104–05, 184, 206, 217, 231
- Lithuania 2, 12, 37, 78, 89, 98, 117–19, 121–22, 252–53, 256, 262–63, 303, 323, 391
- Lithuanian Army 261, 306, 313, 388, 390
- Lithuanian Peninsula 451, 453–55
- Lithuanian–Belorussian 1st Infantry Division 259, 283, 287, 304, 306, 309–11, 315, 372, 374, 377
- Lithuanian–Belorussian 2nd Infantry Division 259, 305, 310–11
- Livny 219, 224–25
- Lloyd George, D. 8, 10, 12, 251
- Lockhart, R. H. 5–6
- Lodz 20, 326
- Lozovaya 24, 27, 112, 202, 234, 415–16
- Lublin 255, 257–58, 334, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 351–52, 354, 356–59, 364–66, 378, 380, 383, 389
- Ludendorff, E. 42, 77–78
- Lugansk 25, 39, 108, 183–85, 187–88, 190–92, 210, 234
- Lukow 258, 356–57, 360, 366, 378, 380
- Luninets 312, 314, 390–91
- Mai-Mayevskii, V. Z. 113, 183–84, 188, 190, 196, 198–99
- Maikop 71, 247, 418
- Makhno, N. I. 83, 184–85, 188, 190, 192–93, 204, 218, 229–31, 266, 274–75, 398, 408, 417, 429–32, 438, 450–51, 454, 456
- Malaya Belozerka 438–39, 441–42, 444
- Malin 272, 277–78, 293
- Mamontov, K. K. 93, 183, 206–13, 215–17, 219, 232, 239, 241
- Manchuria 6, 31, 46
- Mannerheim, K. G. E. 41
- Manych River 110, 192, 194–95, 231, 235, 238–43, 247
- Manychskaya 238–39, 240, 242–43, 245
- Mariupol' 26, 108, 230, 234, 408, 424
- Markov Division (Whites) 234, 425, 431, 439, 441, 443, 451, 454
- Martov, Yu. O. 267
- Matveyev, I. I. 71, 73
- Mekhonoshin, K. A. 93
- Melitopol' 40, 197, 398–400, 402–07, 421–24, 431, 436, 439–41, 443–47
- Menshevik/s 3, 14, 17, 31, 47, 79, 84–85, 94, 172, 179, 267, 331, 420
- Mezheninov, S. A. 270, 390
- Mikhailovka 403–04, 407, 423–24, 431, 432, 442
- Miller, Ye. K. 60, 86, 158
- Millerovo 24–25, 40, 105–06, 108, 183–86, 194, 231
- Milyukov, P. N. 14, 456
- Mineral'nye Vody 74, 111
- Minsk 123, 262, 286, 288, 303, 305, 311, 312–13, 322, 324, 333, 340, 347, 365, 385
- Mirbach, W. 50
- Mironov, F. K. 212
- Mlawa 359, 376, 379, 381–82
- Modlin 257–58, 339–41, 343, 350, 355, 358–63, 365, 367, 373, 375–76, 378–79, 382
- Mogilyov 23, 29, 37, 41, 262, 279, 295, 300, 307, 311–12, 322
- Molodechno 285–88
- Mongolia 18
- Mordvinov, V. K. xxi,
- Moscow 2, 6, 14, 17–18, 21, 24, 27, 33, 49–50, 55–56, 59–60, 63–64, 67, 82, 92–94, 102, 128, 134–35, 149–50, 162, 180, 188, 196, 198–200, 217, 227–29, 254, 266–68, 328, 384–85
- Mozdok 70, 74, 111
- Mozyr' Group 294, 300, 303–04, 310, 316–17, 340–41, 343, 347, 363, 373, 378, 380–81, 386
- Mozyr' Group 294, 300, 303–04, 310, 316–17, 340–41, 343, 347, 363, 373, 378, 380–81, 386
- Mozyr' 126, 262, 283, 293–94, 304
- Murav'yov, M. A. 27–28, 34–37, 49–50
- Murmansk Soviet 59
- Murmansk 18, 45, 57, 59–60, 156, 158–59
- Murom 6, 49, 102

- Narew River 257, 316, 320, 335, 356, 359–60, 364, 369, 381
- Narva 37, 41–42, 118, 121–24, 126
- Nasielsk 343, 360, 362, 365, 373, 375, 377, 379–80
- National Center 82, 127, 229
