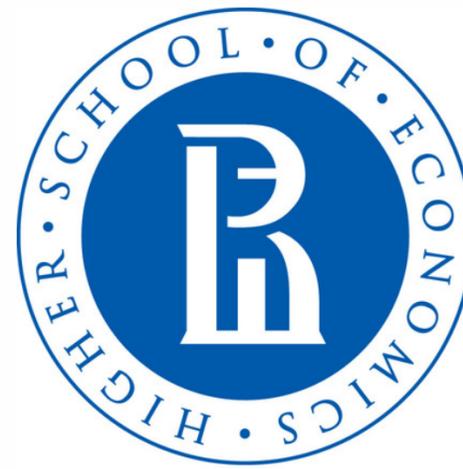


Higher School of Economics

Faculty of Humanities



NATIONAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY

Ethical Considerations on War in the USSR

Soviet Theory of War research group

Programme

Meet & greet

Opening by *Arseniy Kumankov*

Intro to Notions of Terror and
Terrorism in Soviet Thought

Opening by Prof. Dr Boris Kashnikov

Daniil Lavrishev

Eva Pogosian

Intro to Discussion about
Clausewitz in Soviet Thought

Opening & presentation
by Roman Gulyaev

Vladislav Gaiduk & Dmitry Maleev

Daria Chaganova

Q&A

Closing words

Arseniy Kumankov

Head of Research group

Associate Professor at Faculty of Humanities /
School of Philosophy and Cultural Studies

Deputy Dean for Research at Faculty of Humanities



Four areas of research

Notions of terror
and terrorism
in Soviet thought

Discussion about Clausewitz
as Soviet military theory's
search
for its own identity
(continuity with respect to
the Marxist and the Western
traditions)

The national right to self-
determination
and its conceptualization
(more broadly — the
philosophical dimension
of the Soviet theory of
international law)

Ethics of war in the USSR;
the concept of a
just/justified war;
jus in bello problematics

Prof. Dr Boris Kashnikov



Professor at Faculty of Humanities /
School of Philosophy and Cultural Studies

Doctor of Sciences in Ethics

Member of the board of directors of the European
international society for military ethics (EuroISME)

Notions of Terror and Terrorism in Soviet Thought

**Terror justification
procedures and practices**



Daniil Lavrishev

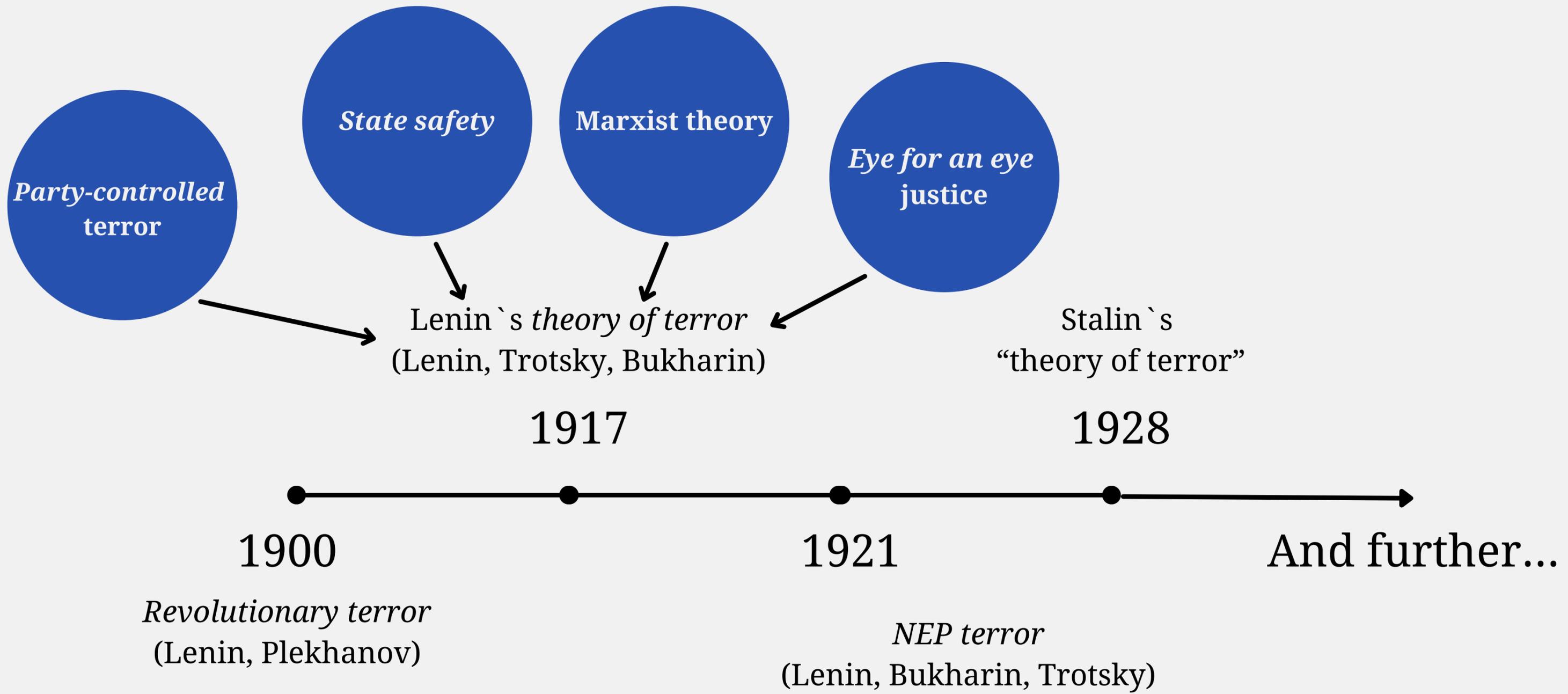
Member of the
Soviet Theory of War
research group

