

Cold War Introductory Work

Welcome to the summer work for History A Level.

This sheet will guide you on how you can complete your summer work and where you can create your notes. If you find this a successful place to create your notes you can continue to work here during your A level and have it all in one place!

SWAY LINK: This link will take you to all the work and allow you to scroll through information on your phone and click links taking you to articles, videos and readings

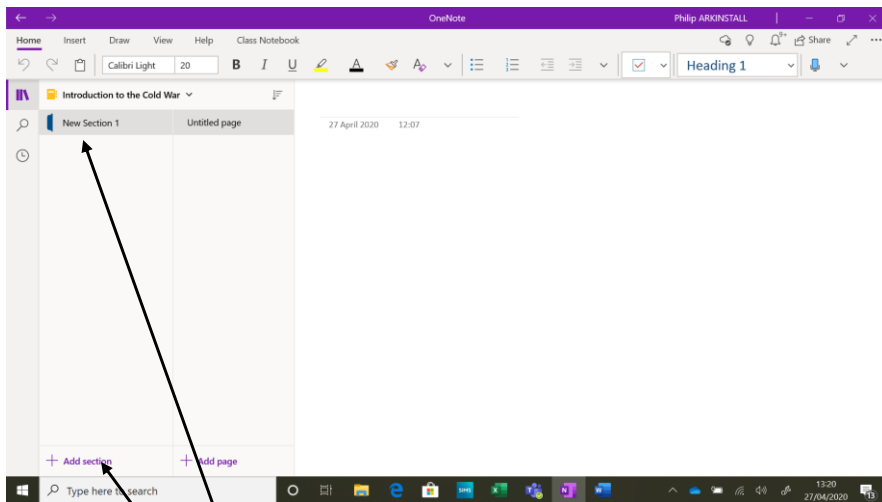
<https://sway.office.com/HG9aPBB1thInas6O?ref=Link>

*This sheet will guide you on setting up a Notebook online and creating tabs. In each tab we would like you to complete some research to help develop your background understanding to the course. **If you cannot access/create a Onenote book then feel free to use Word or PPT and then transfer the notes across when you start.***

All resources will be available in the appendix at the end of this document

Organising your work on Onenote

Firstly, create a new Onenote notebook by opening the program and then click

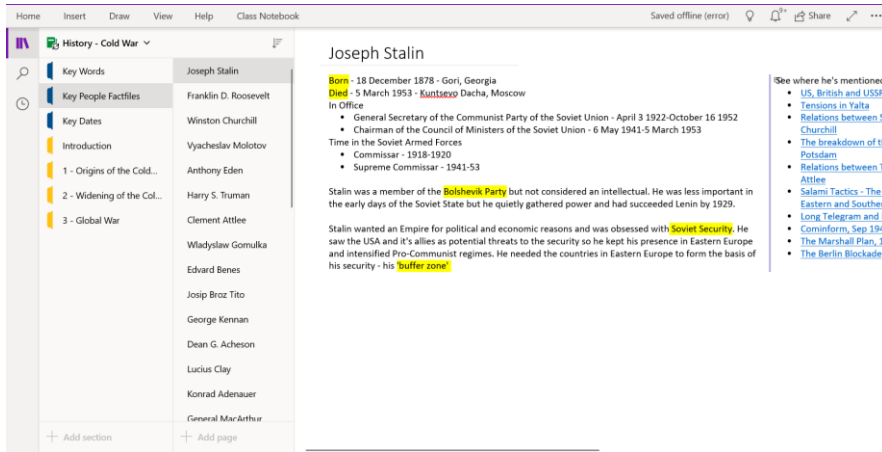


Create **THREE** New Sections and rename them **KEY WORDS**, **FACTFILES**, **KEY DATES**

Create **FOUR** more New Sections and change the tab colour to yellow and rename them **INTRODUCTION**, **1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR**, **2 – WIDENING THE COLD WAR** and **3 – GLOBAL WAR**

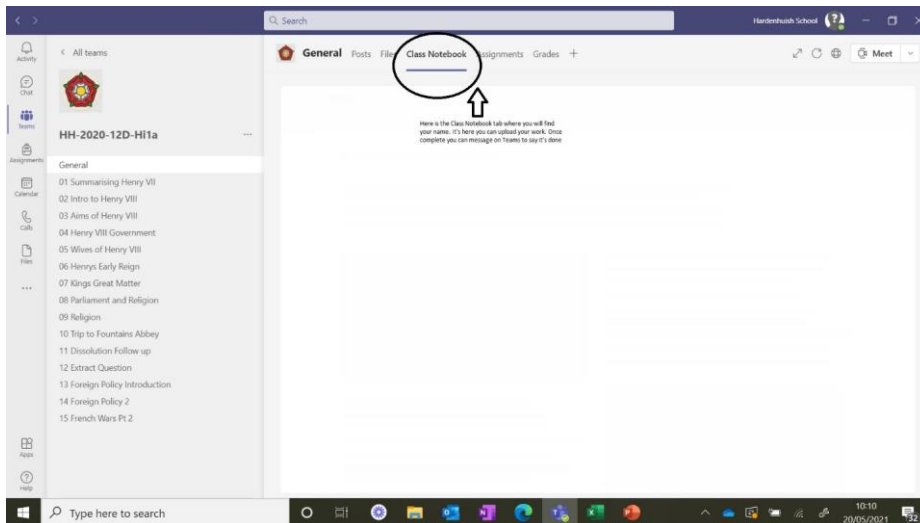
Secondly, under the **KEY DATES** tab for the first page change the title to **Before 1945**. You will use this page to create a timeline of events including images. Next for the **FACTFILES** tab add a page for each person and give the page the title of the person. You will use this to talk about the dates they were born and died, their main offices, activities when in power and greatest