- Natsarenus, S. P. 57, 59
- Neman River 121–22, 256, 303, 306, 313–14, 369, 383, 389–90
- Nevnomys'skaya 71, 73, 110
- Nikolayev 79, 98, 114, 193, 198, 200, 204–05, 274, 314–15
- Nikopol' 203, 403, 411, 424–27, 429, 431–32, 434–39, 441–43
- Nizhnii Novgorod 92, 150, 198, 228, 266
- North Caucasus 20, 24, 33, 40–44, 63–64, 66–68, 70, 73–74, 78, 81, 101–03, 105, 108–11, 185, 192, 231, 235, 238–39, 248, 262
- Northern Army (White) 82, 158
- Northern Cossack Detachment 25
- Northern Dvina River 59, 60, 158
- Northern Front (Poles) 356, 360–61
- Northern Front (Reds) 33
- Northern Group (Eastern Front) 143, 148, 153–54
- Northern Group (Western Front) 282–83, 285–88, 299
- Northern Tavriya 393–95, 398, 407–09, 423–24, 428–29, 433–35, 456
- Northern Ural–Siberian Front (Reds) 48–49
- Northwestern Army (Whites) xiv, 11, 117, 121–22, 124–27, 129
- Noulens, J. 5–6
- Novo-Minsk 258, 356, 378, 380
- Novocherkassk 24–26, 63, 105–06, 187, 194, 231, 234, 236, 245, 247
- Novograd-Volynsk 235, 270, 272, 294, 388–89
- Novokhop'yorsk 64, 66, 104, 107, 201–02, 206, 212, 217, 226, 229
- Novonikolayevsk 45–46
- Novorossiisk 71, 88, 100, 231, 242, 247–48, 254, 418, 420, 456
- October Revolution 1, 5, 10, 13, 15–17, 28–31, 35, 42, 61, 87, 95, 112, 212
- Odessa Republic 34
- Odessa 9, 27, 34, 37, 79, 88, 98, 101, 113–114, 193, 198, 204–05, 228, 234–35, 249, 278–79, 281
- Ogorodnikov, F. Ye. xxi
- Ol'ginskaya 236, 238, 244–45, 248
- Omsk 45–46, 48, 50, 83–84, 135, 164–65, 168, 171, 173–74, 177–78, 267
- Ordzhonikidze, G. K. 74
- Orekhov 197, 403, 412, 423–24, 431, 434–35
- Orenburg Cossacks 30, 50, 131, 156, 162, 181
- Orenburg Division (Reds) 144
- Orenburg Steppe 23
- Orenburg 23, 29–31, 33, 47, 49–50, 52–53, 131, 133, 135–37, 140–41, 143–44, 147–48, 150, 153, 155–56, 161, 164–65, 168, 170, 174, 181, 266
- Orlyansk 422, 438–39, 441–42, 444
- Orsha 28, 37, 41, 300
- Orsk 50, 53, 135–36, 140, 174
- Oryol xiv, 24, 82, 198, 209, 210–11, 213–17, 219–21, 223–27, 229, 231, 264
- Paris 8–10, 86, 199
- Pavlograd 24–25, 37, 415–16
- Pavlov, A. A. 244–46
- Pavlov, P. A. 215, 219, 222–23
- Pavlovsk 129, 197, 207, 209, 214, 232
- Penza 45–47, 49–50, 102, 198, 201, 212
- People's Army (Whites) 55, 102
- People's Commissariat for Food 92
- People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs 10
- People's Commissariat of Military and Naval Affairs 326, 331
- People's Commissariat of Transportation 92
- Pepelyaev, V. N. 179–80
- Perekop Isthmus 395–96, 398–401, 416–17, 429, 440, 451, 453–55
- Perekop, xix, 249, 397–400, 402–04, 412, 414, 417, 421–23, 432, 435–37, 440–41, 451, 454, 456
- Perm' 49–53, 57, 102, 131–34, 136–37, 143, 156, 165
- Pervo-Konstantinovka 397, 399–401, 453
- Pervozvanovka 185–87, 190–91, 234
- Petlyura, S.V. xx, 16, 75, 77, 80, 123, 204–05, 269, 272, 274–76, 392, 430

- Petrograd Committee RKP 383–84  
