• Most workers were young and male; many were former peasants, peasants who have left the village and moved to the city
• 'Scratch a Russian worker and underneath it you will find a peasant'
• Many retained close links to their villages and often returned, particularly during harvest time, to help work the land
• By 1900 over a third were young men whose fathers had worked in factories, mines and railways
• There were large numbers of women working in the textile factories in St Petersburg and Moscow (the biggest cities in Russia)
• Working class unrest mostly took place in the form of strikes
• These were often brutal affairs
  ○ The army was called out to deal with strikers almost 300 times in 1901
  ○ This increased to 500 in 1902
• Workers went on strike as a result of their living and working conditions
  ○ Pay was low, hours were long (it averaged at about 60 a week, normally over 11 hours per day), factory discipline was harsh and there was a system of fines and few provisions were made for health and safety so workplace injuries were frequent
  ○ Workers were disciplined and fined for the smallest incidents
• There was not much to look forward to outside of the factory gates
  ○ Workers were housed in overcrowded slums which were breeding grounds for diseases like cholera and typhus
• Living conditions were generally appalling
  ○ Many shared room in tenement blocks or in barrack-style buildings near factories or mines
  ○ People had no privacy or private space; women and children often lived in rooms divided by curtains, cramped
  ○ It was unusual for workers coming off-shift to get into the beds of workers going on-shift
• Although they did not form a large proportion of the population, the urban workers were militant and posed a real threat to the authorities
  ○ They resented the harsh conditions that were forced upon them; they saw themselves more as slaves than workers
  ○ Exploitation was especially bad in small workshops that were not subject to government legislation
  ○ Exploited by the middle class factory owners
  ○ They had a high literacy rate (57.8%) compared with the peasantry; they were able to read political literature and articulate their views and were generally more receptive to revolutionary ideas, getting ideas coming from the West
  ○ A significant section of the Russian industry was concentrated in large complexes and huge factories
    • This was partly because of heavy state involvement and partly because Russia had been late to industrialise
    • Russia used the latest mass production techniques
- 5 million Jews by 1900, ethnic and religious minority
- Poles, Fins, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians, Kazakhs, Mongolians, Turkmenians, Uzbeks
- Mostly situated in the North-West
- Despised Russification and religious policies
- Want to use own language and practise own religion (religious autonomy)
- Catholics want to follow the pope rather than the tsar
- Some national minorities wanted separatism, self determination, autonomy, independence
- Russian Empire offers security and protection, more trading options (part of a bigger economy)
- National separatism was more likely to be wanted by peasants and workers
• Marxists, rely on workers for their revolution
• The size of the proletariat is arguably not yet big enough to carry out revolution
• Very revolutionary
• Divided
• Work closely with the trade unions
• Factory owners scared of trade unions
• Trade unions are groups representing the workers in industry
• Trade unions organise strikes
• When the SDs are involved, the strikes become political
• Wanted to wait until Russia had been through the capitalist stage for a revolution
• Working class needed to grow and develop class consciousness
• Larger membership than the Bolsheviks
• More democratic
• More members of the intelligentsia and more non-Russians

Socialist Revolutionaries:
• The leaders of revolutionary parties were all members of the educated middle class; read and discussed Marxism and other left-wing ideas
• Born out of populism—all about the peasants
• Peasants were the backbone of Russian society
• Believed that the peasants should own the land
• Land redistribution
• Independent peasant communes
• Peasants could not read and were too spread out
• Peasants were really religious and were cautious about initiating revolution as it would be going against God
• The SRs are founded in 1901 and led by Victor Chernov
• The SRs mainly focused on the peasants but also on the workers
• Wanted to get rid of the tsar
• The SRs divided into factions
  o The left SRs believed in violence; the SR combat organisation, assassination, tried to attack politicians but also landowners
• Not very Marxist in their thinking
  o A true Marxist believes that the revolution will be led by the workers
• Loose organisation, disagreements on how to approach issues
• Divided
• Hard to infiltrate because they were so uncoordinated

