

### *Why did radical parties form in Russia:*

- Rapid expansion of cities fuelled by Witte's industrial drives in the economy. - Increase of burden of debt for peasants fuels resentment.
- Ideas and literature would spread amongst people due to close proximity, radical ideas would spread.
- Poor working conditions, rush of workers into industrial cities lead to intense strain on the infrastructure, poor sanitation leads to social unrest.
- Policy of Russification leads to a widespread unrest and resentments amongst the non-Russian population, especially the Jews.
- Widespread dislike of the Tsarism, Nicholas II great disappointment.
- Populists, (Become People's Will in 1879), extremely militant, believed in deeds of aggression if necessary.
- Marxism philosophy is becoming popular in Russia with the educated intelligia and the industrial workers.
- The formation of SD's and SR's.

### **1905 Revolution:**

#### *Why did it happen:*

- Took place due to a number of social, economic and political factors in Russia.
- Majority of Russians made up of peasants, live in poverty, famine and paying off debt, resulted in Jacqueries.
- Meanwhile, industrial workers wanted an 8 hour working day, higher pay and an end to forced overtime.
- Tsar still had total power, and radical groups wanted him gone.
- SR wanted to give political power to the peasants, SD's wanted to create a completely new society which gave power to the workers and peasants and liberal groups wanted to share power and to introduce reforms.
- Russo-Japanese war:** Russia attempted to expand control over the Far East in northern China and Korea, and came into conflict with the growing empire of Japan. Between 1904-1905, the two sides fought before Russia suffered a crushing defeat and was forced to give up their Port Arthur in North China.
- Defeat seen as a national humiliation, causing unrest against the government. - Biggest military humiliation was 27<sup>th</sup> May 1905, Battle of Tsuchima, lost 25/35 of its warship fleet. Defeats like these made the Tsar look even weaker and gave encouragement to revolutionaries.
- Bloody Sunday:** Peaceful demonstration outside the Tsar's winter palace, guards fired and killed around 1000 people. Betrayed the trust of the country and the ideology of "Little Father". Father George Gapon, a Russian Orthodox priest led the demonstration, who was later hanged by the SR party for being a double agent for the Okhrana.

-1901, Russian liberal exiles in Germany established a newspaper called Liberation, who supported a constitutional monarchy similar to Britain. In 1904, these liberals founded the “Union of Liberation”.

-1905, October Manifesto which suggested that a national parliament be formed, which many liberals liked. This group became “**Octoberists**”, and supported Nicholas II, as they believed it was the best thing for Russia's constitutional development.

#### *Kadets:*

-More radical liberal group which came out of 1905 were the Constitutional democrats (**Kadets**). Saw October manifesto as the beginning, not the end, of political reform.

-They believed in a true parliamentary system of government, based on the democratic franchise, would be the best way to deal with the social and economic problems facing Russia by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

-Kadet Programme:

1. Universal free education
2. All-Russian constituent assembly
3. End of censorship
4. Abolition of land repayments
5. Regeneration of trade unions and the right to strike
6. Equal and full rights for all citizens

#### **Repression and reform:**

##### *Stolypin's repression:*

-Wave of repression from the failure of the 1905 revolution associated with one man-**Peter Stolypin** (1862-1911) who was chairman of the council of ministers. He cleverly manipulated the Duma to achieve a pro-government majority by 1907. Assassinated by an SR while visiting Kiev in 1911.

-During 1905, Stolypin had been ruthless at dealing with revolutionary outbreaks as governor of the Saratov province.

-Peasant unrest continued between 1906-1907.

-In 1907, 1200 government officials had been murdered by terrorist attacks by revolutionaries, such as the SR's. Stolypin used field court marshals, 1144 death sentences were handed out between October 1906 and May 1907.

-Attacked the base of revolutionaries, 1906-1912, 1000 newspapers ceased publication and 600 trade unions were forced to close.

-He also convicted many to political crimes, many of which were either sent to labour camps or death.

-Impact of suppression, by 1908 political assassinations by revolutionaries dropped to 365.

## Russia and WWI:

### *Germany/Austria-Hungary in 1914:*

- By 1880, Chancellor **Otto Von Bismarck** had unified Germany into a federation of 22 European kingdoms of principalities, largest of which was Prussia. The King of Prussia, **Wilhelm II**, was also the German Emperor (Kaiser), and was extremely powerful and controlled ministerial positions, foreign policy and the armed forces. Kaiser was jealous of Bismarck, and in 1890 was able to force him from power.
- Between 1890 and 1913, coal production had increased by 400%. Other industries, such as steel, engineering and armaments had also grown rapidly.
- Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Germany was recognized as having the most efficient army in the world. Its statute included universal mass conscription for short term military service followed by a larger force in reserve. By 1914 the regular German army comprised of 25 corps (700,000 men).
- The union between Austria and Hungary took place in 1867, and it had a large mix in it's empire of ethnicity, including Poles, Czechs and Slovak.
- Austria-Hungary feared attack from Russia and joined with Germany. This later became the "**Triple Alliance**" in 1882 when Italy joined them.