achievements. For the KEY WORDS tab create four pages (INTRODUCTION, 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR, 2 – WIDENING OF THE COLD WAR and 3 GLOBAL WAR) you can add key words into these sections as you go.



Using Teams

A Teams page has also been set up for your all for your Tudors and Cold War subjects. You can upload documents onto the CLASS NOTEBOOK Tab under your name, which we can access.



Cold War summer work tasks:

Phase 1

What was the impact of the Russian Revolution?

1. Watch the following video about how the Second World War moved into a Cold War and take some notes on the key features of that transition

[From World War to Cold War \(9 mins\)](#)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HpYCplyBknl&t=148s>

2. Read this article about the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Its quite long but keep going!
[Russia's Revolutions 1917](#). See appendix for full articles if the links do not work.

https://hardenhuish.sharepoint.com/:w:/r/sites/subjects/Hi/_layouts/15/Doc.aspx?sourcedoc=%7B8B080F3A-DCC3-4DB9-B373-67FBD70BD2C3%7D&file=Russias%20revolutions.docx&action=default&mobileredirect=true

Answer the following questions:

- *When were the two revolutions in Russia in 1917?*
- *Can you use the top of page 2 to summarise each one in a sentence?*
- *What was the Duma?*
- *page 4 – why did the Allies believe that the abdication of the Tsar would help the war effort in WW1?*
- *Page 5 – second paragraph – who had real power after the Tsar left and how did the Bolsheviks try and take advantage of this?*
- *What 2 aims did Lenin and Trotsky have?*
- *What skill did Lenin and Trotsky share?*
- *What happened on 25 October 1917?*
- *Where did Russia sign the peace for WW1? Think – why might Britain and France feel betrayed?*
- *Name 2 ways that the Bolsheviks did not immediately live up to their own expectations*
- *What did the Comintern aim to do?*
- *How did the civil war in Russia end?*
- *How did many in the west respond to communism? What other political group increased as a result?*
- *Who took over when Lenin died? Give 2 examples of what he did*
- *What country became communist in 1949?*

Commented [PS1]:

3. Well done! Now read this second article and complete the table below.

It is about foreign involvement in the Russian Civil war. As WW1 ended some soldiers were not sent home but sent to fight in Russia. They fought with the 'White Russians' against the Bolsheviks.

[Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War](#)

https://hardenhuish.sharepoint.com/:w:/r/sites/subjects/Hi/_layouts/15/Doc.aspx?sourcedoc=%7BFBFAD791-DB2B-4B45-9DB7-5566079F2950%7D&file=Allied%20intervention%20in%20the%20Russian%20Civil%20War.docx&action=default&mobileredirect=true&cid=f2d66958-f969-49f1-802c-5f766b33cf8b

Problems of Allied involvement (complete the table):

Loss of lives	Political divisions in international intervention
Opposition within Britain	Lack of Russian enthusiasm/problems within the 'whites'

Complete the mind map:

How will this impact relations between Russia and Allies after the Civil war?

EXTENSION TASK – To understand more about the Russian Revolution take a look at this video

[Extension video on the Russian Revolution \(4 mins\)](#)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OHZ3Qww9kIY>

Some historians argue that the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917 was the start point of the Cold War as this was the moment when western powers (mostly Britain and the USA) disagreed with the emerging communist ideology (set of ideas and values) that had come from Russia.

4. Events summary - Read this to get a connected understanding of the events before creating a timeline.

The following summary has been written by your teachers to summarise the events from the end of the Russian Revolution through to the end of the Cold War.

From 1918 to 1921 a civil war took place in Russia between the armies of the Bolshevik Party (Red Army) versus the armies loyal to the old Russian leader, the Tsar (White Army). The White army were joined by European and American forces in the hope of restoring the old order to Russia and removing the Bolsheviks from power. This start point of distrust was something that angered the new Bolshevik leaders of Russia. By 1921, with the failure of the White Army, the Bolsheviks renamed the country the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) and countries across Europe and further afield isolated the USSR. This isolation was remembered when the Second World War began.



On 23rd August 1939 the German and Soviet governments signed a non-aggression pact, which meant that they would not attack each other if a war came along. This was something that played into the hands of the new Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, who wanted time to finish industrialising the Soviet Union. This treaty was known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and meant that when war began in September 1939, that the Soviet Union would not be getting involved.