Union of Liberation:
• Want freedoms and civil rights; private ownership of lands, free elections, freedom of speech, rule of law (right to a fair trial), freedom of assembly (meet and discuss political ideas), freedom of the press (don't want censorship)
• Want tsar to stay, don't believe in the end of tsarism
  o Will lose their factories and shops
  o Getting rid of the tsar is too extreme and radical
• Want a constitutional monarchy
• Have a monarch but there is a constitution which limits the tsar's powers
There will be a legislature (parliament, Duma in Russia)
- Represents the people
- A constitutional monarchy would have parliament who would limit the power of the monarch
- Interested in democracy
- Complex as to how much power the monarch has compared to the parliament
- Also believe in private enterprise
- Do not want to lose their wealth (likely to be middle class)
- Scared of the workers and communism
- Intelligentsia, professionals, businessmen
- The League of Liberation (or Union of Liberation) was established in 1904 in St Petersburg and released a banqueting campaign to mobilise political opinion
- Worried about the economic and social problems at the bottom of Russian society
- Encouraged the government to speak to the people
- Set up the zemstvo (local councils), liberals were the members, get things changed

Monarchists:
- Keep monarchy
- Don't believe in change
- Less violent and more respectful
- Russian Monarchist Union founded in 1905
- Gringmut is the leader
- Reactionary-people who believe that Russia should go back wards in history (not just completely stop between feudalism and capitalism)
- Want powerful, autocratic rule
- Martial Law-government can use the military to enforce the law
- Anti-Semitic

Black Hundreds:
- Anti-Semitic
- Ultra nationalist
- Want tsar to have unlimited power
- Believe in Russification
- White Russians from Moscow and St Petersburg have superiority
- Stop revolutions
- Kill political opponent
- Xenophobic
- Russian chauvinism (The Russian race is far superior to other races)
- Monarchists
- Not a big group
- Extreme but not many followers
- Hate revolutionary ideas, liberalism and socialism
- Also known as the Union of Russian People (political wing) and the phrase Black Hundreds is more like their para-military wing
Consequences for Russia:

- Witte was sent off to negotiate the Treaty of Portsmouth under the auspices of the USA in the September of 1905
- The Russians agreed to withdraw from Manchuria and ceded control of Korea and Port Arthur
- The war acted as a catalyst for the 1905 revolution as it exposed how the autocratic government was 'irresponsible, incompetent and reckless' according to historian Abraham Ascher
- It was a disaster for the economy which was emerging from a depression
- Trade to the East was diminished as the Trans-Siberian railway was used for military purposes so other goods could not be transported
- Industries, including silk, cotton and chemicals, were particularly affected by this and factories that were short of raw materials closed
- A large number of young peasants were conscripted into the army and so agricultural work and production suffered
- As a consequence of this, food prices rose and there were high levels of unemployment which deepened working class discontent
- Liberals were infuriated by the mishandling of the war and its hostility towards the regime intensified; liberal leaders were aware that war setbacks aided their cause and increased their popularity ("The worse, the better" the more radical liberals said)
- Aware that military fatigue would leave the regime wounded and more open to attacks, the liberals challenged it more boldly
  - One example of this demonstration of assertiveness was the launch of Liberation’s banquet campaign which was launched in 1904
  - A set of meetings to discuss Russia’s problems over dinner
- First time European power lost to an Asian power
- Newspapers start to criticise the regime; hadn't really happened much before

Background to Bloody Sunday

1 RAPID SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE (pages 28 and first para of p29)

A. Workers
- Former peasants moving into overcrowded towns and cities to become industrial workers
- Living conditions were cramped and pay was low even though the hours were long
- Many workers took part in strikes throughout the 1890s