 Petrograd xiv, 3, 14, 17, 20–21, 42, 47, 50,  
 55–56, 60, 91–94, 102, 117, 122, 124–28,  
 130, 134, 149, 162, 227, 229, 266, 268,  
 384–86  
 Petrograd Executive Committee 384  
 Petropavlovsk 161, 174, 176–77  
 Petrov, G. K. 25  
 Petrovsk 93, 109–10, 115  
 Petrovskoye 109, 219, 396, 400–01, 422,  
 450–51  
 Pilsudski, J. K. xx, 78, 258, 261–62, 269–70,  
 272–73, 277–81, 286, 288, 292–93, 306,  
 309–10, 312–14, 317, 319, 321, 323,  
 340, 352–53, 355–61, 364, 366–67, 375,  
 377–79, 389, 408  
 Pinsk 313, 316, 369, 389–91  
 Pisarev, P. K. 398, 400–01  
 Piter (see Petrograd)  
 Plock 257–258, 343, 360, 363–64, 381–82  
 Plonsk 343, 362, 373–77, 379–81  
 Podoliya 36–37, 263, 430  
 Pokrovskii, V. L. 43, 73, 188, 190, 194  
 Poland xvi, xx, xxi, 2, 8–12, 37, 78, 98,  
 117–19, 122–23, 199, 251–62, 269, 273,  
 303, 313, 315–16, 323–34, 339, 342, 354,  
 391–92, 423, 428, 456–57, 462  
 Poles'ye Group 263, 270, 272, 304–05, 311–12,  
 317  
 Poles'ye 123, 255–56, 263, 279, 294, 306, 311,  
 336  
 Polish Communist Party 323, 332  
 Polish National Democratic Party 28  
 Polish Red Army xx  
 Polish Revolutionary Committee xx  
 Political Center (Whites) 85–86, 179–80  
 Pologi 40, 397, 401, 408, 423, 432, 434–36,  
 438–39  
 Polotsk 37, 41, 126, 130, 262, 264, 285, 288,  
 300, 307  
 Poltava 27, 36, 39, 45, 79, 83, 112, 200,  
 203–05, 231, 233, 276  
 Popasnaya 108, 183–84, 186–87  
 Popov, P. Kh. 26  
 Postavy 285–88, 311  
 Povorino 64, 66, 104, 107–08, 184, 226  
 Primakov, V. M. 39, 219, 226, 233, 235  
 Princes' Islands 10  
 Pripyat' River 255, 272, 277, 279, 289–90,  
 301, 305–06, 388–90  
 Prokhladnaya 70, 74, 111  
 Proskurov 114, 269, 294–96, 298, 317, 348  
 Provisional Government 15, 30  
 Pruzhany 316, 383, 386, 388  
 Pskov 37, 41–42, 117–19, 122–27, 129  
 Pultusk 356, 358, 360–62, 380  
 Putilov, A. I. 5  
 Pyatokov, G. L. 67  
 Radzymin 369, 371–75, 377, 379, 382  
 Rapallo, Treaty of 2  
 Rava-Russka 338, 348, 351, 354, 380  
 Red Army xiii–xvii, xix, xxi, 12, 17, 30–31,  
 35, 41–42, 45, 48, 51, 56, 59, 61, 79–80,  
 90, 92–97, 99–100, 104–05, 112, 117–19,  
 121, 124–25, 128, 148–49, 162, 164, 171,  
 173, 178, 193, 197, 205, 208, 213, 229,  
 235, 254–55, 262, 264–65, 274–77, 289,  
 301, 323, 325–26, 331, 365, 383–85, 392,  
 412, 415, 420–21, 423, 428–30, 455–56,  
 461–63, 469, 473  
 Red Cossacks 27, 215  
 Red Cross 6  
 Red Guard/s 23–24, 26–27, 29, 32, 61  
 Reserve Army (Poles) 286–88  
 Revel' (Tallinn) 87, 118–19  
 Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic  
 118, 132, 141, 164–65, 169, 210, 326,  
 329–30, 332–33, 336  
 Ridz-Smigly 270, 277–79, 292–93, 296  
 Riga 20, 118–19, 122, 130, 385, 391, 433, 456  
 Right Socialist Revolutionaries 33, 49  
 RKKA (see Red Army)  
 RKKA Field Staff (see RVSR Field Staff)  
 RKP(b) (see Communist Party)  