**Terrorism of national
liberation**



Eva Pogosian

Member of the
Soviet Theory of War
research group



Terrorism of national liberation

Ambiguity of the term *terrorism*

No *universal* definition of *terrorism*. Explanations are designed to arouse our emotions, instead of stimulating our intelligence and critical thinking.

Historical context of pre-Soviet Armenia

The aftermath of the Armenian genocide

The First Republic of Armenia

Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

Terrorism of revenge

Operation *Nemesis*

The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian

Why do we create a different category for terrorism of national liberation?

Q&A

Roman Gulyaev



Senior member of the
Soviet Theory of War research group

Senior lecturer at Faculty of Humanities /
School of Philosophy and Cultural Studies

PhD in History of Philosophy

Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831)

Von Kriege (On War)

War is a mere continuation of policy by other means (B1 Ch1)

*War is an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfil our will
(B1 Ch1)*

War is always a serious means for a serious object



Friction at war (B1 Ch7)

*Everything is very simple in war, but the simplest thing is difficult
This difficulty consists of: danger; physical efforts; uncertainty,
and chance*



Lenin as a keen reader of Clausewitz (around 1915)

Voenizdat Publishing House
(run by Ministry of Defense)

Alexander Svechin, Mikhail
Tukhachevsky, Boris Shaposhnikov

Translation and publishing of Clausewitz's
major works, his biography etc.
1924–1941

Soviet commanders and military theorists,
influenced by Clausewitz

Discontinuation and condemnation by Stalin: public reply to comrade Razin (1946)

‘...it would be ridiculous to follow the teachings of Clausewitz today.
One cannot make progress and further science without a critical
analysis of the antiquated theories of well-known authorities’

Soviet war films

Working with images rather than words, [film] directors were able to subvert censorship, thereby functioning as the historians of their generation

(Youngblood D. A War Remembered: Soviet Films of the Great Patriotic War. *The American Historical Review* Vol. 106. No. 3 (Jun., 2001), p. 855).

Two traditions:

- Epic social-realist films (*Alexander Nevski, 1938; Fall of Berlin, 1949; Liberation trilogy, 1970–71*)
- ‘Quiet’ war films (*The Cranes Are Flying, 1957; The Ballad of a Soldier, 1959; Ivan’s Childhood, 1962*).