On the 1st September 1939 Hitler's armies had taken control of half of Poland, whilst in the east Stalin's Red Army invaded and conquered the other half of Poland. Soon Belgium and France would fall to the German army and by May 1940 Britain was the only country still fighting on against Germany.



At this point the Battle of Britain was fought in the air to prevent a German invasion and the conquering of the whole of Europe. Britain got assistance from America in something known as the Lend-Lease Agreement, where America loaned equipment to the UK. If it was unbroken by the end of the war the equipment was returned. If it was destroyed the country would need to pay for it. This was the start of what would essentially be the Grand Alliance.



By June 1941 the Germans had shifted their efforts to the invasion of the Soviet Union, Operation Barbarossa, which took Stalin by surprise. Britain offered support to the USSR in the form of convoys of supplies across the arctic and the promise of attacking Germany when they could. In December 1941 the USA was attacked by Japan at Pearl Harbour drawing the Americans into the war, with their industries and manpower. Germany quickly declared war on America, as a declaration of support for their ally Japan and shortly afterwards American President Franklin Roosevelt met British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, declaring his support in ending the war jointly. Britain and America met and signed the Atlantic Charter, promising to work together for a better future and soon they decided to attack Germany first and then to attack Japan. This decision was the formation of a strong relationship between Britain and America. The Soviet Union, who were during the brunt of the fighting asked for assistance, particularly after the battle of Stalingrad in 1942. A number of conferences were held; first in 1942 at Casablanca, secondly at Tehran in Iran in 1943 and finally at Yalta in the Crimea in February 1945 and then Potsdam in Germany by July 1945.

The relationship of the Grand Alliance was strained by a number of different events that took place during the war including: the Katyn Massacre, the call for a Second Front (D-Day), decision on what to do with Germany after the war.

5. The Key Events Pre 1945

Construct a timeline and make notes on the following events before 1945. Save in your key dates tab on Onenote.

WHEN and WHAT were the following events:

- Bolsheviks take power *
- Treaty of Brest Litovsk
- Execution of Tsar's family
- Comintern set up
- Russian Civil War *
- Nazi-Soviet Pact *
- Battle of Britain
- Invasion of the USSR *
- Atlantic Charter
- Pearl Harbour
- Casablanca Conference
- Grand Alliance formed
- Stalingrad
- Invasion of Italy
- Tehran Conference *
- D-Day *
- Percentages Agreement
- End of WW2 in Europe (VE Day)
- Dropping of the Atomic bombs *
- End of WW2 in Asia (VJ Day)

Feel free to add additional information that you find out when watching the videos and reading the articles.

[MICROSOFT FORM REVIEW OF PHASE 1 WORK.](#)

Complete the form to show what you can recall and to evaluate this first phase of work. Click the link or enter the url

<https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=ALV0CGtJkCS-T05uDMt-qa-7jXvnQJOuxDFBURqXptUM0JKQOVOSlkyUDFLVTZFMU1BV0xNVVdIMC4u>

Appendix

Article 1

Russia's revolutions: How 1917 shaped a century

The state created by the Bolsheviks after the toppling of the Romanov monarchy in 1917 survived two world wars and beyond. Robert Service traces the rise and fall of communist Russia, whose mission to export socialist revolution rippled through world politics across a century...



This competition is now closed

November 6, 2017 at 9:46 am

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had an enormous impact on politics on a global scale for many decades. Nothing came close to it in importance – a fact recognised at the time and which continues to prove compelling a full century later.

There were, of course, two revolutions that year. When people write about historic impact they are nearly always referring to the October Revolution, by which Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd and proclaimed the start of a new era in human affairs that would, they asserted, bring communism to the entire world. But the earlier revolution in February was acclaimed at the time as an event of momentous international significance because it brought the downfall of the Romanov monarchy. The Russian political system was widely reviled as the bastion of political reaction in Europe, and Nicholas II was dismissed as a butcher of the peoples in his empire. When he abdicated in March 1917 there were joyous celebrations not only in Russia but also in Paris and London. Crowds gathered to welcome the prospect of democracy.



Russia's last monarch, Nicholas II, pictured under arrest following his abdication in March 1917 at the end of the ^[1]February Revolution. (Getty Images)

There had been similar presentiments in 1905, when the massacre of peaceful petitioners outside the Winter Palace was followed by public demonstrations throughout the cities of the

Russian empire. Strikes, rural disturbances and mutinies came close to bringing down the monarchy, and Nicholas was compelled to issue the 'October Manifesto', in which he promised to undertake reforms encompassing civic freedoms and elective representative institutions. This concession, extracted from a reluctant tsar, was accompanied by savage repression of the revolutionary parties. By the end of 1906 Nicholas II had stabilised his authority – albeit at a price: he had to allow the creation of the State Duma (Russia's first elected parliament) and to permit broader freedom of expression and assembly. And over the next few years he tried to claw back the powers that he had inherited upon the death of his father in 1894.