 Robbins, R. 6  
 Romania 3, 12, 26, 33–35, 40, 113–14, 199,  
 214, 252, 255, 261, 272, 294, 316, 329–30,  
 332–35, 348, 351  
 Romanian Front (imperial) 33–34  
 Romer, J. 270, 277–78, 289, 296  
 Rostov-on-Don (Rostov) 11, 25–26, 36, 39–40,  
 43, 63, 105–06, 183–86, 192, 194, 228,  
 231, 233, 235–36, 245–47, 397  
 Rovno 36, 123, 235, 269–70, 278, 293–98,  
 317, 369, 386, 388–89,



- Rozhdestvenskoye 400–01, 447–51  
 Rozwadowski, T. 359–62, 366, 375  
 RSFSR xxi, 1–4, 7–13, 23, 34–37, 39–42, 44–45, 47, 49–50, 61, 66, 76–78, 88–90, 93, 98, 117–18, 121–22, 128, 150, 183, 195–96, 200, 202, 211, 248, 251–52, 254–55, 259, 261–62, 266–68, 276–77, 315, 323–24, 328–29, 385, 391, 395, 428, 459–61  
 Russian Empire 8, 20, 81  
 Russian Army (imperial) 100, 258  
 Russian Army (Whites) 395  
 Russian Far Eastern Committee 7  
 RVSR (see Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic)  
 RVSR Field Staff 169, 262, 326–28, 330, 347, 365, 431  
 Rybak, J. 270, 277–79, 289  
 Rybinsk 6  
 Rzdakowski, J. 304, 306–07, 309, 311, 315
- Sablin, Yu. V. 24–26, 36–37, 422, 427, 437  
 Sadoul, J. N. 5–6  
 Sal River 64, 187, 238  
 Sal'kovo 397–98, 400–01, 404, 432, 440–41, 444, 446–51  
 Sal'sk Steppe 26  
 Samara Committee of the Constituent Assembly 17  
 Samara 45–47, 49, 51–53, 55, 57, 83–84, 102, 138, 140–41, 144–45, 147–48, 150, 152, 163, 166–67, 212, 228  
 Samarkand 463–64, 466, 470, 472  
 Samoilo, A. A. 154–55, 161  
 San River 319, 327, 341, 348  
 Sarapul' 57, 102, 132, 135–38, 143, 163  
 Saratov 49, 53, 104, 168, 198, 200, 203  
 Savinkov, B.V. 49, 392  
 Sea of Azov 36, 70, 112–13, 197–98, 235, 244, 246, 395, 398–99, 403  
 Second Army (Poles) 263, 270, 279, 289, 294–98, 319, 335, 376, 378, 380–81, 389  
 Second Army (Vrangel') 428–29  
 Second Army (Whites) 168  
 Second Congress of Soviets 31  
 Selivachyov, V. I. 202, 206–11, 215  
 Semyonov, G. M. 5, 23, 31, 46, 85  
 Seragozy 411, 434, 436, 440, 442–44  
 Sergeyev, Ye. N. 282–83, 285–86, 299, 303  
 Sergiyevsk 131, 144–45, 148, 151–53  
 Sevastopol' 79, 114, 394–95, 455  
 Seventh Observation Army (Poles) 263  
 Sevs 36, 219–20, 222–26  
 Shaposhnikov, B. M. 365–66  
 Shara River 303, 313–15  
 Shcherbachyov, D. G. 34, 40  
 Shelavin, K. I. xxi  
 Shenkursk 60, 156  
 Shirokii, I. F. xxi  
 Shkuro, A. G. 70, 73, 191, 209, 212–13, 215–17, 219, 230  
 Shokorov, V. N. 47  
 Shorin, V. I. 143, 202, 206–07, 210–12, 214–15, 236, 238–39, 243  
 Shuvayev, A. D. 373, 376, 390  
 Siberia 4–7, 11, 17–18, 23, 29–31, 33, 45, 48–49, 60, 83, 85, 87–88, 95, 98, 103, 133, 135, 137, 161, 165, 171, 173, 177, 179–81, 262, 265–66  
 Siberian Army (Whites) 99, 134, 138, 153, 156, 164, 168  
 Siberian Central Executive Committee (*Tsentrosibir*) 31  
 Siberian Cossacks 84, 173–74  
 Siberian Council of People's Commissars 31  