B. Peasants
- Some peasants were doing well for themselves (these were known as kulaks) but most still lived in poverty
- There were frequent disturbances and outbreaks of violence
- The only response to these outbreaks from the government was further restrictions
- Nobility did not have as strong grip on the countryside as they once did and were slowly selling their estates off and renting land to well-off peasants

C. Middle class
- Many peasants were moving to the cities and as a result their children entered liberal professions
- Ex-peasants could become landowners and merchants
- A new group of business men began to emerge and scrutinise the government over their handling of affairs
Explosion of violence at the end of October by supporters of the Tsar infuriated by the new concessions; fighting between left and right on the street; seems that the police and possibly the govt had some hand in organising the violent revenge attacks

Student Power:

- Students were an influential force in 1905 when it came to anti-government demonstrations
- Universities became the meeting place for students, workers, soldiers, women and members of the professional groups where they could plan for future action
- According to A. Archer in the Revolution of 1905 (2005) meetings would end with cries of 'down with the autocracy' and it that it was estimated that in the course of three weeks in St Petersburg, 'tens of thousands of workers attended one or more meetings devoted to political indoctrination'
- 27th August-universities and institutes given autonomy to control education within their institutions and run their own affairs; became centre for political meetings

Workers:

- Flood of strikes followed by a slow return to work in January
- 9th January-Bloody Sunday
- Censorship collapsed and newspaper became increasingly belligerent towards the govt
- Workers started creating factory committees to represent them demanding more economic reforms than political ones
- In October, they called for a general strike which demanded an eight-hour day, basic rights and a constitution
- There was also the creation of the St Petersburg Soviet in October alongside soviets in other cities
- The St Petersburg Soviet then disbanded in December
- Armed revolt by Moscow workers suppressed (December)
- Towards the end of 1905, the labour movement seemed to need to emerge
- In October, a general strike broke out
- Strike caused chaos as Moscow was a railway hub
- There were up to two million strikers from every area of employment
- The strike was initiated by workers, who made up the bulk of participants, although students and members of the middle-class took part in it as well
- Strike threw the government into a crisis
- Also saw the rise in the influence of the St Petersburg Soviet, which for a short time had a higher profile than any other workers' organisation in Russia

St Petersburg Soviet:

- Council of elected representatives of the city's industrial workers
- Formed 13th October
- Members of the soviet each represented around 500 workers
- In October 1905, the St Petersburg Soviet consisted of 562 representatives from 147 factories, 34 shops and 16 trade unions
- There was an Executive Committee with 30 members
- Nine of the nominees to the committee were from the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks and the SRs: each party was allocated three seats
- St Petersburg Soviet began as a strike committee; its role was to organise and command the general strike in October
• The group was quickly copied by others and soon 50 towns and cities in Russia had their own soviet
• When the general strike was over, the St Petersburg Soviet not only remained but also expanded
• It published a newspaper, Izvestia; established an armed militia to protect the city against counter-revolutionaries (over 6,000 members); acted as an unofficial local govt body by distributing food and money to those in need; most importantly it engaged in political campaigning
• It was founded by grassroot activists
• Ensured that it retained its class identity and was not taken over by the middle class
• The Union of Unions attempted to infiltrate the SPS but failed
• But it was dominated by Mensheviks on its Executive Committee and notably by Trotsky
• Under Trotsky's influence they campaigned for an eight-hour day, proclaimed support for Polish Rebels and Russian, naval mutineers
• On 3rd December, the government regained its confidence and hit back, arresting and imprisoning all members of the St Petersburg Soviet

The Crushing of the Moscow Uprising:
• By the Winter of 1905 the government felt strong enough to silence the growing St Petersburg Soviet
• The capital's Soviet backed down without a fight, unlike the one in Moscow
• In early December, encouraged by its Bolshevik members, the Soviet called for a general strike to overthrow what they referred to as 'the criminal Tsarist government'
• It then went on to distribute weapons to the city's workers
• Army units cleared the barricades that had been erected on Moscow's street and used artillery fire to regain control of its working class districts
• When the street fighting was over the army took part in counterattacks: mass arrests, beating and execution without trial
• More than 1,000 people died in the Moscow Uprising

