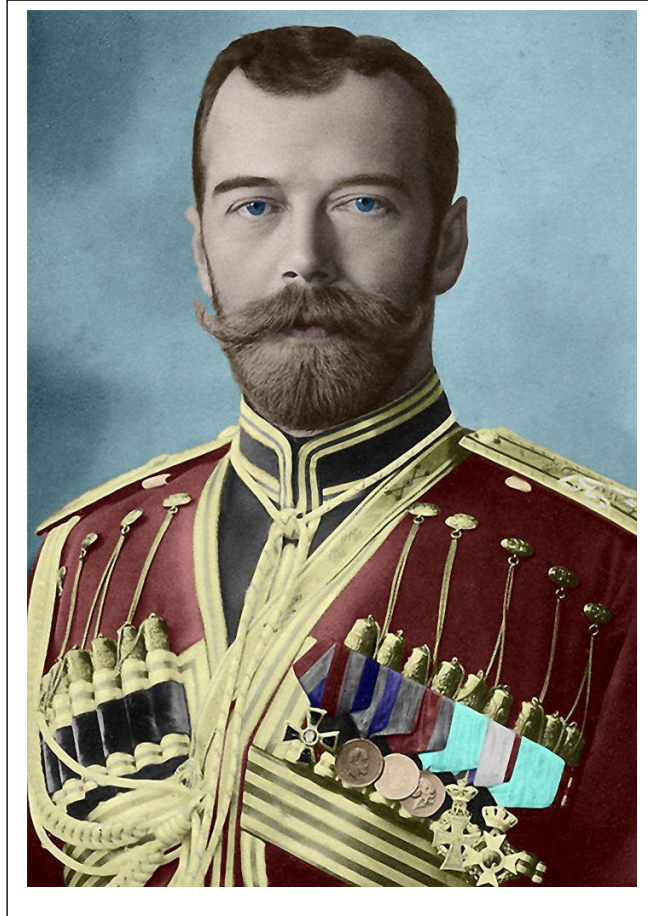


A Level Transition Work - Russia



Documentaries you can watch:

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HPWxCC9xPQ>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpWyFcH-1tE>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LDRmZ3NI7qA>

Websites:

- <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/subjects/zj26n39>
- <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z3nsxsg/revision/2>
- <http://johnwarner.herts.sch.uk/perch/resources/documents/ussr-revision-guide.pdf>

Articles you can read:

- <https://www.history.com/topics/russia/russian-revolution>
- <https://spartacus-educational.com/FWWtsar.htm>

Books/historians to research or read the work of:

- The Last of the Tsars, Robert Service
- October, China Mieville
- A People's Tragedy, Orlando Figes

Russia In Revolution - The Background

1881-1914

The Background

Russian Geography

- 8 million sq miles: 2 x size Europe and 1/6th world surface
- Mainly rural – 11:1 village to town ratio
- Natural resources: timber, coal, oil, gold, precious minerals/metals
- Most of Russia inhospitable
- North and East had many barren lands
- Beyond the Ural Mountains, Russia was a wild place with frontier settlements.
- Transport and communication across the empire poor and difficult
- ¾ population lived within European Russia (west of Urals) – this is on less than ¼ of the total land mass!

Nationalities

- 130 million population - Less than ½ population of the empire were Russian
- Nationalities: Romanian, Polish, Finns, Jews, Georgians etc.
- Religions: Slav/Orthodox (state religion), Muslim, Catholic, Jewish
- Each had own customs, culture, language and sometimes religion
- Many resented Russian control (Tsar's often introduced policies which discriminated against nationalities)

Towns and cities

- St Petersburg capital
- The Tsar and his Ministers ruled the country from there. (pop. 500,000 = size of Liverpool's, London was 3.5 million!)
- Towns were mainly small market centres or admin centres
- Middle class and intelligentsia almost non-existent

Agriculture

- Only 25% of Russia was really good farmland.
- Most of this was in the South and West of the country, especially in the Ukraine, the "Bread basket" of Russia.
- The rest of Russia was either desert, arctic tundra, or taiga (woods).
- 85% or 4 out of 5 Russians were peasants. They had a hard life and there was often starvation and disease.

Peasants

- Peasants had been emancipated in 1861 – no long had to live on mirs (communes).
- Hoped by freeing them they would become either entrepreneurial private farmers or become mobile workers who would go to work in cities.
- Did not work as hoped; entrepreneurial class did not emerge and most continued strip method of farming on their allotted strip using wooden tools, and lived primitive lifestyles. Still had to ask village elders for permission to leave.
- They were generally illiterate, deeply religious, superstitious and hostile to change
- If peasants protested (for example during times of famine), the Tsar would use his feared Cossack soldiers against them.

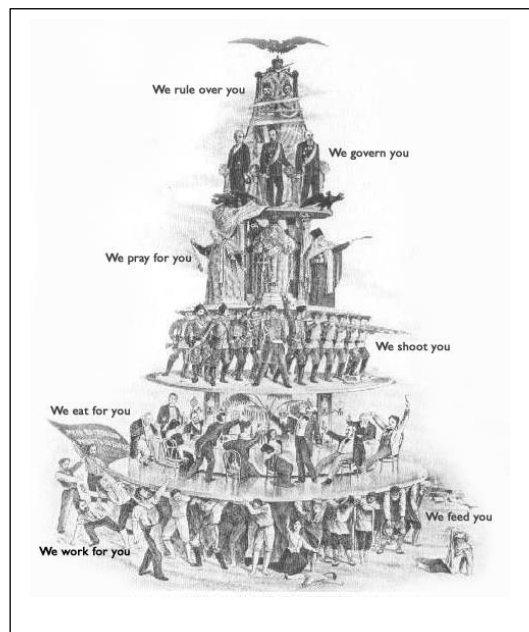
Middle Class and Intelligentsia

- Based in towns and cities
- Almost non-existent class – had grown during reformist era of Alexander II thanks to university and education reforms
- Generally more educated
- Doctors, lawyers, teachers

Nobility

- 10% population yet owned 75%
- Held positions in government, army, provincial governors or administration
- Not obliged to obey Tsar but generally did
- Landowners so controlled the mirs

TASK: For each category, identify why this would make Russia difficult to rule effectively:



Task: Russian society:

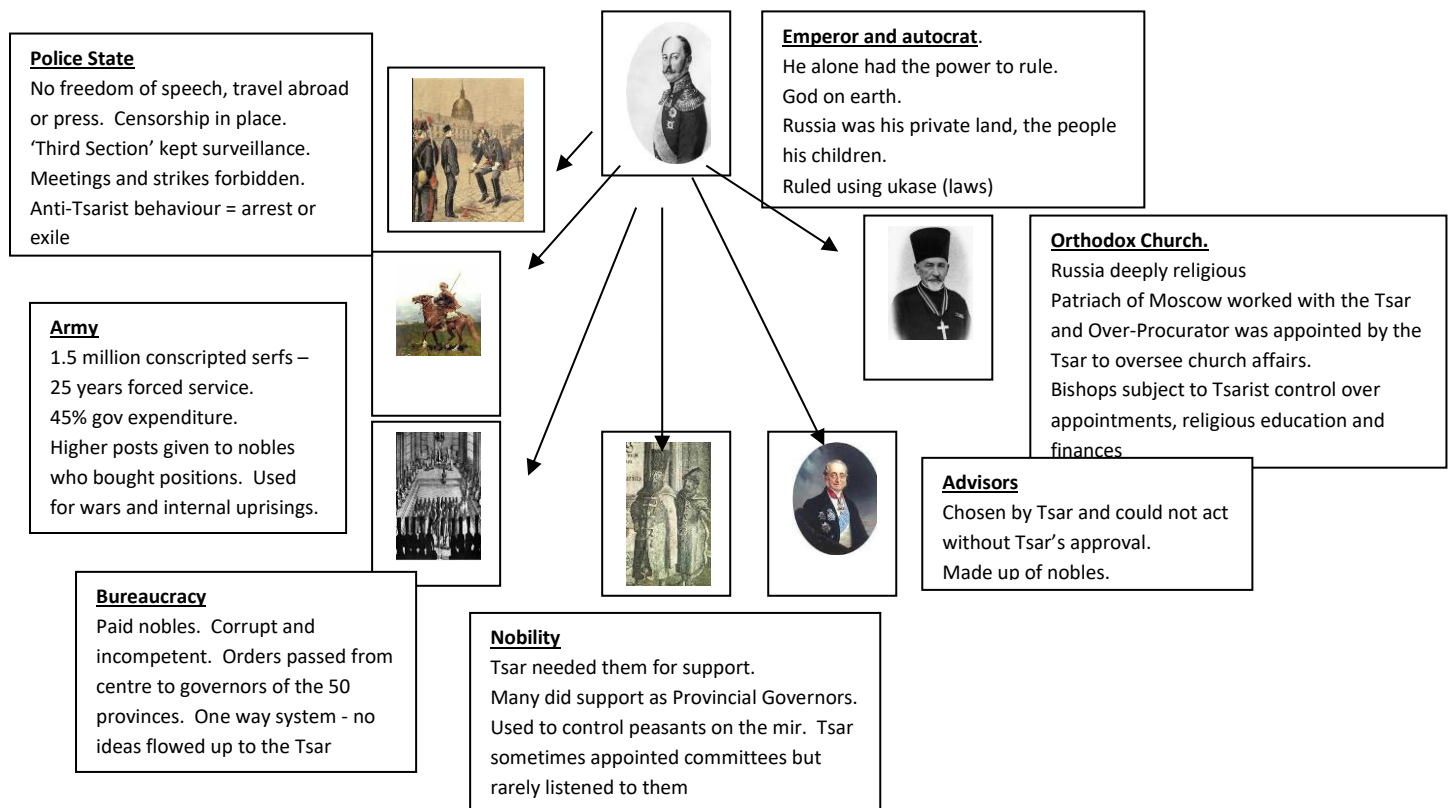
Annotate the above source to explain what you can learn about Russian society in 1881?

Use the information below to annotate the key people and the position that they had in the social hierarchy.

Consider:

- Pyramid shape and power – who holds the most power and how many?
- What is happening to each layer as we go down.
- The flag of resistance at the bottom

AUTOCRACY IN ACTION (TOP-DOWN SYSTEM)



Background to the Tsars:

Tsar Nicholas I – Tsar Repressive Autocrat.