Come and See (1985) as an apocalyptic movie

No one believes in the [patriotic] cause; no one seems to understand it. All humanity has degenerated, although the Germans are clearly much worse than others... Given the pervasiveness of the Second World War myth... puncturing its hollow heart as did Klimov was a profoundly subversive act. Not only was war not heroic, this war, the Great Fatherland War, the Great Patriotic War, was none of the above.

(Youngblood D. Post-Stalinist Cinema and the Myth of World War II: Tarkovskii's 'Ivan's Childhood' (1962) and Klimov's 'Come and See' (1985). Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1994, p. 418).



Q&A



Dmitriy Maleev

Member of the
Soviet Theory of War
research group

Vlad Gayduk

Member of the
Soviet Theory of War
research group

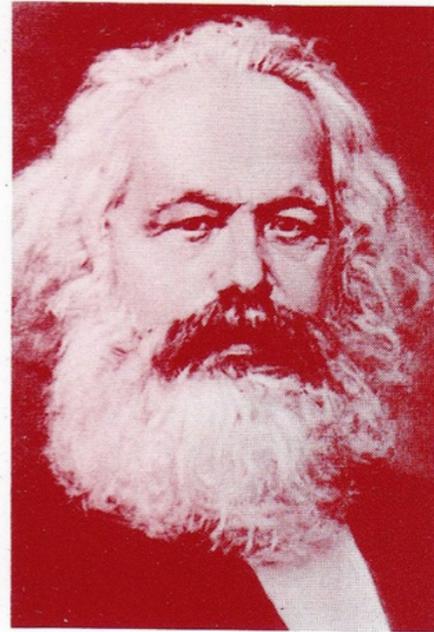


What is a nation and how can we understand whether this community is a nation?

Is the right of nations to self-determination absolute, i.e. all nations have a right to it?

What will the future socialistic world look like? Will there be nations there?

THE
**Communist
Manifesto**



KARL MARX & FREDERICK ENGELS

Austromarxism.
National cultural autonomy

*Nation as a community of culture
and character, arising on the
basis of a community of fate*

Otto Bauer

Otto Bauer
(1881-1938)



Karl Renner
(1870-1950)