### *WW1 events:*

- Russia entered WWI for a number of reasons, including stunting the growth of the German and Austria-Hungary empires, and seeing themselves as defenders of Slav nationalism as well as the Serbian issue.
- When WWI broke out in August 1914, the industrial unrest ended as the country united behind the Tsar and the government in a patriotic sense.
- Went well at first, 1914 Russia armies invaded Eastern Germany and eastern Austria-Hungary, but by 1916 the Russian army was in retreat.
- Rasputin**, who influenced the **Tsarina** as her new advisor, made the Tsar family became increasingly unpopular.
- Russia also suffered serious economic disruption because of the war, and by Christmas 1916 was entering a period of major crisis.
- When units were diverted from France to the Eastern Front, the Russian advance was halted in September at the **Battle of Tannenburg**, in which German generals Hidenburg and Ludendorf won a crushing victory over the Russian generals Rennenkopf and Sansonov (shot himself rather than tell the Tsar).
- By the end of the battle, 30,000 Russians were killed or wounded, 95,000 were captured. Only around 10,000 managed to escape.
- The Germans suffered 20,000 casualties and captured 500 guns.
- Near the end of September, the Russians also captured the Austria-Hungary fortress town of Przemyśl and 10,000 prisoners after 4 months.

- 1915 was the turning point, after victory at Tannenburg, the Germans defeated the Russians at the **Battle of Lodz** in December 1914.
- This was followed by the complete pushing out of Russia from Russian Poland by the successful Austria-Hungary **Gorlice-Tarnow** offensive in July 1915.

#### *The Tsar steps in:*

- In September 1915, after being pushed out of Russian Poland, Nicholas II made the decision of replacing his uncle Nikolai as Commander-in-chief of the Russian army, taking personal responsibility for the army on the Eastern Front.
- Tsarina Alexandra left to the running of the government and administration.
- From June to August 1916, Russia launched their last major offensive, the **Brusilov offensive**, started well and even received fighting support from Romania, but by August it the offensive ran out of momentum and Russia had to retreat from the Baltic sea to the Black sea.
- Brusilov offensive primarily failed because Nicholas II was a poor Commander-in-chief and the Russian army had poor internal communications which led to shortages and equipment not arriving at the front.
- This was followed by desertions, and by Christmas 1916 the Russian army had lost 1.6 million soldiers, 3.9 million were wounded and 2.4 million had been taken prisoner. In addition, they were facing a major shortage of war material (so bad Russian artillery was limited to 3 shells a day) and low morale.

#### *WWI and the Russian home front:*

- In order to support such a large army, the Russia State had to increasingly use the National budget between 1913 and 1916, financed out higher taxes and borrowed loans from Britain and France.
- Printed more money to pay for the war, which led to inflation with prices rising over 200% between August 1914 and Christmas 1916.
- Got rid of the Gold standard, meant that the value of money was not that strong, couldn't increase very easily.
- The loss of agricultural workers and horses for the army and also the railway takeover by the army caused a mass shortage in food. Moscow 1914 received around 2200 railway wagons a month, but in Christmas 1916 received down to around 300 wagons a month.
- Peasants had food shortages, held grain so wouldn't sell, food supply decreased in inflation increased.
- Huge loss of life and military humiliation undermined domestic support for the war.
- At the beginning of the war, the **Union of the Zemstva** provided medical facilities for the army, and the **Congress of Representation of Industry and Trade** helped coordinate war production.
- In July 1915, a **Central War Industrial Committee** was created to help

### *Crisis in the countryside:*

- P.G had control over Petrograd and other cities, but little over the countryside.
- Peasants took the law into their own hands, took land for themselves from land-owners and redistributed it amongst themselves. Some peasants attacked and even killed their land-owners.
- In June 1917, the P.G received over 700 complaints about illegal attacks on property.
- After the June Offensive, peasant soldiers also returned from the Front and helped the process of land redistribution.
- By the end of 1917, it was chaos. No system of government or administration in the countryside, and the P.G were unable to impose their authority outside towns and cities.