- Traditional autocrat
- Police State/secret police to repress
- Orthodox Christian. Uses religion and church as tool of control
- Serfdom

Tsar Alexander II – ‘Tsar Liberator’, 1855-1881; embarks on a period of reform

This was because:

1. **Crimean War** – Russia lost.
 2. **Growth of opposition groups** – way to prevent them growing further
 3. **Economic growth needed** – serfdom hindered the Russian economy, needed investment
- **Political change:** creation of **local elective governments** 1864 (**zemstva**: control of education and roads but voted for by wealthy), **judicial reform** with **trial by jury** 1870, signed Melikov’s report in 1881 which called for extension of zemstva to become a national representative government. Could this have been the first step to an elected government?
 - **Social change:** **Emancipation of Serfs** 1861, **reduction in censorship** (could print about government policy and foreign publications allowed) and greater civil liberties., educational reform (open to all, **zemstva not church in charge of education, universities given freedoms**)
 - **Economic change:** Reutern as minister. Reformed treasury with **new system of tax collection** and budgets, created a **state bank and savings bank**, foreign investment encouraged, **government subsidies** given to entrepreneurs developing the rails

However, towards the end of his reign, the death of a son and a failed assassination attempt led to repeal of some of his reforms, resulting in frustration. He became more repressive. This is called the **REACTION.**

Remember!

Tsar Nicholas = Tsar Represser

Tsar Alexander II = Tsar Reformer/Liberator

Tsar Alexander III = Tsar Reactionist (undid a number of reforms and introduced repressive laws and changes)

**Key Issue 1:
Alexander III 1881-1904**

Lynch: Alexander III 's measures was so oppressive that they earned the title 'the Reaction'.

KEY QUESTION: HOW FAR DID ALEXANDER III CHANGE RUSSIA 1881-1894?

Assassination of Alexander II 1881

- March 1st 1881 Alexander assassinated by populist revolutionary group the People's Will
- End of reformist era and start of Alexander III reactionary period. Assassination convinced him that reform destabilised Russia and so a return to autocracy, control and repression was the only and best option.

The situation in 1881:

- Alexander II had embarked on a series of reforms (political – zemstva 1864, judicial – trial by jury, education, censorship) = raised expectations across Russia. Some successes and some limitations.
- Disillusionment at modest outcomes of reform era = increased criticism amongst the educated classes who expected further changes and reforms, wanted to build on progress made.
- Inherited loss in Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars – some changes were required to be a Great Power.
- Alexander III convinced that reform had unsettled the masses, resulting in radicalism and assassination, and therefore Conservatism and the reaction of repression was needed to restore order and stability

Beliefs

- **Maintenance of autocracy** – reassert the principles of autocracy', conservative
- **Rejection of constitutional monarchy** ideas
- **Repression and counter-reform** to turn back the clock – western ideas and change had caused chaos and urban discontent leading to radicalism
- **Devoutly religious** – educated by Procurator of Holy Synod

MAIN AIMS of Alexander III:

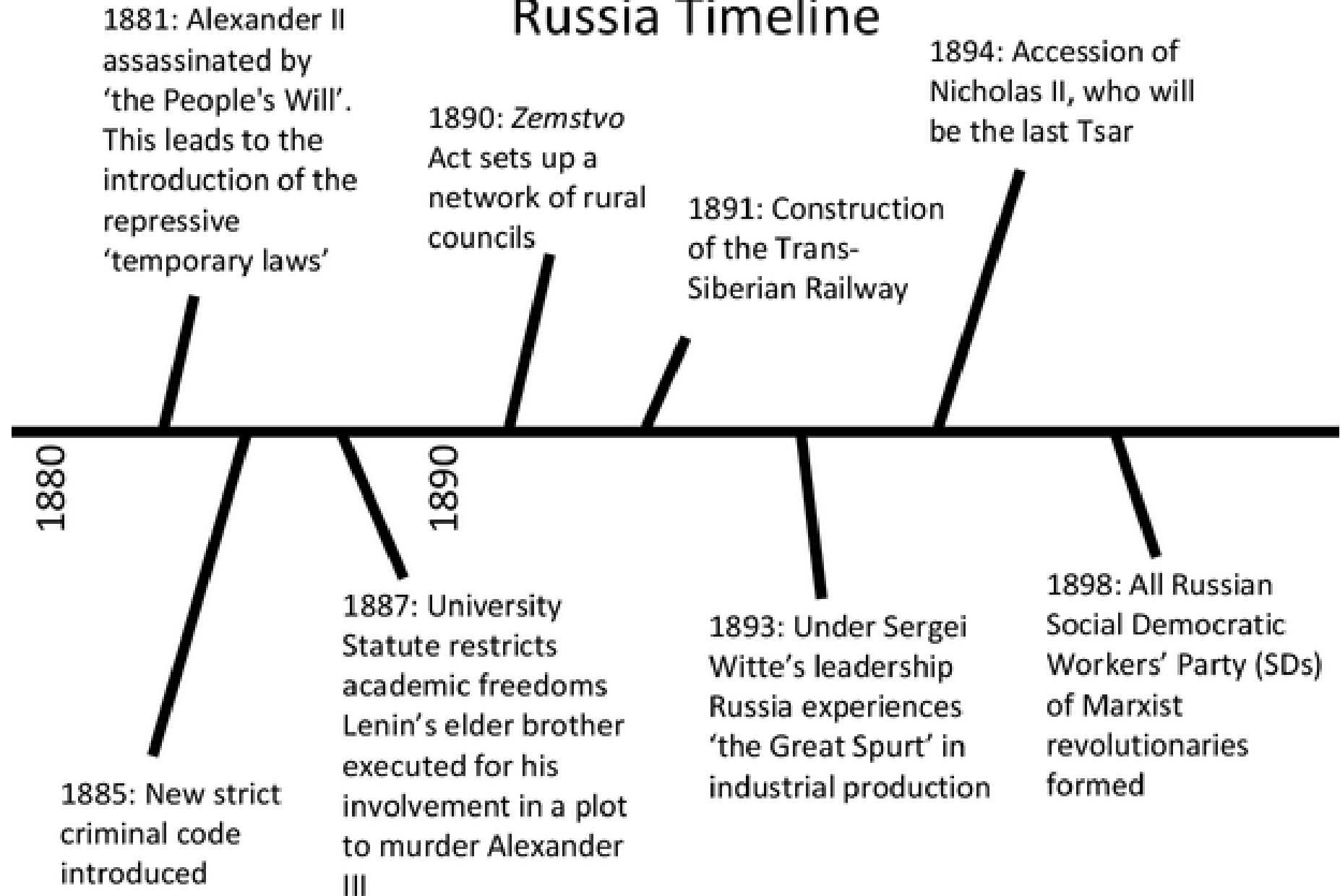
- 1) To reassert Tsarist control
- 2) Curb radicalism experienced as a result of reform
- 3) Avoid repetition of loss of wars
- 4) Secure Russia a Great Power status, strengthen and ensure future of autocracy and power of the church

Task: Key reforms put into place by Alexander III and actions during this rule:

Alexander III – Tsar Reactionist

Area	Measure	What might repealing the earlier reforms and introducing these new measures?
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong centralised control put back into place with a loyal, religious person in the position of Chief Minister. Pobedonostsev (Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod; in control of religion and therefore the peasantry) as Chief Minister. A man who believes that the basis of political and social stability lay in support of autocracy, the Russian Orthodox Church and Russian nationalism. • Issued a political Manifesto in 1881 (created by Pobedonostsev) declaring that absolute political power resides with the Tsar. • Creation of Land Captains 1889 from the nobility to ensure their support. Granted them with laws and powers to override zemstvo (local parliament) decisions and elections as well as overturn judicial decisions • Zemstva electoral reform - 1890 election arrangements changed to reduce the peasants vote and give the nobility an advantage. • Removal of liberal ministers who may push for, introduce or encourage western or liberal ideas. 	
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nikolai Bunge (Finance Minister 1881 onwards) reduced the amount of tax paid by peasants. • Creation of a Peasant Land Bank to provide financial support to the peasants, which would allow them to increase the size of their farms and agricultural production. 	
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reintroduction of central control of the universities - Strict government control and supervision of universities and high fees to prevent lower class attendance and instead ensure nobility have access. • No women or uprisings allowed at universities • Re-introduction of church control of education to prevent radicalisation of masses and encourage the loyalty of the peasants by using the church to reinforce the importance of supportive the Tsar (paternalistic/chosen by God). Pobedonostsev in charge of primary school education, with no peasants/workers children to go to secondary school 	
Censorship and control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Censorship, control and restriction of the freedom of the press in order to prevent the spread of western or radical ideas. This involved banning 14 major newspapers banned, censoring foreign books and use of the Okhrana (secret police) and the arrest of those who don't conform. • In 1885, 'closed' court sessions (no juries, no reporting) reintroduced, 1889 power of magistrates removed and duties given to Land Captains 	
Radical groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attempt to radicate opposition groups and radical ideas – e.g. People's Will - through use of the Okhrana and courts. 	
Nationalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extension of the policy of Russification to prevent the radicalisation and uprising of nationalities who could fragment the empire. Made it law that the Russian language is used throughout Russia including documents, books and schools • Encourage, approve or organise pogroms (attacks: rape, beatings, murder) against Russia's Jews living in the 'Jewish Pale'. Use of them as a scapegoat for issues within Russia. 	

Russia Timeline



HOW FAR DID SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY CHANGE 1881-1904?

BACKGROUND INFO – ECONOMY PRIOR TO 1881: Progress under Alexander II and Reutern

- Emancipated the serfs 1861
- Maintained social stability
- Pioneered railway expansion – started rail growth. Limited.
- Some new factories
- Set up modern banking system

Impact?

- (+) Major cities had shown massive growth e.g. Kiev, Moscow
- (-) Russo-Turkish War showed how perilous financial stability was
- (-) Reutern resigned when the rouble declined in 1878
- (-) social disruption soon broke out e.g. Urban strikes

Task: For each, explain why this meant that Alexander II, Vyshnegradsky and Witte reformed the economy and industrialised:

WHY DID ALEXANDER II, VYSHNEGRADSKY, WITTE REFORM THE ECONOMY AND INDUSTRIALISE?