The revolutionary parties, both liberals and far-left socialists such as the Bolsheviks, were disappointed that Nicholas had managed to cling on to his throne. But he had been humbled, and the Romanov monarchy was never the same again. The spectacle of Nicholas 'the Bloody' being forced to accept the existence of an elected parliament had an influence on revolutionaries and reformers around the globe. Those in Turkey and China took heart, and reinforced their effort to secure the transformation of politics in their own countries. Where Russia had led, they reasoned, surely others would quickly follow.



A photo (possibly staged) shows Bolsheviks storming the Winter Palace in Petrograd, ejecting the cabinet of the provisional Russian government. (Getty Images)

When Nicholas II stepped down in the revolutionary crisis of March 1917, the situation was radically different. Russia, along with France and the United Kingdom, was involved in the First World War against Germany and Austria-Hungary. At first it was believed by pro-war politicians in Paris and London that a dynastic incubus had been excised from the Russian body politic, and that the Allied cause could only benefit. Nicholas's indulgence of the religious mystic and serial philanderer Grigory Rasputin had brought the imperial court into disrepute, and food shortages snapped the patience of Petrograd workers and garrison soldiers, who took to the streets to call for an end to the monarchy. But the Russian army on the eastern front was acquitting itself well during that long, cold winter, and many western politicians, including the Americans – who joined the war in April – were jubilant that free Russia would now be able, under a liberal-led provisional government, to fight the Germans with heightened morale and efficiency.

Foreigners who yearned for reform in their own countries were impressed by the extent of the changes that emerged following the monarchy's demise. Even Bolshevik leader Lenin acknowledged that Russia had become "the freest country in the world". Lenin, at that time living in exile in Switzerland, aimed to exploit any opportunity to overthrow the new cabinet and unfurl the flag of communist revolution.

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However, conditions proved helpful. The urban economy collapsed. The administration disintegrated, and discipline broke down in the armed forces. Ultimate real authority lay not with the cabinet but with the workers' councils ('soviets') that sprang up in cities, and the Bolsheviks worked hard to get themselves elected to leading positions in these councils. By

October, Lenin had convinced his party that soviets could serve as the foundations of a revolutionary administration.

Accessible communism

Lenin was a fanatical Marxist who deemed that only he could adequately interpret the doctrines of Marx and Engels. Short and stocky, he surprised even his own party in the way he successfully adapted to the demands of open politics in the revolution. Returning to Petrograd in April 1917, he recruited a former anti-Bolshevik Marxist leader, Leon Trotsky, to the Bolshevik party on the grounds that they agreed both about the need to stop the First World War and about the opportunity to overthrow the provisional government. Though Lenin was a rousing speaker, Trotsky was an orator of genius. Both were outstanding in their ability to simplify communist doctrines and policies to a form that was accessible to listeners who knew nothing of Marxist intellectual intricacy. The Bolshevik central leadership included other figures who bristled with political talent, among them Josef Stalin, Grigory Zinoviev and Felix Dzerzhinsky. All were committed to the objective of overthrowing the provisional government, and the party's rank and file endorsed their radicalism.



Lenin and Josef Stalin in discussion in 1922. After Lenin's death two years later, Stalin rose to power and instituted rapid industrialisation and agricultural collectivisation. (Getty Images)

On 25 October, the Bolsheviks led the military-revolutionary committee of the Petrograd Soviet into action and threw out the old cabinet. Lenin became chairman of Sovnarkom, the new Soviet government, which proclaimed a total reversal of previous policies. A general peace was to be arranged in the world war. Land was transferred to peasant control. Large-scale industry and the banking system were nationalised.

The Bolshevik party believed that if only it could communicate its message to workers and soldiers on both sides in the war, those people, too, would rise up and throw out their governments. Soon, surely, there would be a 'European socialist ^[1]revolution'. Lenin and his comrades had taken a political ^[1]gamble they believed was a sure-fire bet. Rival socialists in ^[1]Russia warned that the odds were heavily against them, and that civil war and dictatorship were the likeliest results; they saw the Bolsheviks as irresponsible adventurers. Few people gave Sovnarkom much chance of enduring survival. But everyone was aware that an event of huge international importance had taken place.

For Allied politicians, the danger was that Lenin, even if he were in power only briefly, would damage the war effort. Sovnarkom agreed a truce with the Germans and Austrians on the eastern front. It was obvious that, if the truce became a permanent peace, German divisions would be moved from east to west. That would decisively tip the military balance against the Allies.

Peace was signed between Sovnarkom and the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, and Germany came close to breaking the back of the western front in the spring. But the French

and British armies held firm, and it was the German war machine that cracked. The war was over.