Karl Kautsky

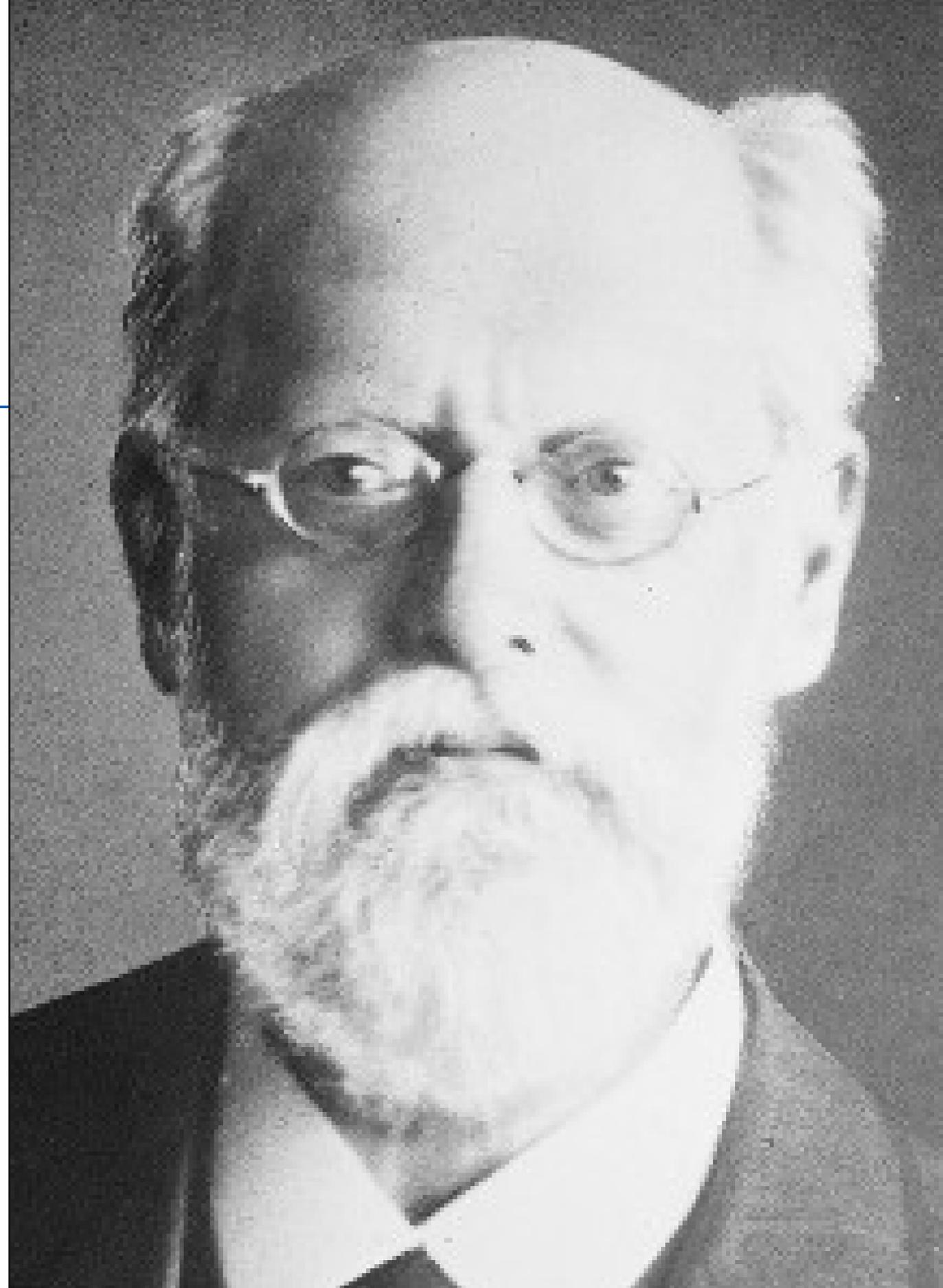
(1854 - 1938)

Language is the key criterion of a nation

Nationalism develops simultaneously with internationalism

The intermediate socialist world is a single organism built on national cultural autonomy