- 1) Crimean War (1851-6) and Russo-Turkish War (1877-78)** had illustrated the country's industrial backwardness and led to humiliation
Evidence: Defeats at Balaclava, loss of Sebastopol, Treaty of Paris 1856 (reduction of influence in the Black Sea) – loss of war against smaller countries (Turkey, Britain, France)
- 2) Inheritance from Alexander II and Reutern:** they had made some progress with modernisation but these were small steps that needed further reform and development such as railway building programmes and limited growth of factories
Evidence: Growth of state-owned armaments factories, 1881 Russia still lagged behind other western Europe, predominantly agricultural economy, former serfs burdened with redemption payments and landowners with debt making agricultural investment limited/by 1880 only ½ of agricultural land was producing surpluses.
- 3) Western European Competition:** Britain and Germany were speeding ahead and other European rivals were experiencing industrial revolutions.
Evidence: Productivity between 1840-1990 rose 50 percent in Belgium, 190 percent in Germany, and an average of 75 percent from all of Europe whilst Russia's grew just 30%, GNP was \$23250 compared to Germany's \$26454, western Europe had modernised their agricultural practices making it harder for Russia to sell grain in global markets.
- 4) Need to encourage an industrial revolution:** Industrial revolutions were important because they transformed military capacities (new technology, weapons) and increased productivity. Russia's productivity was still incredibly low.
Evidence: Loss of Crimean War and Russo-Turkish War, Russia still engaged in subsistence agriculture (mainly agricultural economy), limited growth of towns and cities with St Petersburg, Moscow and parts of the Ukraine experiencing modest growth, famine 1879-80, Germany became highest provider of steel,
- 5) Develop an effective infrastructure:** to transport goods and exports, machinery and to encourage a mobile industrial workforce
Evidence: 8 million square miles largely unconnected, communication of edicts/reforms slow, emancipated serfs had not made the move to the cities with St Petersburg population still just 1 million 1890, no effective links between capital and Eastern empire beyond the Urals (e.g. to Vladivostok)
- 6) Protection:** To prevent Russian security and its military power and empire being threatened, it too would have to change and modernise to defend its borders. Also, more factories would be needed to produce armaments to improve their military strength
Evidence: Loss of CW and R-T war, increase in revolutionary groups (All assassination by People's Will), control nationality uprisings, scramble for Africa and Asia, Polish Uprising 1863 (nationalities threat)
- 7) Effectively exploit natural resources** – huge gulf still existed between Russia's potential (vast natural resources) and country's level of achievement
Evidence: Failure to efficiently drive grain production (famine 1879,90) and by 1880 only ½ of agricultural land was producing surpluses (landowners paying debts, former serfs lumbered with redemption payments so unable to invest), Russian population grew 130million (1861-1914) and so needed to be fed, former serfs had yet to become the mobile
- 8) Population increases** – no matter how hard the peasants worked and despite the emancipation of the serfs, the agricultural productivity of Russia meant that they struggled to create a grain surplus causing a crisis of supply resulting in famines. Russia was unable to feed its population using current practices.
Evidence: Russian population grew 130million (1861-1914) , famine 1879, 1880 only ½ of agricultural land was producing surpluses

9) **Curb social unrest and revolutionary activity** – to help avoid famines, social inequalities, and discontent which could be aimed at the tsarist regime, it was necessary to modernise and try to ameliorate the conditions of those who could bring the system down and instead try to engender support. **Evidence:** Assassination of AII (1881), attempted assassination on AIII (1887), growth of Populists, emergence of Social Democrats, nationality uprisings (Polish Uprising 1863)

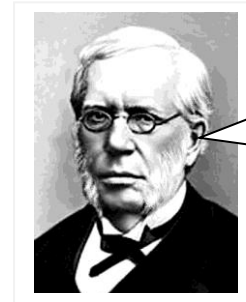
10) **Social engineering: Create an entrepreneurial class and productive workforce** – to invest in new factories, industry and the infrastructure and ensure maximum productivity **Evidence:** 85% population were peasants rather than an industrial workforce, Emancipation of Serfs (1861) was meant to result in growth of entrepreneurial peasant farmers with private landholdings to become more efficient (like the Kulaks)– had not happened, limited entrepreneurial class existed, population of St Petersburg just 1 million by 1890, 11:1 ratio of village to town dwellers compared with 2:1 in Britain.

Progress under Alexander III

Impact of Vyshnegradsky 1887-1892 (Minister of Finance)

Aim was to improve Russia's finances and build up gold reserves

- Increased indirect taxes
- Aim to swell grain exports
- Reduced imports by increasing tariffs - 33% as part of the Tariff Act of 1891.
- This was to protect Russian iron, industrial machinery and raw cotton from outside competition
- Loans to kickstart growth – France 1888



We must go hungry, but export!

Impact

(+) Economy did grow. This had a SUPERFICIAL effect and with the aid of French loans the Russian economy made a surplus in 1892.

(+) 1881-1891 grain exports rose by 18%

(-) However this put pressure on the peasantry – bore brunt of indirect taxation which limited their purchasing power. Price of goods rose because of import tax so could afford even less. Peasant grain was requisitioned to sell abroad by government – peasants often didn't have reserve stores and went hungry = Famine of 1891-2. Affected 17/39 Russian provinces and 350,000 died (starvation, disease) including many able bodied workers leaving no breadwinner in many families.

(-) Led to growth of opposition - This came in tandem with government failure to organise effective relief and volunteer groups to help stricken peasants. Due to this poor response, the call came for even more liberal reform of government.

= From now until the end of the civil war in 1921, Russia was political pluralist (political culture in which rival political ideas and organisations can co-exist)

Task: Summarise Vyshnegradsky

Witte - Was this a 'great spurt' in economic and industrial growth?

Aims:

- Committed to economic modernisation: only way to preserve Russia's 'great power' status
- Faith in Vyshnegradsky's ideas and that economic development was the only way to raise living standards
- Revolutionary activity and unrest would be curbed as Russia prospered

Methods:

- **State Control** - Russia needed to be directed 'from above' as there was no entrepreneurial class
- Use '**state capitalism**' like Vyshnegradsky
 - Protective tariffs (tax on imports)
 - Heavy taxation (peasants)
 - Forced exports to generate capital
- **Raise domestic loans** from national revenue to finance enterprises such as rail
- **Loans from abroad.** To encourage these loans and foreign confidence Witte needed to stabilise the currency and raise interest rates

= introduced **the rouble** as currency (backed by value of gold)

- **Foreign investment:** foreign capitalists (stabilised rouble) want to invest in coal, iron and steel
- **Use foreign experts and workers e.g.** Engineers and workers from France and Britain to oversee industrial developments
- **Develop infrastructure (rail/communication)** – to transport goods, machinery and mobile industrial workers (turn those former serfs into industrial workers)
- **Encourage emigration to Siberia 1896** – get peasants/growing population to move there and exploit resources in Siberia to produce grain surpluses to fund industrialisation/prevent overpopulation in some areas



Save Russia by rapid and forceful industrialisation.'

Task: Summarise Witte

Heavy Industry Growth

1880

- Lighter industries (e.g. Textiles) led the way: arrival of Witte was time of textiles trade industrial output producing 1 ½ times more than heavy industry put together (coal, oil, metal, mineral)
- Witte saw need to concentrate on heavy goods production. Production in key areas by developing large factory units of over 1000 workers would be the way to achieve this.
- 1887: factories 31,000 with 1.3 million workers

1910

- Textiles still dominated: 40% industrial output
- Impressive growth in heavy industry e.g. St Petersburg, Baltic Co

Successes:

- ✓ Increase in exports and foreign trade
- ✓ Imports and exports grew in quantity and value
- ✓ Trading with other nations: Germany, UK, China, USA
- ✓ Continued foreign investment – Nobel, Rothschild in Baku

Failures:

- ⊗ Bulk of export trade was still grain rather than industrial goods and this increase still fell short of Witte's predictions
- ⊗ Trans-Siberian rail development was huge drain on finances
- ⊗ Under Witte, state budget doubles eating into profits of economic growth
- ⊗ Dependence on foreign loans which had to be paid back with interest
- ⊗ Focus on heavy industry led to a neglect of domestic and light industry
- ⊗ Neglect of agricultural modernisation – reinforced by assumption that peasants could just simply be forced into producing more grain

HOT SPOTS

Engineering:

- St Petersburg
- Moscow
- Poland
- Riga

Metallurgy:

- Urals
- Poland
- Caspian Sea/Baku 1871
- Caucasus

Coal

- Baku coalfields
- Poland
- Donbas

LINK BETWEEN RAIL AND HEAVY INDUSTRY

1. Growth of rail led to opening up of Russian interior so new areas of natural resources
2. Linked major industrial areas and agricultural areas together and with ports and markets
3. Stimulated development of coal and iron with new industrial areas along the length of rail track
4. Trans-Siberian rail huge industrial stimulus
5. Psychological boost – encouraged foreign investors to finance Russia industry

Task: 'Heavy industry policies were mostly successful'. How far do you agree?

SOCIAL CHANGES CAUSED BY INDUSTRIALISATION

Middle Class:

1897

- More crossed threshold into middle management (small workshop owners, traders, merchants)
- More 'non-nobles' becoming factory owners
- Some re-emerged as factory owners
- Greater demand for professionals: teachers, lawyers, bankers, doctors
- Still small section of society (½ million) in between larger division of peasants and nobility
- No voice in central government

1904

- Middle Class found homes in zemstva where they could influence local decision making
- Still no voice by 1904 in central government
- Other western countries had moderate liberal minded middle class as backbone of establishment – not the case in Russia!
- This led to a growth of revolutionary leaders from a MC background

Urban Working Class

1897

- 2 million factory workers
- Common for some workers to move to towns temporarily, retaining land and then returning to villages to help during harvest
- 1864: 1 in 3 urban workers were peasants by birth

*** INDUSTRIALISATION: arrival of new factories and growing number of workshops quadrupled urban population 1867-1917 from 7 to 28 million. Lure of promises of good wages and regular employment***

1904

- 6 million workers by 1914
- Increasing migrants to towns found that the meagre allocation of land left at home produced a poor subsidy and sold up. They moved from town to town following work.
- Some found regular work, settled and their children became urban workers by birth
- 1914: 3 out of 4 urban workers were peasants by birth
- Peasant life existed despite living in urban surroundings: peasant markets e.g. Red Square, livestock roamed streets, peasant atmosphere

Facilities:

- Barrack like buildings owned by factory owners
- Factory owners used it as method of maintaining and controlling workers/'inmates'
- Dangerously overcrowded – St Petersburg survey 1904: 16 per apartment
- Inadequate sanitation and basic provisions – canteens, communal baths, planks for beds
- St Petersburg: 40% houses had no running water/sewage system
- Cholera outbreak 1908-9 with 30,000 dead
- Demand for work meant rent remained high (1/2 workers wage at times) – Saratov 1900 food and rent was ¾ workers wage with clothes/laundry/baths accounting for rest
- Private accommodation not much better
- Some slept rough or alongside their machines

Wages:

- Varied dependent on skilled or unskilled category, overtime and fines
- Women lowest paid (less than ½ industrial wage)
- During times of industrial revival wages did not keep up with inflation

Working Conditions:

- 1908-9 worst during industrial depression
- Workers protests remained in minor due to law against strikes until 1905.