 Siberian Regional Government 84  
 Sidorin, V. I. 198–99, 396  
 Siedlce 258, 322, 324, 356–57, 366, 378  
 Sikorski, W. E. xvi, 253–54, 304–05, 317, 321, 334, 351, 353, 358, 360, 362–67, 372–73, 375–77  
 Simbirsk 49, 51–53, 55, 134, 138, 150, 152, 162, 267  
 Sinel'nikovo 25–26, 37, 112, 197, 234, 397, 415–16, 424, 431  
 Sivash 397, 400, 429, 448, 451, 453–54  
 Sivers, R. F. 24–26, 36–37, 39–40  
 Sixth Army (Poles) 263, 270, 279, 289, 292, 295–98, 319–20, 334–35, 345, 383  
 Sklyanskii, Ye. M. 336  
 Skoropadskii, P. P. 16, 41, 76, 79  
 Slashchyov 233, 235, 249, 394, 396, 398–99, 402–03, 411–12, 417  
 Slaven, P. A. 53, 55, 121  
 Sluch River 263, 270, 293–94  
 Small Cossack Assembly 26

- Smolensk 24, 28, 103, 255–56, 300  
 Sochocin 362, 373–75, 378  
 Socialist Revolutionaries) 6, 13–14, 17, 29,  
 47–48, 59, 70, 76, 84–88, 94, 172–73, 190,  
 193, 218, 266  
 Socialist Revolutionary Party (see Socialist  
 Revolutionaries)  
 Sokol'nikov, G.Ya. 236  
 Sokolov K. N. 82  
 Sokolov, V. V. xxii  
 Sollogub, N. V. 283, 304  
 Solov'yov, V. I. 24  
 Sorokin, I. L. 68, 70–71, 73–74, 109  
 Sosnkowski, K. 286–87, 362–63  
 Southeastern Front (Reds) 209, 215, 226, 231,  
 234–35  
 Southern Army (Whites) 143, 170, 178, 181  
 Southern Front (against Denikin) 66, 93, 96,  
 103–08, 112, 115, 123, 126, 132, 134,  
 148, 165, 174, 183–86, 188, 190–95, 197,  
 200–03, 206–08, 210–11, 213–17, 220–21,  
 224–25, 228, 231, 233–35, 249  
 Southern Front (against Vrangeli) 429–32, 434,  
 437, 446–47, 451  
 Southern Group (Reds) 131, 137, 139, 141,  
 143–45, 148, 151–56, 161–64, 169,  
 170–71, 183, 285, 287, 299  
 Southwestern Front (imperial) 27  
 Southwestern Front (Reds) 235, 261–63,  
 269–70, 272–73, 278–79, 281–82,  
 289–90, 292–96, 298–99, 304, 316–17,  
 319–20, 325, 327, 329, 332–38, 340–42,  
 345–54, 366–67, 369, 383, 390–91, 409,  
 429–30  
 Soviet Republic (see RSFSR)  
 Soviet Russia (see RSFSR)  
 Soviet Union (see RSFSR)  
 Spartacists 8  
 Special Army (Bessarabia) 34  
 Special Army (Siberia) 49  
 Special Council 81–82  
 Stalin, I. V. xiv, 64, 133, 228  
*Stavka* 23, 27, 32, 350  
 Stavropol' 68, 70–71, 73, 109–10, 240–41,  
 244, 247  
 Sterlitamak 136, 138, 140, 153, 161  
 Stry' River 298, 312, 317, 319, 348, 388, 389,  
 390  
 Supreme Collegium for Struggle with  
 the Romanian and Bessarabian  
 Counterrevolution 34–35  
 Supreme Cossack Assembly 81  
 Supreme Council of the National Economy  
 (VSNKh) 92  
 Syrov, J. 47  
 Syzran' 45, 46, 49, 51, 55, 150  
 Szeptycki, S. 283, 286, 304, 306, 309–11,  
 314–15  
 Taft, W. H. 7  
 Taganrog 23, 25–26, 218, 230, 234, 397, 408  
 Taman' Army (Reds) 71, 73–74, 109  
 Taman' peninsula 68, 70, 397, 418, 420  
 Tambov 201, 206, 211, 266, 456  
 Tashkent 53, 87, 267  
 Tavriya 327, 393, 406, 408, 417, 423, 427–30  
 Terek Cossacks 70, 74, 81, 218  