Utopian dreams dashed

The Bolsheviks, meanwhile, found themselves, as their political enemies on the left had predicted, engulfed by a civil war. Most of them had expected to undertake a revolution that would move smoothly from success to success, and they had a deep suspicion of standing armies. But they learned by hard experience that for 'Soviet power' to survive, they must form a Red Army on principles of regular discipline, and use the expertise of officers who had served in Nicholas II's armed forces. They had started, too, with ideas about liberating the initiative of ordinary factory workers. Instead they discovered that the Russian working class increasingly blamed them for failing to regenerate the economy and guarantee food supplies. Bolshevik leaders reacted by suppressing strikes and tightening their dictatorship. Bolshevism increasingly revealed and over-fed its principles of hierarchical, punitive organisation. The utopian, libertarian ideas that had inspired many party leaders and members in 1917 faded from the immediate agenda.



Soldiers of the Bolshevik Red Army, pictured c1920 during the Russian civil war. Red Army troops could be identified by the distinctive Budenovka cloth hat adorned with a star. (Getty Images)

Nevertheless the Bolsheviks still adhered to the goal of global revolution and in March 1919 created the Communist International (Comintern), the idea being to form communist parties throughout the world. Agents and subsidies were made available to achieve this. In nearly every country it proved possible to set up organisations to challenge the governing elites. With Moscow's help, translations of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were made available. The word went forth that, however difficult the path, Russia's communists were advancing towards the creation of a new kind of society that would bring health, shelter, education and material well-being to all members of society, and in the first instance the benefits would be directed towards the working poor. Communists produced cartoons of bloated capitalists, cigars in their mouths and purses of gold dangling from their belts, exploiting the 'proletariat'. Vicious commanders and dyspeptic bishops were often depicted as the assistants of bankers and industrialists. In postwar Europe and even north America such ideas fell widely on fertile soil.

Exporting Bolshevism

Indeed, the Bolshevik model was quickly adopted in Bavaria and Hungary in 1919, where defeat in the war had led to political breakdown and food shortages. Far-left socialists seized their chance to take power in Munich and Budapest. The Bavarian revolutionaries were singularly incompetent, lacking the practical skills that Bolsheviks had developed in the long years during which they'd had to dodge the clutches of the tsarist secret police. Red revolution was snuffed out in Munich within a few weeks, and anti-communist demobilised officers and soldiers suppressed similar attempts in Berlin.

In Hungary, though, the communists were better prepared. Led by Béla Kun, they put themselves forward as the only party that refused to bow the knee to the Allies. State ownership was declared throughout the urban economy and an attempt was made to impose a collective farming system on the peasantry. However, civil war followed, and a Romanian invading force defeated Kun's army.



Béla Kun, the Bolshevik communist revolutionary who led Hungary for a few months in 1919. (Getty Images)

By 1920, by contrast, the civil war in Russia had ended in a communist triumph. Such was Lenin's confidence in the Red Army that he deployed it against Poland with a view to exporting revolution to central Europe. The idea was not only to communise the Poles but also to break through to Germany and resuscitate the will of far-left socialists and communist sympathisers to overthrow the German government. Thus would be realised the dream of 'European socialist revolution'. But Lenin had made a gross miscalculation. The Red Army met with tremendous resistance short of Warsaw as Poles, including workers, massed to repel invasion by the old national enemy. Sovnarkom, desperate at a time when it was facing peasant revolts in Russia and Ukraine, sued for peace. The humiliation was complete, and for many years afterwards the communist leadership in Moscow dropped plans to export revolution to Europe by military force.



A starving family in the Volga area, pictured during the famine that afflicted the area over the winter of 1921/22, caused in part by the economic and logistic effects of the Russian Revolution. (Getty Images)

It did, though, continue to supply guidance and subsidies to parties belonging to Comintern. As reports grew about communist atrocities in the Soviet Union, there was a predictable political reaction in the west. Governments and churches denounced the 'red menace'; they spoke out against the collectivist purposes of communism, and defended the values of faith, tradition and individual freedom. Fascist parties sprang up to counter communist influences in their countries – and these parties were organised according to a pattern of hierarchy and militancy that copied Bolshevism itself. The political far right seldom neglected to mention in its propaganda that several of the Bolshevik leaders were of Jewish origin. This idea was employed as a way of portraying communists who operated in European countries as alien conspirators who sought to bring Christian civilisation to an end.

As reports grew about communist atrocities in the Soviet Union, there was a predictable political reaction in the west

Lenin died in 1924 but the Soviet state, which designated itself the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), survived the internal battles over policy and the political success. Josef Stalin, having overcome the challenge from Leon Trotsky, initiated a comprehensive campaign to deepen the foundations of Lenin's October Revolution. From 1928 Stalin introduced a programme of forced-rate industrialisation and violent agricultural collectivisation. The Red Army was increased in size and re-equipped with advanced weaponry. At the same time Stalin spread a network of modern educational facilities ranging from primary schools to universities. The communist party, which was already in charge of every governmental agency in the USSR, received the task of leading the campaign. Dissent was mercilessly suppressed. The powerful political police was reinforced. Stalin's name was ceaselessly glorified in the media.