Although: 1886-1894 33 strikes per year, 1895-1904 176 strikes per year

- Brutish treatment by owners – swapped one master in the countryside for another in the cities. Many had experienced harsh conditions as peasants or were desperate for work so put up with conditions. Non-noble factory owners did not share 'paternalistic' moral obligation to look after workers

Education:

- Growth though less investment than areas such as rail
- Reluctant and limited changes especially with legislation – not concerned with changing lot of workers

Task: Summarise the main social changes for each social class

- Fear that costs of education would cause labour costs to rise which would drive out foreign investors
- Government promotion of technical schools and universities

AGRICULTURE

1881:

- Most farming was small scale. Done by former serfs and state peasants
- Income was usually low, even during good harvests
- In bad years they faced starvation e.g. 1891-92 and 1898 and 1901

Economic Progression:

- Much attention was given to industrialisation, the same was not true for agriculture which was ignored until 1906
 - This was despite the rural economy providing a livelihood for 80-90% of Russian population
- = Thus the Russian economy was being pulled in two directions at once 1880-90's.

Problems of the Rural Economy

- 1) Population growth (doubled 1850-1900 to 132.9 million): undermined some of the good intentions of emancipation in 1861 = led to rural unrest.
- 2) Division of estates: population growth led to the subdivision of estates with holdings falling from 35 acres to 28 by 1905
- 3) Inefficient farming methods – superstition and suspicion of new methods and so wooden ploughs and medieval rotation was still widely used. British farms were 4 times greater
- 4) Poor grain yields: 1901 and 1902 saw crop failures and production was behind the west
- 5) Nobles (1882) and Peasant (1885) Land banks – set up to facilitate the purchase and development of larger farms but sometimes they merely increased farmers' debts which coupled with high taxation made farming impossible
- 6) Outbreak of rural lawlessness: the worst since the 1860's with arson attacks and looting e.g. provinces of Poltava, Kharkov and Saratov.
- 7) Mir system – hampered agricultural output and bound workers together
- 8) Kulaks – capitalist wealthier class of peasant who took advantage of the poorer peasants by using them for cheap labour, used the peasant banks to buy out impoverished neighbours or acted as 'pawn brokers' to them

Experience of the peasants

- Life became harsher
- Increasing numbers forced to leave their farms and migrate to cities looking for seasonal farm work or industrial employment
- Some took up government schemes to emigrate to new agricultural settlements e.g. migration to Siberia 1896. This only helped ¾ million

Living Standards

- Living standards varied in different parts of the country
 - ☺ Prosperous areas: Ukraine and Baltic
 - ☹ Backwards farming methods and land owned by nobles: Russian heartland
- Many unfit for military service (despite progress in health care)
- Highest mortality rates in Europe – average life expectancy was 27.25 years compared to 45.25 in England

Task: 'The position of the peasantry largely improved, 1881-1904'. How far do you agree?

Alexander II Evaluation

Beliefs

- Maintenance of autocracy – reassert the principles of autocracy'
- Rejection of constitutional monarchy ideas
- Repression and counter-reform to turn back the clock – western ideas and change had caused chaos and urban discontent
- Devoutly religious – educated by Procurator of Holy Synod

Determining aspects of rule:

- Strong centralised control was reasserted
- Nobility crucial role – Land Captains 1889 with laws and powers to override zemstva decisions and elections as well as overturn judicial decisions and impose punishments
- Judicial system
 - ↳ 1885 saw the minister of justice allowed to exercise greater control including reintroducing 'closed' court sessions (no juries, no reporting)
 - ↳ 1889 power of magistrates removed and duties given to land captains and royally appointed town judges
- Zemstva
 - ↳ 1890 changed the election arrangements to reduce the peasants vote
 - ↳ 1892 further restrictions on the less wealthy voting qualifications
 - ↳ Tried to encourage them to focus on education and health



Further domestic policies

- Use of police state and army to ensure control
- Decrees on education:
 - exclude lower class children from secondary education
 - state control of universities
 - university appointments based upon 'religious, moral and patriotic orientation'
 - women barred from all universities
 - all gatherings banned and protests to be crushed by police

Nationalities:

- Believed in 'nationalism' (superiority of Russian nation)
- Policy of Russification implemented by Pobedonostev: forcing Russian language and culture upon all other ethnic minorities to make them more Russian e.g. Poland, Finland, Georgia and Ukraine
- Endorse widespread anti-Semitism via pogroms – 16 major cities affected from 1881 onwards e.g. Odessa
- Drove Jews towards revolutionary groups e.g. Formation of Marxist Social Democratic Movement and rise of Trotsky, Martov and Zinoviev



Nicholas II (1868-1918)

Beliefs

- Deeply influenced by his father and committed to preserving his policies
- Maintenance of autocracy – although his personality was not suited to such a strong willed role
- Rejection of constitutional monarchy ideas
- Devoutly religious – educated by Procurator of Holy Synod

Determining aspects of rule:

- Failed to develop domestic policy programme and failed to delegate power (too much for one man to deal with by this point)
- Although hardworking he had no sense of reality. Easily influenced by reactionary ministers.
- Lacked realism and meant there was no effective leadership at the top
- Indecisive – changed ministers and policies often e.g. Dismissed Witte in 1903
- Avoided calling the Council of Ministers to prevent members uniting against him and was concerned by anyone who showed initiative or expressed unconventional ideas
- Ignored disturbances by growing urban working class in towns and illegal strikes – should have seen they were striking against working conditions and wages which he could have resolved.
- Witte "the hangman" – saw martial law, surveillance and repression increased including recruiting more policemen and using the army to put down strikes with arrests and death without trial (1893: 19 times by 1902: 522 times)
- Zemstva: failed to pick up on increasing disillusionment or introduce constitutional monarchy to appease liberals. Instead tried to maintain autocracy by dismissing attempts to create an 'All Zemstvo Organisation' in 1896 and purged the elected boards of the zemstva of liberals in 1900



HISTORICAL INTERPRETA TION

Waller:
Nicholas II
always lived in
the shadow of
his father,

Task: Complete the Cornell notes activity on Alexander III

Key questions and queries about Alexander III and key words

Evaluation of Alexander III Key Notes

Summary

Nicholas II (1868-1918) – Came to power 1894

Beliefs

- Deeply influenced by his father and committed to preserving his policies
- Maintenance of autocracy – although his personality was not suited to such a strong willed role = Rejection of constitutional monarchy ideas
- Devoutly religious – educated by Procurator of Holy Synod (Pobedonostsev: Repressive attitude, arch-conservative with dislike of democracy, dismissed idea of representative government as 'great lie of our time') – played major part in shaping Nicholas II's reactionary attitude.
- Lacked strength and imagination like predecessors; had a limited outlook. Lacked realism and meant there was no effective leadership at the top. Easily influenced by reactionary ministers.
- Indecisive – changed ministers and policies often e.g. Dismissed Witte in 1903

Determining aspects of rule: Came to power when it was a critical stage in Russian history and when there was a growth of opposition to Tsars.

- Failed to develop domestic policy programme and failed to delegate power (too much for one man to deal with by this point)
- Avoided calling Council of Ministers > prevent members uniting against him. Concerned by anyone showing initiative/expressed unconventional ideas
- Ignored disturbances by growing urban working class in towns and illegal strikes – should have seen they were striking against working conditions and wages which he could have resolved.
- Repressive –surveillance and repression increased including recruiting more policemen and using the army to put down strikes with arrests and death without trial (1893: 19 times by 1902: 522 times)
- Zemstva: failed to pick up on increasing disillusionment or introduce constitutional monarchy to appease liberals. Instead tried to maintain autocracy by dismissing attempts to create an 'All Zemstvo Organisation' in 1896 and purged the elected boards of the zemstva of liberals in 1900

Modernity:

Could Russia modernise to compete with other European powers? Fate of grandfather and reactionary period of father meant unlikely to reverse any of their policies. Religious education meant he was also suspicious of change = continued repressive policies.

(-) This angered intelligentsia and critics of the regime = began to challenge stardom.

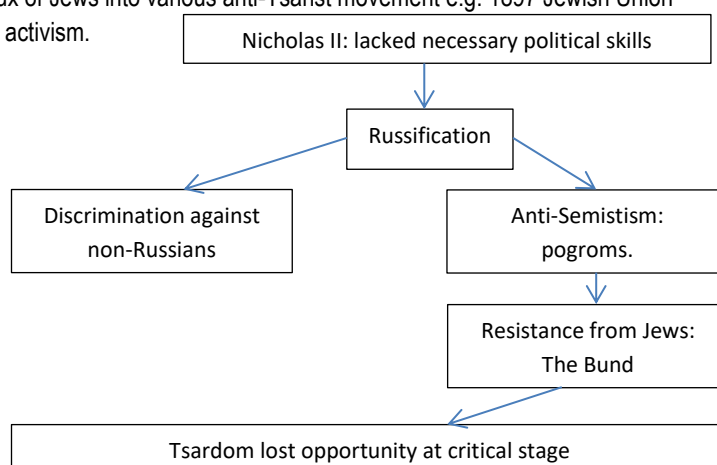
'The Reaction' period associated with Alexander III + Pobedonostsev coincided with a time of remarkable economic expansion = gives weight to argument that tsarist government through its reactionary policies threw away its last chance of survival. By restricting itself to nationalism and orthodoxy, tsarist government denied itself chance to adapt successfully to a changing world.