 Terek River 63, 70, 74, 81, 244, 247  
 Termez 463–64, 468–69  
 Third Army (Poles) 263, 270, 272, 278–79,  
 282, 289–90, 292–94, 296, 304, 311, 317,  
 319, 356, 359, 377–78, 382–83, 386, 388  
 Third Army (Vrangeli) 168–70, 174, 177  
 Tikhoretskaya 26, 43–44, 63, 68, 70, 109–10,  
 192, 194, 231, 236, 240, 243–44, 246–47  
 Timashevskaya 70–71, 247, 418–19  
 Tobol River 169, 173–74, 177  
 Tomaszow 337–38, 345, 348, 354, 380  
 Tomsk 84, 164, 178  
 Torgai Steppe 30, 50  
 Torgovaya 41, 68, 71, 192, 194, 244  
 Torun 343, 356–57, 360, 362, 374, 376  
 Trans-Baikal 31–32, 46, 178, 180  
 Trans-Caspian 87, 98, 181, 460–61, 468  
 Trans-Caucasus 1, 10, 98  
 Trans-Siberian Railroad 4, 19, 31, 46–47, 169,  
 172, 174, 177–78  
 Troitsk 47, 136, 140, 165, 169–70, 174, 176  
 Trotskii, L. D. 104, 132, 228, 329  
 Trubezh River 27  
 Tsaritsyn 24, 26, 40, 63–64, 66–68, 71,  
 104–08, 168, 183–85, 196–98, 207, 211,  
 214, 216, 231, 234  
 Tukhachevskii, M. N. xxi, xxii, 51, 53, 243–44,  
 260, 262, 299, 336, 345  
 Tula Infantry Division (Reds) 211

- Tula 198, 210, 217, 222, 264  
 Turkestan Army 53, 103, 133, 140–41,  
 144–45, 147–48, 151–54, 161–65  
 Turkestan Front (Reds) 171, 174, 178, 181,  
 384, 461–64, 466  
 Turkestan 18, 50, 87, 133, 137, 140, 171, 181,  
 456, 459–63, 466, 468  
 Turkey 1, 37  
 Turkish Wall 441, 444, 447, 451, 453–54  
 Typhus 89, 186, 191, 253  
 Tyumen' 47–50, 165
- Uborevich, I. P. 270, 412  
 Ubort' River 235, 263, 270, 294, 304–05  
 Ufa Directory 52, 84–85  
 Ufa 29, 47, 49, 51–52, 55, 84, 87, 102, 131,  
 133, 135–38, 140, 145, 147, 152–56,  
 161–64, 166–67  
 Ukraine xv, xx, 1, 3, 8–10, 16, 20–21, 24, 26–  
 31, 34–37, 40–42, 49, 64, 66, 75–79, 82,  
 87–89, 95, 98, 101–04, 106, 112–13, 115,  
 125, 149, 183–84, 193, 195–200, 203–05,  
 209, 252–56, 260–63, 266–67, 269–70,  
 272–74, 276, 279–82, 286, 288–90, 292–  
 94, 297–98, 303, 306, 312–13, 316–17,  
 324, 355, 369, 384, 386, 388, 391–92, 423,  
 429–30, 456, 462  
 Ukrainian 1st Army (Reds) 195  
 Ukrainian 2nd Army (Reds) 192–93, 195, 204  
 Ukrainian 3rd Army (Reds) 195  
 Ukrainian Army of Rebellion 275  
 Ukrainian Directory (Directory) xv, 76–80, 99,  
 112–14, 123, 200, 204  
 Ukrainian Front (Reds) 96, 101, 112, 114–15,  
 123, 184, 186–87, 192–93, 195, 356  
 Ukrainian Infantry Division (Poles) 270, 290  
 Ukrainian National Union 76–77  
 Ulagai, S. G. 194–95, 418–20, 423  
 Union of Rebirth 82  
 United States (USA) 3–5, 7, 10–11, 98, 100  
 Ural Corps (Whites) 166  
 Ural Cossacks 135, 147, 156, 181  
 Ural Mountains 14, 18–19, 29, 33, 47–51, 56,  
 61, 93, 110, 125, 131–33, 135–36, 147,  
 158, 161–62, 164–65, 168–69, 181  
 Ural Regional Government 84  
 Ural River 93  
 Ural–Siberian Front (Reds) 48–49  
 Ural'sk Cossacks 52, 135–37, 140, 156, 174  