Peasants:
• There was an outbreak of disorder in the Black Earth region in March
• In response to the formation of the Union of Unions, the SRs established the All-Russian Peasants Union in July
• Met secretly on 31st July near Moscow, peasants were making sure their voice was heard and demanding the handover of land and a constitutional assembly
• A mass of upheaval occurred in the Black Earth region and elsewhere (July-December)
• Rural areas remained fairly quiet until the autumn of 1905
• Large-scale disorder only commenced when the peasants felt that the tsarist regime had lost its footing
• Disturbance in the countryside hit its highest point in November and December but continued on into 1906 and even further
• Peasant disorder was mainly attacks on landowners' property
• The desire for land was the main incentive behind these attacks: many peasants hoped that if they drove the landowners away that they themselves would gain more land
• Peasant disorders rose significantly in July and June but fell in August due to the harvest
• Peasants would: seize land, grain and animals, burn landlords' houses, illegal cutting of timber and refuse to pay rent or taxes
• They were generally demanding land, a reduction in taxes and an end to redemption payments
lose their privileges. The social group that led the revolution depends on when in 1905 and where in Russia you’re talking about. The peasants were not as much of a threat as they were poorly organised, spread out across the country and their riots were spontaneous. The All-Russians Peasants Union was formed in July by the Union of Unions and the SRs so there was some political element behind it. But the peasants main issue was with the landowners rather than the tsar. The Moscow Uprising in the Winter was between the tsar and his army and the workers. The Bolsheviks were behind this strike. The national minorities were also fighting back against the tsarist regime who took advantage of the disarray in Russia. 300,000 troops were left in Poland to keep it under control. There was civil war in the Baltic states who were trying to break away. The armies were also a concern to the tsar. A battleship was like Russian society in a microcosm. There were army mutinies in St Petersburg and Moscow and a naval mutiny in Kronstadt, not just Potemkin. Tsar needs army to support him. The Tsar gives them concessions to keep them happy, such as pay, and then uses them to crush the workers in Moscow and the national minorities.

b. Was 1905 one Revolution, or many?
The 1905 was a constant stream of little events that accumulated to one big revolution. There were multiple uprisings in different cities and although combined they all resulted in concessions from the tsar not one in particular was the reason behind the October Manifesto. 1905 was firefighting for the tsar, he has to put out one fire and then another one in a different place and then another one but not all Russia was ablaze at once. It was at highest point in October, the zemstvo, the St Petersburg Soviet, the Kadets, the general strikes, up to two million people went on strike in Moscow. All opposition groups were united in demanding radical change.

c. Which were the most dangerous moments for the Tsar?
One of the most dangerous moments for the tsar I would say is the mutiny on the Potemkin. If there were to be a large-scale revolution, the army would need the army on his side to suppress riots and if they themselves revolted against him, he would be left with no defence. Furthermore, the formation of the Union of Unions also posed a threat to the tsar as this group was an umbrella political party for all areas of Russian society suggesting that the tsar had very little support within Russia and the majority of people wanted some degree of change.

D. Does the 1905 Revolution deserve to be called a ‘Revolution’?
Although the 1905 revolution did result in some concessions being granted through the October Manifesto it did not result in the entire system undergoing significant change, so I believe that it does not deserve to be called a revolution. But Russia is growing out of its system. Some historians believe that the revolution started in 1905 while others only see 1917 as the Russian Revolution. In 1917, the tsar falls in February and in October the Bolsheviks take over. The 1905 is sometimes referred to as the dress rehearsal for 1917; no significant political change took place, although it did lead to some change.

Reasons for the Tsar’s survival of 1905

1. Nature of the 1905 Revolution

- Traditionally, historians have viewed the 1905 revolution as the result of the growing impoverishment and discontent of workers and peasants which led to an explosion of popular dissatisfaction