Russification:

- Started by Alexander III → Nicholas continues it.
- Severely enforced policy to restrict influence of non-Russian national minorities by emphasising superiority of all things Russian.
- Aim = impose Russian ways on all the peoples within the empire.
- How: state interference in their education and culture – widespread, systematic.
- Impact: officials everywhere vested interest in maintaining dominance of Russian values. Nationalities who suffered most: Baltic Germans, Poles, Finns, Ukrainians.
- Anti-Semitism. Chief victim – Jews. 600 new measures introduced. Targets for scapegoating especially as they lived in ghettos/easily identifiable. Pogroms (fierce, state organised persecutions – kill, destroy property) against them – Black Hundreds used to do this. Nicholas II reign saw sharp increase in pogroms. Proof of active encouragement by Tsarist regime to terrorise Jews.
- Failings of Russification were:
 - timing – Russia needed cohesion and unity at this critical phase of development, but regime chose to treat ½ of its population as inferior or potential enemies.
 - Alienated great mass of 5 million Jews. 1980s saw large influx of Jews into various anti-Tsarist movement e.g. 1897 Jewish Union ('Bund') created against regime. Trotsky was a Jew = political activism.

Further Domestic Policies

- Failed to develop domestic policy programme
- Discontent met with repression rather than reform e.g. Urban discontent in the cities (Ohkrana, army)
- Continued father's educational policies including crushing student demonstrations with heavy police force which radicalised students who may have been appeased with reforms



Task: Complete the Cornell notes activity on Nicholas II

**Key questions and queries about
Nicholas II and key words**

Nicholas II Key Notes

Summary

THE OPPONENTS OF TSARDOM – GROWTH OF OPPOSITION



WHAT EXTENT HAD OPPOSITION GROWN 1881-1917

- Assassination of Alexander II 1881
- **Assassination was a disappointment to the opposition:**
 - Yields no practical benefits for revolutionaries
 - Led to accession of Alexander III (more repressive and reactionary)
 - Repression: led to wave of arrests, greater police surveillance
 - Counter reform: abandonment of Loris-Melikov's proposed reforms
- **Did have symbolic significance:**
 - ★ Vulnerability of tsarist autocracy
 - ★ Winning some support overseas
 - ★ Creating martyrs who popularised the revolutionary cause



Two main types of group opposed Tsardom during Nicholas II's time:

- Revolutionaries (extremists) – believed Russia could not progress unless tsarist system destroyed.
- Reformers (liberals) – strong critics of Tsarist regime, but believed it could be changed for better by reform from within

Revolutionaries (extremists)

Three groups:

- Populists
- Social Revolutionaries (SRs)
- Social Democrats (SDs)

Populists (Narodniks)

ORIGINS:

- 1870s.

VIEW:

- Tsarist system is flawed and must end.
- Future is in the hand of the peasants – mass of population. Peasants must take lead in transforming Russia.
- Populists saw it as their duty to educate the unformed peasantry into an awareness of their revolutionary role.

MEMBERS WERE:

- University thinkers.
- Upper/middle class men

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE TSAR:

- Tsarist system to end. Overthrow of the Tsar by the peasants.
- People's Will group would have been happy to kill the Tsar if necessary.

METHODS/TACTICS:

- 'Going to the people' – educated Populists went to the countryside to live for periods with the peasants to turn them into revolutionaries.
(-) rarely a successful tactic; peasants saw them as people with no real knowledge of real life.
- Terrorism – desperation turned some into terrorists = The People's Will created 1879. Declared intention of murdering the ruling class. 400 members. Assassination of Alexander II – achieved this but weakened rather than strengthened populist movement: murder of tsar who initiated many reforms seemed to discredit the idea of reform itself and so justified use of repression by Alexander III. Assassins publicly executed.

Successes	Failures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assassinated Alexander II • Established an anti-tsarist tradition. All the revolutionaries in Russia after 1870 were influenced, if not inspired, by the Populist challenge to tsardom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Going to the people – peasants saw them as men who had no knowledge of real life. • Idea of peasant based revolution was unrealistic; peasants not interested in political revolution, they just wanted the land issue to be resolved • Assassinated the Tsar most likely to make concessions – national assembly. Murder of a reforming Tsar discredited the idea of reform and so justified repression. • Resulted in reign of Alexander III – reactionary and repressive.

Emergence of Social Revolutionaries

ORIGINS:

- Created in 1901. Grew from Populist movement (group just before)

INFLUENCES:

- Viktor Chernov - leader.

SUPPORT BASE:

- Members: intelligentsia, middle class
- Wide national base with peasants and 50% urban working class. By 1905 – 50,000 but influence decreases 1906

BELIEFS:

- Wanted social and political change – inspired by the misery of the peasants.
- Wanted a federal government instead of Tsar (wanted a system unique to Russia)
- Concerned with 'Labouring poor' – Importance of peasantry as revolutionary force but wanted to broaden the appeal of the party by not just focusing on the peasants but now the workers too. Argued that workers and peasants the same and should therefore work together to bring down autocracy.
- Talked of 'land socialisation' (land policy) – redistribution of the land to the peasants

METHODS:

- Growth spurt 1890s led to quickening of interest in political and social issues = SRs saw this as opportunity to gain recruits from rapidly growing urban working class = sent in agitators amongst workers.
- Widen earlier populist notion of 'going to the people' to now include not just peasants but all those wanting end to stardom.
- Right– moderate element. propaganda, 'going to the people' to educate them about change. Willing to work with other parties to bring about improvements for conditions of workers and peasants.
- Left– anarchists. Terrorist actions; continue People's Will tactics. Frustrated with lack of success of propaganda. 1901-1905 = 2000 deaths including Plehve, Grand Duke Sergei
- Terrorist faction dominated party 1901-05 = limited success.

= divisions and disagreements within the party about direction/methods etc weakened them as a party and challenge to tsar.

Divisions within party and impact....

- 1905 revolution – right wing moderate side began to dominate party policy = greater success. 1906 onwards = more support from professional classes, from trade unions and All-Russian Congress of Peasants (1905).
- Revolutionary socialism (violent overthrow of tsarist system, 1906) – SR announces pledge to peasants that it would end principle of private ownership and return land to peasants = land policy explains why they're the most popular party with peasants.
- Left wing of party protested against this saying workers were ignored and that the policy was unworkable in current Russian conditions.
- 1906 onwards → Chernov tries to hold party together → doesn't work = becomes party of collection of radical groups rather than united party
- Until outlawed by Bolsheviks (1917) they were the most popular party (due to peasant support)

Successes	Failures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key political assassinations e.g. Plehve, Grand Duke Sergei, 2000 assassinations (1901-05) = attention. Gained recognition through assassinations. Put revolutionary ideas into the public eye. • Land policy pledge 1906 was popular with peasants (return land to peasants = most popular party. Gain greater support from All-Russian Congress of Peasants. • After 1906 when right wing of SRs dominate, they gain more support from professional classes and trade unions. • 1917 they were the most popular group in Russia's only democratic elections. Until outlawed by Bolsheviks 1917. Most influential revolutionary group up until 1917 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disagreements amongst themselves weakened them as a group – 'Left SRs' and 'Right SRs' (see divisions and impact above) = limits strength as opposition to Tsar. Loose organisation with variety of views never centrally controlled – never a close knit group and there were always factions. Splits (Trotsky talked of this problem) which meant from 1906 they were never more than a collection of radical factions rather than united party. • Did not wholly achieve desired link with the urban workers • Still many peasants not interested; loyal to Tsar still and mainly blamed nobles for their problems. Saw them as middle class people that did not understand them. • Most rural unrest was spontaneous (e.g. 1904 Red Cockerel unrest was mainly due to poor harvests and famine 1901-2) relating to land and food issues rather than support of actual revolutionary party and the overthrow of Tsar. Just wanted better conditions, not a change in system. • No coherent long term plan to achieve power

Emergence of the Social Democrats

ORIGINS:

- 1898. Founded by Plekhanov.

VIEW:

- Achieve revolution following Marx's ideas and scientific principles – class struggle ('haves' vs 'have-nots'), a process that operated throughout history involved in a dialectic (violent struggle)

- Contemporary industrial era (industrial spurt of 1980s) marked the final stage in this struggle = human history about to reach its culmination in the revolutionary victory of the proletariat (worker) over the bourgeoisie (middle class) = result in 'dictatorship of the proletariat'
- Dictatorship of proletariat was the last but one stage (they would hunt down and destroy surviving reactionaries/class enemies) = violence/bloody affair = all conflict would then end → harmonious society would emerge.
- 1890s spurt = gave theory relevance. Promised to create conditions that would make successful revolution possible.

KEY INFLUENCE:

- Marx
- Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labour movement – translated Marx's writings into Russian. Founded SD party. (Father of Russian Marxism)

MEMBERS WERE:

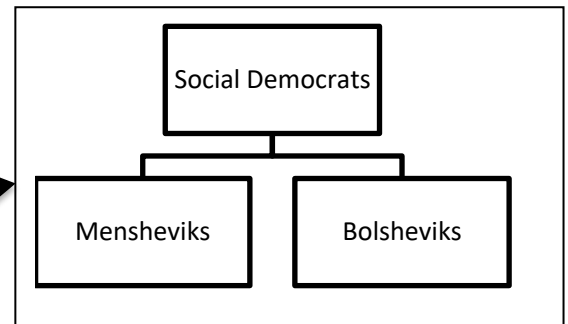
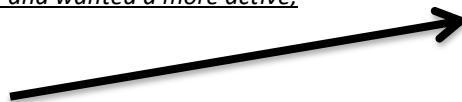
- University thinkers. Upper/middle class men

METHODS:

- Plekhanov argued their beliefs should be:
 - Revolutionaries must accept the inevitability of Marx's 'stages of development' - Russia was already moving towards the capitalist phase.
- Methods: Task One for revolutionaries should therefore be:
 - Accelerate the socialist revolution by working among the workers in Russian cities to improve their conditions (economism)
 - Focus on the workers and create dynamism to drive the revolution forward – peasants were misguided and it would be a waste of time trying to rouse them.