 Ural'sk 30, 50, 52–53, 131, 133, 135–37, 140,  
 143–44, 155–56, 161, 164, 171, 174  
 Urals (see Ural Mountains)  
 Uryupinskaya 73, 107, 206
- V Caucasus Cavalry Corps (Whites) 240  
 V Cavalry Corps (Whites) 219  
 Valuiki 39–40, 105, 108, 197, 214, 232–33  
 Vatsetis, I. I. xxi, 27, 29–30, 33, 51–53, 101,  
 103–06, 112, 118, 132, 165, 185, 188,  
 202  
 VChK (*Cheka*, OGPU) 95, 326  
 Velikie Luki 24, 300, 322  
 Velikoknyazheskaya 68, 185, 194–95, 234,  
 239–41, 243–44  
 Verkhonii Rogachik 403, 432, 438–39, 441, 443  
 Versailles Peace Conference 10  
 Versailles, Treaty of xxi, 2, 12, 78, 252, 329  
 VI Corps (Denikin) 113  
 VI Corps (Kolchak) 147, 151, 163  
 VI Ural Corps (Denikin) 147  
 VI Volunteer Corps (Denikin) 76, 79  
 Vil'na 121–22, 263, 306, 310–14, 390  
 Vinichenko, V. K. 75, 77  
 Vinnitsa 200, 204–05, 274, 290  
 Vistula River xvi, xxi, 119, 122, 254, 257,  
 258–59, 313, 317, 319, 321–25, 327–29,  
 331–33, 335, 337–43, 346–51, 353–56,  
 363–66, 369, 371, 373, 375–83, 385, 389,  
 428, 433  
 VKP(b) (see Communist Party)  
 Vladikavkaz 70, 110  
 Vladimir–Volynskii 333–34, 337, 354, 383,  
 386, 388  
 Vladimir 6, 198, 228  
 Vladivostok 3–4, 6–7, 31, 45–46, 86, 178, 456  
 Voitsekhovskii, S. N. 45–47, 50, 53, 180  
 Volga Army (Whites) 52  
 Volga Military Flotilla (Reds) 53  
 Volga River 6, 17–19, 21, 33, 46–47, 49–53,  
 55–57, 61, 64, 80, 93, 95, 102–03, 134–35,  
 145, 148, 151, 168, 197–98, 202–03, 205,  
 213–14, 231  
 Volhynia 45, 77, 263  
 Volkovysk 316, 324, 383, 388–89, 391  
 Vologda 6–7, 50, 57, 59–60, 134–35, 158,  
 228

- Volunteer Army (Whites) 24–26, 33, 43–44, 63–64, 68, 70–71, 73, 76–78, 80–81, 83, 87–88, 99–100, 106, 108–09, 111, 113, 115, 123, 183, 185–86, 190, 192, 196, 198, 200, 204–05, 209, 216, 224, 230–32, 235–36, 238, 241–42, 245–46, 395, 399  
 Volunteer Corps (Denikin) 233–36, 239, 247–48  
 Volunteer Corps (Yudenich) 121  
 von der Goltz, R. 2  
 Voronezh Division 67  
 Voronezh 23–26, 36, 39–40, 66–67, 105–08, 183, 185–86, 196, 198, 201–02, 210, 212, 215–17, 219, 221, 224–26  
 Voroshilov, K. Ye. 39–40, 64, 239, 243  
 Votkinsk 19, 48, 53, 56–57, 103, 138, 156  
 Voznesensk 114, 204, 442  
 Vrangeli, P. N. xv, 11–12, 111, 195, 197–98, 206, 216, 218, 232–33, 262, 264–66, 275, 327, 330, 338, 351, 384, 390–400, 402–04, 406–09, 411, 416–24, 427–28, 429–33, 435–37, 439–41, 443, 445, 447, 449, 451, 453, 455–457  
 Vsevolodov, N. D. 190, 197  
 Vyatka River 138, 143, 153–56  
 Vyatka 50, 60, 102, 132–36, 138–39, 143, 153–56  
 Vyoshenskaya 107, 183, 190–91, 194  
  
 War Communism xvii  
 Warsaw xvi, xxi, 20, 119, 254–55, 257–58, 273, 288, 313, 316, 319, 324–26, 329, 331–34, 337–43, 345–46, 350, 355–65, 367, 371–73, 377–78, 383–85, 388, 392  
 Western Army (Reds) 96, 117–118  
 Western Army (Whites) 134, 162, 167–168  