A Russian propaganda illustration from 1929 shows the force of opposition to fascism. Conversely, Hitler was determined to halt the spread of communism. (Getty Images)

At last, it was boasted, the Soviet state could defend itself and realistically hope that foreign sympathisers would find ways to emulate its achievements through their own revolutions. This served to agitate those foreigners who dreaded the establishment of communism. In Germany and France the communist parties were large, vocal and active. When Hitler came to power in 1933, he portrayed himself as the only man in Europe who could prevent communism's advance, and he quickly suppressed the German communist party and arrested those of its leaders who had not fled abroad. In the Spanish Civil War, from 1936, warplanes were sent by Fascist Italy and the Third Reich to aid the revolt against a republic that was supported by, among others, communists. The struggle between communism and fascism culminated in Hitler's invasion of the USSR in 1941.

Domination and decline

At first it appeared that the end of the October Revolution was nigh. But the USSR re-grouped its defences outside Moscow and Leningrad and, using its industrial hinterland and its people's patriotic spirit, crushed the German Wehrmacht and fought its way to Berlin. The Soviet Union took a leading role in the settlement after the Second World War, forcing the world to accept its domination of eastern Europe. It also acquired nuclear weaponry to compete with American military power.

In 1949 another great country, China, underwent communist revolution. For many decades it appeared that communism's territorial expansion would be difficult to prevent. The rivalry between the two superpowers, the USSR and the USA, was at the fulcrum of the Cold War. Yet Soviet might came at an internal price that in the mid-1980s compelled the communist leadership itself to undertake comprehensive reform. From 1985, under the dynamic reforming leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the USSR was 'restructured'.



Mikhail Gorbachev, pictured on the day of ^[1]_[SEP]his resignation as leader of the Soviet Union, ^[1]_[SEP]25 December 1991. (Getty Images)

Gorbachev's efforts served mainly to destroy the foundations of state power. In December 1991 he saw that his dream was in tatters, and announced the abolition of the USSR. For Gorbachev this was a personal tragedy because he fervently believed in what he regarded as the greatness of Lenin's ideology. It was also a landmark in world history. The October Revolution was at last dead in its homeland. What Hitler had failed to achieve by deliberate means, a Russian – indeed, a Russian communist – had inadvertently brought about, and Soviet communism tumbled into the wastepaper basket of history.

Robert Service is a historian whose books include *The Penguin History of Modern Russia: From Tsarism to the Twenty-first Century* (Penguin, 2015)

[This article was taken from issue 2 of BBC World Histories Magazine, first published in February 2017](#)

Article 2

Britain's Russian fiasco: The Allied intervention in the Russian civil war

A century ago, British troops were engaged in the maelstrom of the Russian civil war. Their campaign against the Bolsheviks, writes Nick Hewitt, was a bloody debacle that enraged a restive public back home



February 21, 2019 at 7:39 am

Last year, the world marked the centenary of the armistice that ended the First World War. But for thousands of British soldiers, the fighting went on. On 11 November 1918, Thomas Dunlop, from Newton Heath, was part of a 400-strong garrison shivering in improvised trenches around Tulgas, north Russia. As Dunlop's comrades-in-arms on the western front laid down their weapons, the 19-year-old private in 2/10th Battalion, the Royal Scots, was in a vicious firefight with 2,500 Bolsheviks, supported by gunboats.

For four days Dunlop's company, alongside American riflemen and a few Canadian field guns, defended their nondescript piece of Russia. The Bolsheviks finally withdrew, leaving hundreds of dead behind, but victory came at a price. US sergeant Silver Parrish recalled how "we licked the Bolo [Bolshevik] good and hard but lost seven killed and 14 wounded, and the Canadians lost quite a few and the Royal Scots lost 36 men".

Thomas Dunlop was one of them. His body was lost, but his name appears on a lonely memorial at Archangel. One hundred years on, it's perhaps appropriate to ask, what was he doing there?

Dunlop's terrible fate was partly the result of what today's military might call 'mission creep'. At first, Britain's primary motivation in its dealings with Russia was to keep it in the First World War: to prop up a leading ally in the fight against the Central Powers. Yet, by 1917, that strategy was unravelling.

The British often found that the White Russian troops they were fighting alongside hated each other more than the Bolsheviks

Russia's tsarist autocracy had been tottering for decades. In 1917 it finally broke under the pressure of a world war for which it was ill-equipped to fight, and growing demands for greater freedom by a resentful and hungry population. Tsar Nicholas II's regime collapsed in March, to be replaced by a Provisional Government. The new administration, however, failed to extricate Russia from the war, and paid the price when Vladimir Lenin's Bolsheviks seized the capital, Petrograd, on 7 November 1917. Less than three weeks after the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin began negotiations with the Germans, which ended with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918.

But no sooner had Russia quit one conflict than it entered another. Counterrevolutionary armies and alternative governments, known collectively as 'White Russians', now began to form all over the country. They were soon posing a serious threat to Bolshevik authority. By July 1918, Nicholas II and his family had been executed, and Russia had disintegrated into a chaotic civil war.

Russia's collapse was a catastrophe for the Allies, as it offered Germany an opportunity to transfer millions of troops to the west. Allied policy makers also feared that Germany might gain access to Russian oil and grain, and that German troops might seize nearly a million tonnes of armaments, munitions and other stores, now piled in great heaps on the dockside at Archangel and Murmansk in northern Russia, and Vladivostok in Siberia.