Some grew impatient with theoretical side and wanted a more active, revolutionary programme.

= SPLIT IN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS



LENIN:

- 1900 – returns from exile = starts trying to turn SDs into a truly revolutionary party.
- Iskra (The Spark) – creates party newspaper with Martov to put case to members.

Lenin's beliefs:

- 1) Reject economism, conditions of workers to decline - Criticised Plekhanov saying he's too interested in reform not revolution. Lenin rejected 'economism' (improving conditions of workers) and championed transforming workers into revolutionaries (doesn't want to improve conditions like Plekhanov as he says this will delay rev, instead allow conditions to continue to decline which will turn more workers into revolutionaries due to discontent/bitterness = spark revolution)
- 2) Telescope revolution – this content would quicken the pace of revolution and FastTrack through bourgeois phase to proletariat phase.
- 3) Dedicated small group of professional revolutionaries only (small, tight knit and exclusive party)– no working with other anti-tsar parties - 'What is to be done?' (1902) – strongest attack on Plekhanov. Criticised him for working with other parties to try to improve conditions - said working with other parties was wrong; dedicated, professional party of revolutionaries only.
- 4) Democratic centralism – party discipline. Elite, informed revolutionaries at the top to direct the efforts of party.
- 5) Workers needed direction too - Workers could not be left alone to themselves. Did not know enough; needed directing by professional, informed revolutionaries.

SPLIT IN SD PARTY 1903 - Emergence of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks

1903 Second Party Congress 51 delegates

- **Aim:** to decide how the party should move forward
- **Divisions over:** nature, timing and organisation of the revolution
- Martov sides with Plekhanov rather than Lenin – thinks Lenin is trying to be dictator of party
- SD congress vote – evenly split between Martov and Lenin = split
- Split hardened the two groups into a set of opposed attitudes.



Q1 WATCH OUT! Keep an eye out for sources by:

Martov (started Iskra with Lenin, then 1903 Congress sides with Plekhanov, accuses Lenin trying to be dictator of party)

Potresov – he will say same.

ISSUE	MENSHEVIK VIEW	BOLSHEVIK VIEW
Revolution	Russia not ready yet – bourgeois stage first.	Telescope – bourgeois and proletarian stages could be telescoped into one revolution
Party	Mass organization, membership open to all revolutionaries	A tight-knit, exclusive organisation of professional revolutionaries
Decision-making	Open, democratic discussion within the party – decisions arrived at by votes of members	Democratic centralism – authority exercised by central committee of party
Strategy	Alliance with other revolutionary and bourgeois liberal parties. Economism – improve conditions for workers (wages etc) and work with trade unions to achieve this.	No cooperation with other parties. Economism dismissed as playing into hands of bourgeoisie. No working with trade unions – they dilute chances of revolution. Aimed to turn workers into revolutionaries.

Lenin: Bolsheviks ('majority')

- Strong, ideologically pure, tight knit, disciplined organisation with membership of only professional revolutionaries
- Would lead the proletariat and overthrow bourgeoisie
- Total dedication to revolution – no cooperation with other parties.
- Democratic centralism - Centralised party structure (Central Committee)
- No TU's – they would dilute chances of a revolution
- Reject economism - Thought poor conditions in Russia would encourage revolution and so argued Plekhanov would undermine revolution by helping them

METHODS:

- Newspaper – Pravda (The Truth) which criticised Mensheviks
- Training school for revolutionaries – taught to infiltrate trade unions and other organisations to stir up workers ('agitators')
- Terrorist attacks e.g. post offices to get funds → use for propaganda
- Propaganda – masses of handbills, leaflets and newspapers attacking tsarist regime, calling for revolution.

REMEMBER: Don't overstate the importance of Lenin/Bolsheviks before 1917 – whilst they had been systematically preparing the ground since 1903 for a revolution, Lenin was largely absent from Russia 1904–17 (exile, visits rare and fleeting) – did issue stream of instructions to followers but was largely absent.

Successes	Failures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seen as fringe group by police; not on the police check list as a major challenge to the tsar • Did help to cause industrial unrest. • October 1917 revolution – establishment of communism. Come 1917 they were best prepared and willing to seize opportunity. Bolshevik readiness was one of Lenin's major political achievements. Overall winners but do not overstate their role at this time. Was it not more the failings of the provisional government? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regarded by authorities as a fringe group of extremists at this time – not on police check list • Many members spent long time periods in exile (Lenin) limiting impact • Don't overstate the importance of Lenin/Bolsheviks before 1917 – whilst they had been systematically preparing the ground since 1903 for a revolution, Lenin was largely absent from Russia 1904–17 (exile, visits rare and fleeting) – did issue stream of instructions to followers but was largely absent. • Membership – varied between 5-10,000 with no more than 25,000 by 1917. Outnumbered by Mensheviks. • Attempted revolution in 1905 and Feb 1917 revolution overthrowing the Tsar was spontaneous and Bolsheviks weren't too involved.

Martov's Mensheviks ('minority')

- Broad based party with a mass working class membership. Open membership to all revolutionaries
 - Should cooperate with other liberal parties and other revolutionary parties.
 - Stages of Marxism MUST occur – bourgeois must occur then proletariat. No telescoping
- Proletariat should provide impetus for revolution and should not be

METHODS:

- Newspaper – Vpered (Forward)
- Economism - Work with other parties to improve conditions and work with trade unions to improve conditions (e.g. wages)
- Propaganda

Successes	Failures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seen as group of concern by the police • Greater membership numbers than the Bolsheviks – 40,000 members 1904 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fringe group of extremists. • Minimal role in Feb 1917 revolution and it was the Bolsheviks who succeeded in October 1917.

Liberals and Intelligentsia

- Number of reforming groups seeking change – 'liberals' – but never came together to form a common front.
- Until October Manifesto 1905 parties were illegal. Hadn't stopped formation of them but made it difficult for them to develop as genuinely democratic bodies. No tradition of open debate in Russia
- Parties did not cooperate with one another 1906-21 when parties were permitted (suspicious, intolerant of each other) = made cooperation and collective action difficult to organise = limited impact they could have on the Tsar and amount of support they achieved.

ORIGINS:

- Economic boom 1890s – rapid development of small, ambitious class of lawyers, industrialists and financiers = social group who wanted to modernise Russia.
- Middle class had grown and was more politicised – Great Famine 1891-2 had shown incompetence of Tsarist bureaucracy resulting in voluntary organisations and the zemstva having to organise relief. This fuelled belief that educated members of society should have some direct say in the nation's governance.

Beliefs:

- Promote welfare, education, liberty and the rule of law

- Reform autocracy so the Tsar would listen directly to his people. Tsar to rule in conjunction with the people
- Did not have a revolutionary attitude – wanted change and reform
- Beseda formed in 1900 (more radical thinkers) which met in secret focused on judicial reform and universal education

Key members/influences:

- Tolstoy *'What I believe'* 1883 – opposed Tsarist oppression and injustice of legal system but rejected violence. Pure and simple living would bring about moral regeneration of Russia
- Prince Lvov (liberal noble) – wanted an all-class Zemstvo at district level and a National Assembly
- Struve 1903 – Russia needed 'peaceful evolution' to adapt to new industrialising status, wanted to see constitutional system where urban workers could campaign legally to improve conditions
- Slavophile thinkers

Organisations – three main Liberal parties.

Union of Liberation (1904-1917):

- Struve and Milyukov (principal leaders)
- Programme 1904: liberation of Russia. Abolition of autocracy. Establishment of a constitutional regime. Principle of universal, equal, secret and direct elections.

Successes	Failures
Indicated range of anti-tsarist feeling and helped to advance ideas that more progressive members of the government (Witte) took to heart. Union's 1904 programme was expressed in the type of language that all liberal and reforming parties subsequently asserted their claims	Tried to find common ground between liberal groups but unable to create a single, coherent reforming movement with a single purpose. Members of government such as Witte were sacked so whilst such progressives in government were receptive to their ideas, this was not widespread/long term.

The Octoberists (October 1905)

- Dated from issuing of October Manifesto 1905 which had created the duma
- Moderates, loyal to tsar. Believed in maintenance of the empire. Saw October Manifesto and establishment of duma as major constitutional advances.
- Members: Guchkov (later member of PG), Rodzianko (later member of PG), members drawn from larger, commercial industrial and landowning interests.

Successes	Failures
Members Guchkov and Rodzianko were members of the Provisional Government 1917 Despite 1905 programme (see opposite), during the duma phase they became increasingly more critical and vocal of the short-sightedness or incompetence of the tsarist government. May not have wanted the overthrow of it, but were willing to point to its failings/challenge it to try to improve it	Limited aims – programme 1905 called for unity and the rule of law and appealed for the continuation of a 'strong and authoritative regime' (Tsar/government) to work with 'representatives of the people' (Duma) – ideas dismissed by revolutionaries.

Kadets (Constitutional Democrats) (1905)

- Largest of liberal parties.
- Wanted constitutional monarchy but different from Octoberists – wanted greater checks on Tsar's powers. Powers of Tsar to be restricted by democratically elected constituent assembly (a national assembly, voted for by people). This body would settle the nations social, economic and political problems with reforms.
- Kadet Programme included: All-Russian Constituent Assembly, full equality&civil rights for all citizens, end censorship, abolition of mortgage repayments on land, free and universal education, recognition of trade unions.

SUCCESS	FAILURE
Largest of liberal parties	Dismissed by Lenin as politically naïve – dream of a constituent assembly.

Overall for the liberals.....