The final socialist world — one nation, one culture, most likely English



Vladimir Lenin

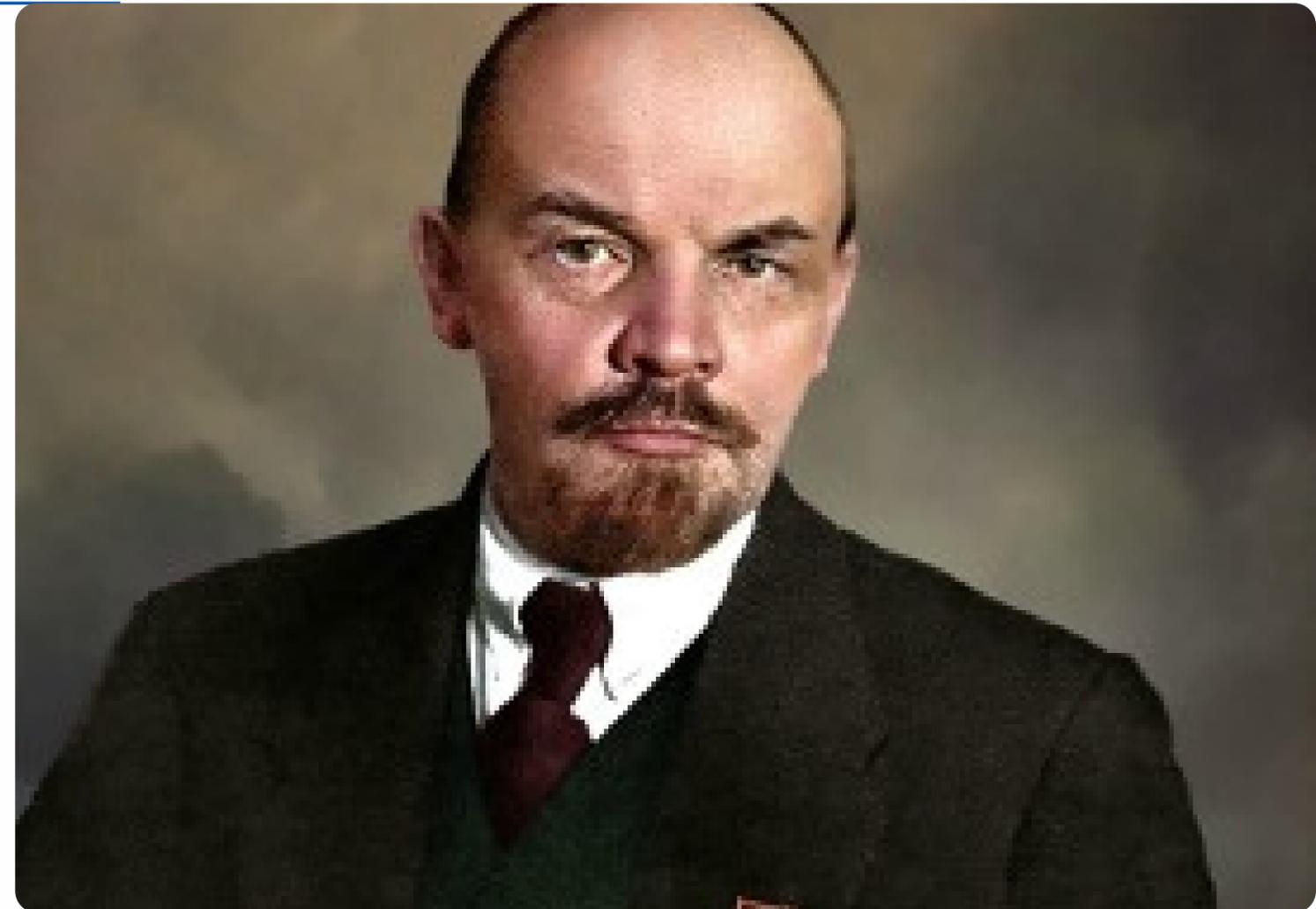
One of the first to pay close attention to nations

The Right of Nations to Self-Determination

Oppressed nations are allies

Centralized party

Only the communist party can decide



Joseph Stalin

4 Criteria: common language, common territory, common economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture

Marxism and the national question

Territorial autonomy instead of cultural autonomy

Jews are not considered a nation



Conclusion

The Bolsheviks were one of the first to notice the importance of nation and they consolidated this idea in their documents

Different views on nation

Cultural autonomy and territorial autonomy

The right of nations to self-determination is utilitarian

Q&A

***Is justice of sea
battles somehow
considered in the
Soviet Union?***



Daria Chaganova

Member & manager of the
Soviet Theory of War
research group



Why should we focus on the naval rhetoric in the early USSR as to understand Soviet theory of war?

Maritime justice rhetoric VS rhetoric of justice on land
Demonstration of the relationship with other countries
The process of setting “rules” for managing and
resolving conflicts in a new sphere of knowledge

Research question

How was the Law of the Sea forming in the USSR
in the period of 1917-1945 and did it issue the
justice of possible sea conflicts?



Research purposes:

to analyze and to contextualize the characteristics of naval collisions/ possible sea battles in the Soviet Corps of Maritime Law in 1917-1945

Three **trends** in different periods from 1917 to 1945:

Convergence: to find a common language with the principles of international law

Economic development: to see navigation as a result of the development of trade

Parting from the world: military potential of the Soviet fleet

*The Law of the Sea has an inner tendency to unite
— to harmonize the norms of one state with the norms of the other*
1928



Laws concerning ship salvages

Internal ethic system

Translated sources of naval law

Legal custom

Icebreaker "Krasny Oktyabr" ("The Red October", 1924)



Poster for the film "Moryaki" ("The Sailors", 1939)