### **The Return of Lenin:**

#### *Lenin's return:*

- Returned to Russia via German transportation to contribute in the revolution in April 1917.
- By 1917, Lenin was a committed follower of Karl Marx, wanted a socialist revolution led by a "Vanguard group" to lead it to a socialist society.
- Faced with many problems, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were exiled outside of Russia after being accused of being German spies, and hunted down by the Okhrana when inside.
- What is to be Done? (1902), talks about vanguard ideas.
- Imperialism: The Highest State of Capitalism (1916), Marxist explanation of WWI.
- Upon arriving in Russia at Finland station, he gave a 90 minute long speech condemning the P.G, and this was later published in the Bolshevik newspaper Pravda (truth) as the **April Thesis**, speech done on the 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1917.
- Re-wrote Marx ideas so that bourgeoisie revolution could be followed up by a socialist revolution, these views were contrary to the views of the Bolshevik leadership in Petrograd, Kamanev and Stalin, who supported the P.G.
- Exploited the nature of the war to win over Bolsheviks in Russia.
- Convinced the Soviets that political power should be theirs, as the P.G was liberal, and so the Bolsheviks would have the support.

#### *The April Thesis, 7<sup>th</sup> April 1913:*

- The war is a greedy one and should end immediately.
- Revolution should move to the last stage, putting power into the hands of proletariat and poor peasants.
- No support for the P.G.
- Masses must see Soviet as the only possible form of revolutionary government.

### *P.G weakness:*

- Never intended to permanent, never had a long-term rule plan.
- Lack of popular support from the people due to the lack of solving problems.
- Internal divisions led to economic crisis/no strong actions taken.
- Failure to destroy Lenin when it had the chance, believed the Bolsheviks to be stronger than they really were.
- Failure to solve Land problem.
- Stain of war, resources, soldiers being used up.
- Low morale amongst the people, disbelief in the government.
- Desertion by the Petrograd garrison, no defence.

### *Bolshevik strength:*

- Strong sense of purpose, very committed to Lenin/revolution.
- Absence of challenge from other parties, due to their weaknesses of accepting February as a genuine revolution, and supported the war, Lenin painted them as “selling out to the Bourgeoisie”.
- Lack of political system development in Russia, became a question of who could exert power on whom ?
- Lenin's leadership, strong and committed leader with a clear vision.
- Radicalisation of politics in Petrograd, more people attracted to revolutionary ideas.
- Trotsky's organisation allowed operation to go smoothly with little problems.
- Control of MRC, gave the Bolsheviks control of the capital of Russia.

### *Revolution of all or the work of a few:*

#### **All:**

- Deep unpopularity in P.G
- Large support for the Soviet
- Large number of Bolsheviks
- Radicalisation of politics appeal
- Few soldiers defended the P.G
- Only White Army resists later on

#### **Few:**

- Elite force of R.G/MRC took it
- Lenin's leadership skills
- Mensheviks “Bolshevik coup”
- Used Soviet as a legitimate
- Trotsky careful planning
- Armed uprisings in 1905/Feb, not the same



they wanted in order to “counter revolutionaries”, better organised and more efficient than the Tsarist State police the Okhrana.

- Main instrument in which Lenin and his successors terrorized the Russian people into subservience and conformity.

- Local Cheka killed Tsar and his family in July 1918.

- Despite the atrocities they committed, no attempt was made to limit their power, and they continued to wage their “class war”.

### *Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly:*

- Lenin's objective as a revolutionary was never to win mass support, but to create a party capable of seizing power when the opportunity arose, which is why he refused to cooperate with other revolutionaries of the P.G.

- The Constituent Assembly had been produced by the P.G, and Lenin felt too weak not to run in it, and found:

1. They had been outnumbered about 2-1 by the SR's.

2. They only got 24% of the vote.

3. They only gained about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the seats in the assembly.

- On the 5<sup>th</sup> January 1918, the Constituent Assembly met for the first time. When Lenin demanded the Assembly should obey the decrees passed by the Soviets and Sovnarkom, the Assembly denied this.

- As such, Red Guard and armed troops loyal to Lenin dissolved the Assembly, seen as the end of any hope of democracy in Communist Russia, and would not have any until another 70 years.

- Rosa Luxemburg, a German Communist, saw it as an “elimination of democracy” and condemned it.

- The Bolsheviks were able to do this because their main political opposition was divided on what to do.

- SR's split, left SR's joined with Lenin's majority of SR's following Viktor Chernov's peaceful demonstrations, easily dispersed by the Red Guard.

- Mensheviks were also split between following Fedor Dan and Julius Martov and only in May 1918 did they reunite, but by then it was too late.

### *The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:*

- Lenin and Trotsky (War Commissar of Foreign Affairs in 1917) had agreed on the action of the Constituent Assembly but disagreed on the war, Lenin wanted peace, Trotsky wanted a delay.

- Bolsheviks visualised it would be a better option for peace, as they could regain their lost land if Germany lost against their Western Allies.

- In addition, Germany had continued to support Lenin and the Bolsheviks financially, so it would be in their best interests to come to terms of peace with them.

- Trotsky took a middle stance, believed Russia couldn't win, but if they held out