Successes	Failures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middle class had grown and was more politicised – Great Famine 1891-2 had shown incompetence of Tsarist government resulting in voluntary organisations and the zemstva having to organise relief = fuelled belief that educated members of society should have some direct say in the nation's governance. • Attracted influential members – Prince Lvov, Tolstoy • 1904 – Union held series of banquets which were attended by members of the liberal elite and zemstva representatives • Escaped heavy police focus as they were pre-occupied by SR's and SD's • Contributed to momentum for political change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government restrictions: reduction in zemstva powers under Alexander III • Nicholas II dismissed ideas of the Tver Zemstvo who petitioned him to set up advisory body in 1895 – 'senseless dream' • Shipov's attempt to set up an 'All Zemstvo Organisation' 1896 was banned • 1900 – government ordered the dismissal of hundreds of Liberals from the elected boards of the zemstva • Limited influence before 1905 • Never united to form a coherent front – suspicious, intolerant of one another • Liberal groups divided in aims so never united • No tradition of open debate in Russia which limited efforts • Criticised by Lenin

Task: Summarise each of the different revolutionary groups

Group	Key facts (leader, membership, liberal or communist etc)	Key actions	Successes and failures
Mensheviks			
Bolsheviks			
Social Revolutionaries			
Union of Liberation			
Octoberists			
Kadets			

SHORT TERM EVENTS LEADING UP TO ATTEMPTED REVOLUTION 1905 THAT HELPED TO CAUSE IT

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR 1904-06

Events

War on Sea

- ❑ Dec 1904 – Port Arthur surrendered
- ❑ Tsushima (May 1905). Russian Baltic fleet was completely annihilated and 12,600 men were lost in the straits of Tsushima. The Japanese were largely unscathed by the clash



War on Land: Mukden Feb 1905: major engagement. After three weeks of intensive fighting, 85,000 Russians and 41,000 Japanese were dead or wounded. Russians were forced to pull back.

Consequences: - How did it contribute to attempted revolution of 1905?

- Series of defeats and long siege turned initial surge of patriotism in 1904 into hostility and opposition to government; lost against “inferior” nation (smaller etc.)
- Highlights inadequacy of autocracy – weaknesses of Tsar Nicholas II highlighted as well as the problems of a lack of National Assembly or meritocratic/democratically elected government. All the reasons for losses can be linked back to the failings of the Tsar and government.
- Assassination of Plehve July 1904 - little mourning after and celebrations seen! Indication of this.
- Concessions have to be made – Mirskii (Plehve’s replacement) allows a group of zemstvo reps to meet in his private quarters 1904 for “cup of tea” but Nicholas rejects their edited version of the Assembly requests. Would only allow expansion of rights of the zemstva
- Created a genuine opposition movement –stimulates revolution and renews cries for a National Assembly

SPARK EVENT –BLOOD SUNDAY 1905

Bloody Sunday 1905

The demands made by Father George Gapon and the Assembly of Factory Workers.

- (1) An 8-hour day and freedom to organize trade unions.
- (2) Improved working conditions, free medical aid, higher wages for women workers.
- (3) Elections to be held for a constituent assembly by universal, equal and secret suffrage.
- (4) Freedom of speech, press, association and religion.
- (5) An end to the war with Japan.



Why demonstrate and what happened?

- War with Japan provoked internal unrest and economic problems – when Port Arthur finally surrendered to the Japanese forces it disrupted the economy, driving up food prices and forcing factory closures
- Conditions in the cities and industrial discontent – no trade unions allowed = prevented possible change, long working hours, low wages, sanitation, living conditions (barracks), at mercy of factory owners.
- Father Gapon led a procession of unemployed and disgruntled St Petersburg anxious for jobs, decent wages, and shorter hours. 150,000 involved
- It was not spontaneous but it’s nature was peaceful – to ask the Tsar for support (petition to their ‘little Father’, Tsar Nicholas II) – banners, hymns
- They had absolute faith in the Tsar to improve the workers’ lot

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF 1905? HOW FAR WAS THE TSARIST GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1905 REVOLUTION?

Long term causes:

- 1) **Discontented Working Class (proletariat)** Grievances included: long working hours, low pay, terrible living and working condition
- 2) **Peasants:** Grievances included: poverty, needed more land, high taxes. Long term disillusionment at outcomes of emancipation 1861. Suffered famines – 1899, 1901. Peasant and land banks accidentally increased debts of people. High level of tax to pay for industrialisation e.g. Trans-Siberian Rail. Years of the Red Cockerel – arson attacks by peasants against nobility/landowners (provinces where relationships were more traditional). Attacked officials, set fire to barns, seized woodland and pasture, set fire to official documents.
- 3) **Alienated Liberals and Middle Class:** Middle class liberals wanted to participate in government and wanted an elected national assembly – there was no Duma, the only elected bodies were the zemstvo which the Tsar’s used Land Captains to override and electoral changes to minimise participation in. Middle class had grown and was more politicised – Great Famine 1891-2 had shown incompetence of Tsarist government resulting in voluntary organisations and the zemstva having to organise relief.
- 4) **National minorities.** Finns, Poles, Jews. Wanted independence. Wanted an end to Russification. Martov, Trotsky

Short term:

- 5) **Nicholas II - ruling style and personality**
- 6) **Impact of Witte’s economic policies:**

Catalyst:

- 7) **Russo-Japanese War 1904-06:**

Spark

8) **Bloody Sunday 1905:**

- Tsar's repressive reaction to a peaceful demonstration and protest organised by Father Gapon highlighted the nature of his rule
- 150,000 strong procession – shorter working hours. Plea for help from their 'father'
- Estimated 200 killed, 800 wounded by Cossack reaction
- Destroys 'father' image > workers see him attack them rather than help them, impacts on loyalty towards Tsar > anger
- Reaction of Liberals and radicals in response – began to push to gain what they wanted and saw this as an opportunity

WHAT HAPPENED POST BLOODY SUNDAY?

Immediate aftermath of Bloody Sunday - Struggle between:

1. Authorities desperate to keep order and regain control
2. Demands of the Liberals anxious to keep control of the movement for reform
3. Radical revolutionaries determined to press home their advantages
4. Nationalist groups who saw an opportunity to exert independence



Inhumanity of the regime seemed to give the people a common sense of grievance to all unite behind (workers, peasants, middle class liberals)

The massacre gave coherence to a growing wave of uncoordinated protests around Russia.

= made them much more dangerous to the regime as one force.

WHY WAS THE TSAR ABLE TO REASSERT CONTROL DURING 1905?

Shortcomings of revolutionaries

- United in enemy, divided in desired outcome – Mensheviks and Bolsheviks differed in views and tactics, which differed from the Liberals, which differed from the two wings of the Social Revolutionaries. Unable to work together
- Not prepared for revolution at this time. Had not expected it and caught unaware. Spontaneous uprising that came as a result of Bloody Sunday was something they jumped onto as it was already taking hold and therefore struggled to direct it as they hoped to.
- Workers and peasants were not revolutionaries – hard to direct and organise.
- Lenin not in the country at the time

The granting of Concessions - the October Manifesto (Oct 1905) and Redemption announcement (Nov 1905)

- October Manifesto - Appeased Liberals – promise of creation of Legislative Duma. Promised range of civil rights, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and legalising of trade unions. Their appetite for reform was satisfied (temporarily at least). They wanted to regain control of the direction of the revolution and this helped them to do this.
- October Manifesto - Promise of trade union legalisation bought off less radical workers.
- Divide and conquer – now the Liberals were bought off, that was one less group to oppose the Tsar and began to reduce extent of threat of remaining groups
- Redemption payment reduction and abolition announcement – appeased peasantry = yet another group who now no longer posed a threat – just leaves radical workers and revolutionary groups.

Once Liberals and peasants were bought off, could exploit this

WHY WAS THE TSAR ABLE TO REASSERT CONTROL DURING 1905?

Bought off by these and then repressed after = reasserted power

Bought off easily. Probably due to.....

Use of repression to crush opposition

- Due to concessions like October Manifesto, by Nov-Dec 1905 the workers were the only major group still opposing the Tsar which made rebellions easier to crush.
- Black Hundreds Trepo ordered: 'fire no blanks, and spare no bullets' in forcing workers back into factories
- Black Hundreds - rounded up and flogged peasants, attacked revolutionaries leading to 300 arrested incl. Trotsky, students and nationalist groups such as Poles and Jews
- Army – some troops had been recalled from Russo-Japanese war to help crush opposition. Used against Dec 1905 strikers = 1000 dead, many Bolsheviks surrendered, Menshevik Trotsky was arrested. Lenin arrives just in time to witness the flames of gutted soviet buildings set ablaze by government troops.

Fundamental Laws 1906 and Duma

- Undoes concessions granted to regain further control (once bought off and revolution fizzled out, he could then try to claw back power)
- Fundamental Laws introduced as a limit on October Manifesto – states no law can come into force with Tsars approval = disables some of powers of proposed Duma
- During the course of the Duma experiment 1906-1914, Tsar manages to increasingly paralyse the powers of the Duma and limit how far they can challenge his rule. He is able to dissolve them if they pose any threat (first, second duma), Stolypin alters electoral franchise in time for 3rd Duma which increases nobility numbers elected (Duma of Lords and Lackys) and so they begin to approve more and more of the Tsar's ministers reforms.

Nature and aims of the revolution

- Readiness of the Liberals and Peasants to accept the government's political and economic bribes indicated that neither of these groups were genuinely ready for revolution.
- Army, despite disasters in war, remained largely loyal and returned home to crush soviets.
- Was this ever genuinely an attempt at revolution or just a backlash against grievances that, when addressed by the Tsar (or so he made it seem), fizzled out? All they wanted was concessions to help them solve their discontent?

To end the revolution attempt in 1905, Nicholas II agrees to changes including a Duma (parliament) = October Manifesto 1905
This when two Liberal groups emerge – the Octoberists and the Kadets (want to participate)
However, he then issues the Fundamental Laws (1906) which reasserted Tsarist authority, limiting their power
= discontent grew amongst the Liberals

Why did NII agree to issue the October Manifesto?

1. Placate the Liberals – get them onside and neutralise them as opposition
2. Buy off the peasantry (promised end to mortgage repayments)
3. Appease some of the less radical workers
4. Minimise opposition from the press
5. Undermine support for revolutionary groups e.g. Bolsheviks



Reactions to the October Manifesto:

Revolutionary?

- In one sense the October Manifesto was a revolution.
 - Chance that after centuries of autocracy, Russia was heading towards a constitutional monarchy along western lines.
 - Witte had tried to isolate the Liberals which he did by getting them to agree to hold off with any criticism until they had seen the proposals.
- = took the sting out of the opposition groups. First group to stop opposing the Tsar.