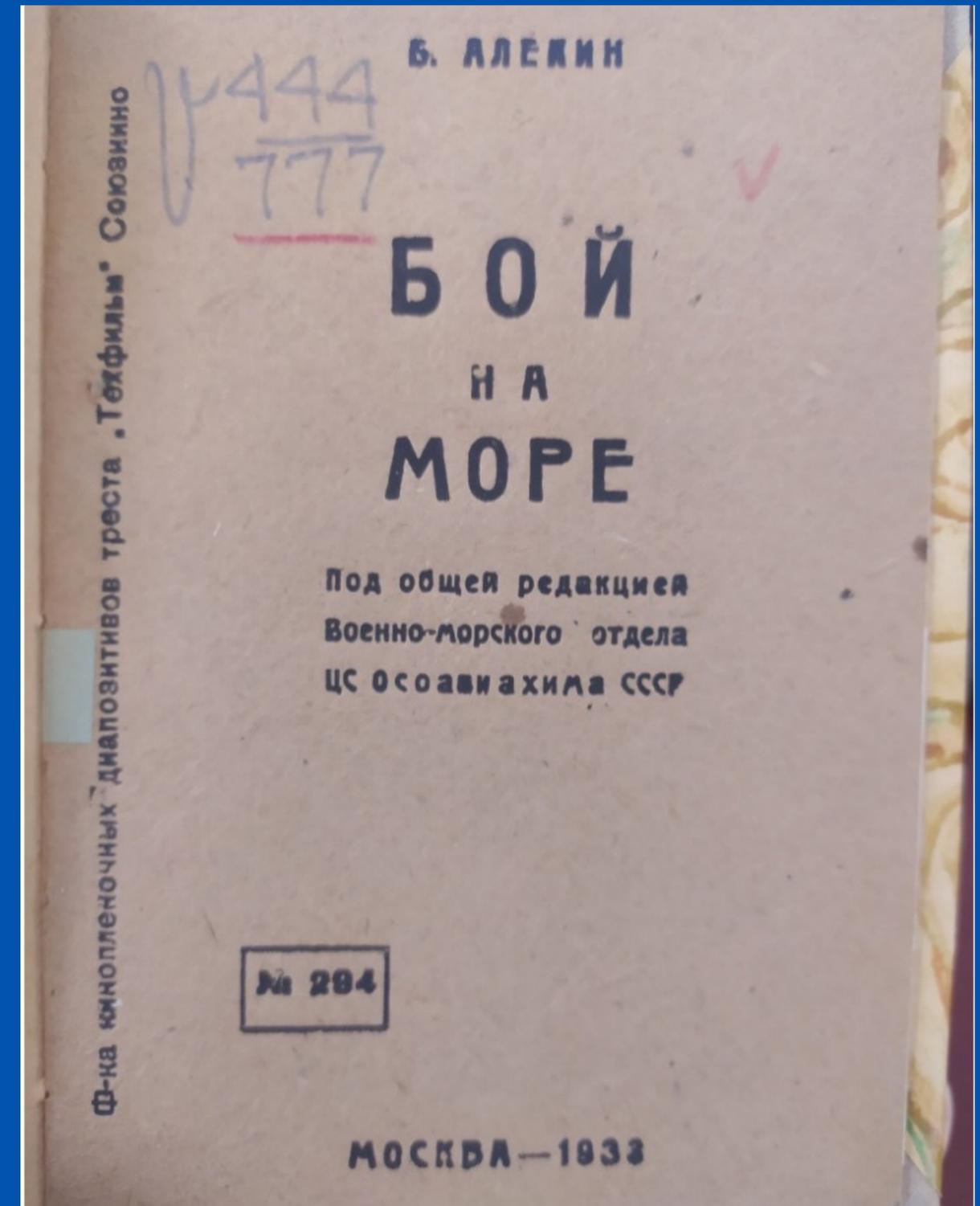
Conclusions

Are there any considerations of a just naval conflict in the early USSR?

The main theoretical corps refers to translated sources

The formation of the rules in the 1920-s was in line with world trends and did not take into account issues of water areas conquests or of the sea battles

The naval battle is perceived in the early USSR as a secondary one to the land battle, and therefore is not widely discussed



The book of B. Alekhin "The Sea Battle". Moscow: 1932

Q&A

**Thank you
for joining
us!**

Contact us:

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