 Western Bug River 119, 256–57, 313, 315–17, 319–21, 331, 335, 339–40, 343, 351, 355, 357–60, 363–64, 366, 369, 371, 377, 383, 386  
 Western Dvina River 119, 254–55, 282, 285, 301, 303, 305–07  
 Western Front (imperial) 29  
 Western Front (Reds) 93–94, 103, 121–23, 130, 195, 203, 214, 260–64, 266, 269, 273, 280, 282–83, 286–89, 292, 294, 298–301, 303–06, 309–14, 316–17, 319–22, 325–29, 332–43, 345–50, 354, 358, 363–66, 369, 371–72, 376, 378, 380–84, 386, 388–90  
 Weygand, M. 354–55, 357–62, 364–67, 374, 377  
 White Finns 41–42, 57, 457  
 White Guard/s 10, 16–17, 25, 23, 30–31, 34, 40, 43–44, 46–50, 59, 86–87, 118, 121, 125, 130, 171–72, 228, 266, 392, 461  
 White Sea 11, 12, 86, 158–59  
 Wieprz River 257–58, 352, 355–59, 364, 378  
 Wilson, T. W. 3–4, 7  
 Wkra River 321, 361–63, 366, 369, 371, 373–77, 379, 381–82  
 Włocławek 258, 343, 363–64, 374, 376, 381  
 Włodawa 258, 333, 351, 378, 380, 386  
 Wyszogrod 258, 343, 362–64  
  
 X2nd Kuban' Division (Vrangeli) 424  
 XLI Corps (Germans) 36  
 XVII Army Corps (imperial) 24  
 XVII Corps (Austro-Hungarians) 36  
 XXII Corps (Germans) 36  
 XXV Corps (Austro-Hungarians) 37  
 XXVII Corps (Germans) 36  
  
 Yakir, I. E. 205, 289–90, 292  
 Yamburg 123–24, 126–27, 129  
 Yaroslavl' 6, 49, 61, 132, 384  
 Yaroslavskii, Ye.M. 56  
 Yegorlykskaya 68, 243, 246–47  
 Yegorov, A. I. xvi, xxi, 289, 294, 334, 337, 341, 346, 352  
 Yegorov, P. V. 24, 26–27  
 Yekaterinburg Army (Whites) 53  
 Yekaterinburg 33, 47–53, 57, 131–32, 137, 162, 165, 167–69  
 Yekaterinodar 43–44, 68, 70–71, 80–81, 241–42, 247–48, 418  
 Yekaterinoslav 26, 37, 40, 76, 79, 83, 112–13, 184, 197, 200, 203–04, 218, 231, 234, 249, 423, 431  
 Yelan' 104, 152, 197–98, 201, 206  
 Yelets 198, 211–12, 223–25  
 Yenesei River 171–72  
 Yeropkino 219, 222, 226  
 Yudenich, N. N. xiv, 122, 149  
 Yushun' 429, 454–55  
 Yuzefovich, Ya.D. 219–20, 222–23

Zamosc 345, 352, 369, 383, 386  
Zbruch River 312, 317, 320  
Zeligowski, L. 304, 306, 309–11, 313, 315  
Zenzinov, V. M. 94  
Zhitomir 28, 36, 205, 235, 270, 272, 274,  
277, 288, 290, 292–93, 295, 388  
Zhloba, D. P. 66, 393, 403–07  
Zhlobin 28–29, 283, 288, 304–05

Zhmerinka 23, 37, 114, 235, 278, 289–90  
Zinov'yev G.V. 53, 133, 470  
Zinov'yev, G.Ye. 92–93  
Zlatoust 47, 102, 136, 141, 161, 163, 165–69  
Znamenskii, A. A. 27  
Zusmanovich, G. M. 96  
Zverevo 25–26, 185, 191  
Zygodlowicz, G. 283, 304, 307, 309–10, 315

The Russian Civil War was complex and wide-ranging, with fighting on several fronts and involving not only the main combatants—the Red and White Armies—but other armies and the intervention of foreign forces. This volume details the fighting from the time immediately after the Bolshevik coup of November 1917 to the establishment of Soviet rule in European Russia and Central Asia at the end of 1920.

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