In a desperate attempt to forestall this nightmare scenario, the Allies decided to hurl troops from Britain, France, the United States and a dozen other countries into the middle of the bloody maelstrom that Russia had become. Most had little idea what they were doing. Among them was 18-year-old Bob Vincent of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment who, despite serving in southern Russia for nearly a year, later wrote that he "never really met any Russians at all or had any idea why I was there". If Vincent failed to grasp what he was fighting for, he was far from alone. But that fact didn't stop the British government despatching troops to combat zones across the massive Russian landmass – most notably in the north.

One of the most significant deployments came in August 1918 when Allied troops landed at Archangel in support of the White Russian 'Northern Regional Government'. Over time the British-led force expanded to include US, Canadian and French troops, and pushed south along the Dvina and other rivers to secure the railways. Supported by aircraft and the Royal Navy's improvised Dvina River Flotilla, the Allied Expeditionary Force made unexpectedly good progress against the Bolsheviks, but many of its soldiers were old or unfit and they were dreadfully exposed. Their Russian allies were unreliable, and winter was approaching.

Elsewhere British warships operated against the Bolshevik Baltic Fleet, losing more than 100 sailors and several warships in the process. The Royal Navy also scored the intervention's most unlikely success, when Lieutenant Augustus Agar's tiny torpedo-armed coastal motor boats penetrated the heavily defended Bolshevik naval base at Kronstadt twice, sinking the cruiser *Oleg* and a submarine depot ship, and claiming two battleships damaged. Agar was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Smaller British expeditionary forces and 'military missions' were sent into Siberia, the Caspian and the Caucasus. In the latter, 'Dunsterforce', a few hundred soldiers and some armoured cars under the command of Major-General Lionel Dunsterville, worked with local nationalists and other counterrevolutionaries – but found that they often hated each other more than the Bolsheviks.

Siberian landgrab

The underlying politics of the international intervention was incredibly complex. Britain and France actively supported attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviks, with President Woodrow Wilson of the United States in reluctant support, against the advice of his own War Department. Yet by far the largest intervention force was the 70,000-strong Japanese one, and their crusade was anything but ideological. The Japanese government had an eye on seizing territory in Siberia, and the behaviour of their troops, according to one British Foreign Office memorandum, "was... that of a people who intend to annex what they have occupied". They cared little about keeping Russia in the war or who governed it afterwards.

Even within the British government, there were hawks and doves. Prime Minister David Lloyd George wanted to keep Russia fighting, but was perfectly happy to work with the Bolsheviks if necessary, telling his war cabinet in early 1918 that "it was of no concern to the British government what socialist experiment or what form of government the Bolsheviks were trying to establish in Russia".

In contrast Winston Churchill, Lloyd George's war minister after January 1919, was a zealous ideological crusader against Bolshevism, who declaimed in a speech in Dundee that "civilisation is being completely extinguished over gigantic areas, while Bolsheviks hop and caper like troops of ferocious baboons amid the ruins of cities and the corpses of their victims". Churchill even argued for rebuilding the defeated German army as a bulwark against Bolshevism. These internal contradictions were reflected on the ground, to the detriment of military cohesion. At one point, the British were operating in a notional partnership with the Bolshevik administration in Murmansk (which sought Allied help in facing down the threat of a Finnish attack) while fighting against Bolshevik forces elsewhere in the country.

By the time Churchill had become war minister, of course, the First World War had ended, and the only comprehensible motive for intervention had disappeared. A war-weary British population now started to question exactly why British soldiers were still fighting and dying in Russia. With democratic socialism gaining traction, many people opposed making war on communists to restore tyranny. In January 1919, the *Daily Express* reflected popular opinion when it paraphrased Bismarck, writing that "the frozen plains of eastern Europe are not worth the bones of a single grenadier".

With democratic socialism gaining traction, many Britons opposed making war on communists to restore tyranny

British opposition coalesced around the 'Hands Off Russia' campaign, which was launched by prominent socialists in January 1919. The Socialist Labour party politician William Paul, a founding member of the movement's National Committee, summed up its motives when he wrote that "the sheer savagery of these [White Russian] usurpers has only had the effect of driving honest moderate socialists and non-Bolshevik elements into the camp of Lenin and Trotsky".

The communist firebrand Harry Pollitt described how the 'Hands off Russia' message was promoted in London's East End by a now-forgotten evangelist, "Mrs Walker", who roamed the streets "talking to groups of women, telling them about Russia, how we must help them, and asking them to tell their husbands to keep their eyes skinned to see that no munitions went to help those who were trying to crush the Russian Revolution".

'Hands Off Russia' scored its most celebrated success on 10 May 1920, when dockers in London stopped loading a ship, the *Jolly George*, when they discovered it was carrying munitions bound for Poland, the latest British anti-Bolshevik proxy. By now, government enthusiasm for intervention had waned and the cargo was unloaded. 'Hands off Russia' went on to provide a strong nucleus for the Communist party of Great Britain when it was founded a few weeks later.

With the fighting against Germany over, opposition to a new war that nobody understood spread to the troops in the field. One Royal Engineer serving in north Russia wrote that it was "simply scandalous... to be fighting now and under such conditions when there is peace on other fronts". Meanwhile, Major EM Allfrey of the Royal Fusiliers recorded a rumour in his diary on 2 July 1919 that "the coal miners have threatened that unless the British force in Russia is home within 40 days, they will all come out on strike... in other words, they too are Bolsheviks".

Brutal little battles

Many members of the British forces found themselves living in squalid conditions, fighting unacknowledged but brutal little battles against a determined and ferocious enemy. There were too few troops, and many were second-rate and desperate to get home; even the Royal Marines embarrassingly experienced a mutiny in Russia.

The White Russian troops were even more prone to mutiny and desertion; many were also Bolshevik sympathisers. Lieutenant Brian Horrocks of the Middlesex Regiment trained some of them: "The filthiest and most unkempt mass of humanity I have ever seen in my life... the dregs from all the call-up depots in Siberia." There was almost no chance of unifying them into an effective opposition. One regiment of British-trained White Russians went over to the Bolsheviks en masse on 21 July 1919, arresting their commanding officer, a Colonel Laurie, and the other British officers. "At the British offices the day was passing in its usual way," recalled one of the ring leaders, Viktor Schetinin. "We rushed in and... pointed our rifles at the colonel. He was so surprised he just sat there as if he was nailed to the chair..."

By now, it was rapidly becoming evident that the British-led force was too small and its Russian allies too unenthusiastic for the intervention to end in anything but failure. In fact that had been the case since at least the spring of 1919 when the British commander-in-chief Brigadier-General Edmund Ironside, who had led his multinational army in the north with skill in the face of a ferocious enemy, decided to carry out one last offensive to buy time to withdraw. To help him, strong reinforcements – the British North Russian Relief Force – arrived in May largely at Churchill's instigation, commanded by General Sir Henry Rawlinson. The British launched a series of attacks then retreated, fighting all the way. "As we fought our way up the river," recalled Lieutenant-Commander Kenneth Michell of the monitor HMS *M.33*, "the Bolshies... drifted down all sorts of mines, frequently covered by brushwood".

On 26–27 September the British evacuated Archangel, and Murmansk two weeks later. By the spring of 1920 the British and most other Allied contingents had departed Russia altogether. Only the Japanese force remained, finally withdrawing in 1925.

The Russian civil war came to an end in 1922. But the legacy of suspicion caused by the Allies' military support for the Whites, and their associated spying and sabotage in Moscow and Petrograd, lasted long after the last soldier had left. This might help explain Stalin's difficult relationship with Churchill during the Second World War, and even the well-documented grudging reception received by Allied convoys to the Soviet Union. After all, the last time some Murmansk citizens had seen western ships in their harbours, the same countries had been trying to destroy the revolution, not defend it.

For James and Jane Dunlop of Newton Heath, however, undoubtedly the most significant consequence of this ill-judged decision was to condemn their son Thomas and hundreds of men like him to a lonely death in the snow.

IN CONTEXT: The Russian civil war

The Bolshevik Revolution of 7 November 1917 was followed by a wave of armed insurrections across the former Russian empire by anti-Bolshevik factions loosely characterised as 'White' Russians. At the height of the civil war the Whites appeared to surround the Bolshevik strongholds of Moscow and Petrograd, but in reality they were a disparate group of moderate socialists, ethnic nationalists, Romanov loyalists, proto-dictators and bandits, and never really formed an effective opposition.

In Siberia the Whites were led by their self-proclaimed 'supreme leader', the former tsarist naval officer Admiral Alexander Kolchak. The Allied intervention in north Russia was partly intended to link up with Kolchak, but his regime was corrupt and unpopular and he lost the support of his most formidable force of 40,000 former Czech and Slovak prisoners of war and deserters, known as 'the Czechoslovak Legion'. Kolchak was captured by the Bolsheviks and executed.

Around the Baltic coast, Estonians and Latvians were fighting for independence alongside the former tsarist general Yudenich's White Russians, who were trying to seize Petrograd. To further complicate matters, German troops and the paramilitary Freikorps were still trying to seize territory. The Germans left and Latvia and Estonia secured independence, but Petrograd remained defiantly 'Red'.

In southern Russia and Ukraine, the Whites coalesced around General Anton Denikin's 'Volunteer Army'. Denikin (pictured below) won a series of early victories but, as well as the Bolshevik Red Army, he also had to contend with Ukrainian and other separatist forces, ethnic militias and even the Turkish army. Although the British sent Denikin millions of pounds' worth of arms his army still disintegrated; the remnants were destroyed in Crimea in 1920.

The Russian civil war effectively ended with the founding of the Soviet Union on 30 December 1922, although some insurgencies continued into the 1930s. In total, the conflict may have cost as many as 12 million lives.

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