Liberal reaction to October Manifesto

Reaction:

- Octoberists- Moderate zemstva liberals accepting of promises and sought to work with the Tsar to make the new Dumas a success
- Kadets (moreleft wing Liberals). Accepted Tsar's concessions but only as a first step towards more in future

Why?:

- Wanted to see an end to radical revolution that was spreading
- Aims of these groups were for a constitutional monarchy and Constituent Assembly, not removal of Tsar or extreme ideology

Revolutionary Radicals

Reaction:

- Trotsky and Lenin tried to get the workers to fight on declaring the promises worthless
- Denounced the promise of elections > Called for an armed rising to bring Tsarism to an end
- Lenin returns to St Petersburg Nov 1905 to try and rouse support = when he sees the revolution
- has passed and been crushed Dec 1905 Bolshevik led uprising in Moscow

Why?:

- Did not have faith in promises of Tsar
- Saw an opportunity to continue revolutionary spirit and discontent growing in Russia
- Marxist and Bolshevik ideology required removal of the Tsar, not a constitutional monarchy

Industrial Workers

Reaction:

- Most were supportive – optimism and cheering in the streets with many returning to work
- Some radical revolutionaries began trying to win support amongst the more radical industrial workforce = some strike activity continued e.g. November's second General Strike in St Petersburg, Dec 1905

Why?:

- They had become increasingly politicised by the events of 1905
- The revolutionary radicals and activists such as Lenin and Trotsky were encouraging the workers with their rhetoric
- October Manifesto did not address many of their problems e.g. Social problems and fell short of equal representation or suffrage

'We have been granted a constitution, yet autocracy remains. We have been granted everything, and yet we have been granted nothing'



Task: Watch the clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Jxzolu4Vbo>

Task: complete the following questions using the information on the previous pages

Summarise the Russo-Japanese War	
What happened during Bloody Sunday and why did it happen?	
Describe the key features of the October Manifesto – include what it was promising and what it wasn't	
What was the Liberal reaction to the October Manifesto?	
What was the revolutionary reaction to the October Manifesto?	
What was the industrial worker's reaction to the October Manifesto?	
How did they reestablish order?	
Who was more to blame for the attempted revolution? Look at the 7 reasons and reach a judgement	

WHAT WERE THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS 1906?

Fundamental Laws April 1906 (5 days after first Duma)

The Emperor of All Russia has supreme autocratic power.

It is ordained by God himself that his authority should be submitted to not only out of fear, but out of a genuine sense of duty.

Article 4: To the All-Russian Emperor belong supreme autocratic power

Article 9: No legislative act may come into force without the Emperor's ratification

Article 87: The Emperor may rule by decree in emergency circumstances when the Duma is not in session

Article 105: The Emperor may dissolve the Duma as he wishes

Basically means Tsar still:

- ✓ Possesses supreme administrative power
- ✓ Is supreme leader of all foreign relations
- ✓ Has supreme command over all land and sea forces of the Russian state
- ✓ Has the sole power to appoint and dismiss government ministers
- ✓ Has the sole power to declare war, conclude peace and negotiate treaties with foreign states
- ✓ Right to overturn verdicts and sentences given in a court of law

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HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE DUMA EXPERIMENT?

Duma experiment started with a lot of hope, especially from the Liberals.... However, the actions that Nicholas II takes soon results in discontent.

Duma	Character	Details	Achievements
First Duma (May - July 1906) 'Duma of National Hope'	Dominated by reformist parties	High hope at start. Fundamental Laws 1906 introduced by Tsar = declared 'Supreme autocratic power belongs to Emperor of Russia' → reasserted Tsar's control, could dissolve the Duma if desired. Tsar declared no law could come into being without his approval and also creates a second chamber in the Duma; a state council which is filled with his ministers who have the right to veto = deprived the elected Duma of any real power. Angered the parties in the Duma → they demand more power and rights = Goremykin (Chief Minister) told them their demands were 'inadmissible' and Tsar says 'Curse the duma. It is all Witte's doing.' Kadets try to challenge him in Duma = Tsar dissolves the Duma after only 72 days. 200 Kadets react issuing a Vyborg appeal → brutal repression, arrested, not allowed to be re-elected to Duma. Tsar appoints Stolypin as Chief Minister to introduce strong control.	Short lived – achieved little
Second Duma (Feb-June 1907) Duma of National Anger	Clash between revolutionaries and left wing	More SR and SD participation due to Kadet members arrest/not allowed re-election = more left wing parties involved = critical of Tsar/hostile nature. Disagreement in the Duma between parties - increase in right wing as well as left wing parties (SR, SD) – attempts to find common ground between them limited by suspicions and intolerance of each other. Lead to clashes, disagreements. Stolypin tries to introduce his 'Land Reform' – opposed by parties. Duma parties directed a strong attack on how the imperial army was deployed and organized = angers Tsar. = Nicholas II accuses the SR and SD deputies of subversive activities = Duma is dissolved by Tsar using Fundamental Laws.	Dissolved in disorder – very little achieved
Third Duma (Nov 1907-June 1912) Duma of Lords and Lackeys	Electoral changes by Stolypin before election of Third Duma = more cooperative deputies from moderate/right wing parties	Stolypin changed the electoral arrangements before the election of the Third Duma → peasants, workers lost right to vote = docile Duma as they were more heavily dominated by right wing parties (supportive of Tsar) = Duma was 'docile' in nature (= 'Duma of Lords and Lackeys') – any criticism was now much more muted. Stolypin found the third duma more cooperative = could pursue his Land Reforms without opposition from deputies. They agreed to 2,300 out of 2,500 government proposals. However, be careful not to say they were too docile or subservient!!!! Still ... - Exercised right to question ministers and finances - Used committee system to make important proposals to change armed forces - Approved social bills which included: setting up schools for children, national insurance for workers.	Committees did achieve effective work on social reform
Fourth Duma	Dominated by right-wing parties again	Historians sometimes dismiss fourth duma as a 'rubber stamp of government polic' (basically, passed anything the Tsar and Chief Ministers put before them). This is the argument the Bolsheviks would give too. However, they still:	Social reform work continued but prepared to

(Nov 1912-Aug 1914)	more willing to cooperate.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Voices criticism of tsar's government - Moscow Okhrana report 1912 blamed the tension in Russia on the awkward and searching questions continually being asked in the Duma about government policy = evidence not totally subservient to tsar. - Progressive nature of Duma = beginnings of state welfare resulted from Duma – this was only limited from being more than it was due to blindness of tsar = Rodzianko (1913) appeals directly to the Tsar humbly requesting the Duma be given clarification on its role so that it could be more constructive in Russian affairs 	criticize government
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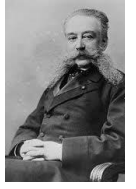
HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Waller: Although the third Duma ran its course, by 1912, it was clear that the Duma system was not working and had no control over the actions of the Tsar or his government

Remember though!: Compare this to 300 years of autocracy and the rule of Nicholas I who allowed NO political participation and used the Okhrana to clamp down on political parties and censored all oppositional or foreign press. Nicholas II is actually allowing discussion and involvement. It's no longer the 'senseless dream' he dismissed in 1896.

Witte (man who created October Manifesto): 'I have a constitution in my head, but as to my heart, I spit on it.'

(basically saying Fundamental Laws, electoral changes etc turned Dumas into something he bitterly saw as not what he intended to create)



Task: Summarise each of the Four Dumas

First Duma	Second Duma
Third Duma	Fourth Duma

TO WHAT EXTENT WAS THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF RUSSIA CHANGED FOR THE BETTER 1906-14?

Strengths/success of Duma system	Weaknesses/failures of Duma system
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Greater freedom of political expression and inclusion of this in governmental policy. A centre for political discussion and a forum of political debate. This enabled the Tsar and ministers to gauge popular feeling. It was a marked contrast to 1896 when he dismissed the calls for an 'All Zemstvo-Organisation' as a senseless dream and purged the zemstvas of Liberals in 1900 ● Encouragement of greater political participation of the masses and move towards a more civilized society. Helped spread democracy by encouraging public political debate as their activities were reported in the press. This is a marked contrast to censorship reforms and laws re-introduced under Alexander III when 14 papers were banned. Existence of a state Duma from 1906 allowed political participation for those who had been previously denied political participation – a marked contrast from before 1905 ● Approval and involvement in a range of important reforms. Approved important reforms such as Land Captains being replaced by Justices of the Peace, a new universal primary system to be introduced in 10 years, health and accident insurance programmes for industrial workers, and improvements to the army and navy. ● A step towards democracy. A promising experiment which would have succeeded but was never given enough time to show its true worth. The outbreak of WW1 limited it's life span. The Dumas moved Russia closer to becoming a full democracy and marked the end of autocracy, even though the Tsar's power still dominated; a fairer form of constitutional monarchy seemed to be emerging. ● Exerted their opinions and there was real questioning of Tsarist power. Used their powers to question the Tsar. The 'Address to the Throne' in the First Duma, questioning and approving of the budget and use of questioning of the ministers to good effect. Even the Tsar was aware that they had the chance of real power; hence his hurry to limit it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Limitations on the power of the Duma. The Fundamental Laws reasserted some Tsarist power. The Duma could be dissolved if they put forward ideas contrary to the Tsar's wishes. This happened with the first Duma when it was dissolved after 72 days when they put forward the 'Address to the Throne' and the second Duma with the SD plot. Stolypin used Article 87 when the Duma was not in session to pass his agrarian reforms when the second Duma had previously refused. ● Increasing influence over the political parties in the Duma. Electoral reforms introduced in time for the Third Duma elections limited voting to the richest 30% resulting in the 'Duma of Lords and Lackey's' dominated by pro-government groups like the Octoberists (42 to 154) and rightists (10 to 147 seats) whilst the SR vote declined from 37 to 0. No peasant and working class vote, while the nobility vote increased; it was the voice of the rich rather than the masses that now dominated. By the Fourth Duma Kokovstov said "Thank God we have no Duma" commenting on how docile and submissive it had become. ● Continuing Tsarist influence. Fundamental Laws limited Duma powers. Also, able to get the Land Reforms passed in the Third Duma. Third Duma passed 2,200 of the 2,500 government proposal put forward Appointment of increasing conservative Prime Ministers; from Witte in the First Duma → Goremykin → Stolypin → Kokovstov who just ignored the Duma. ● Loss of faith of the people and some Liberal groups in this system. From 'Duma of National Hope' to 'Duma of National Anger' and 'Duma of Lords and Lackey's' = Fourth Duma, "Thank God we have no Duma" (Kokovstov). By 1911 and the Third Duma, the Octoberists had turned into government opponents and the Duma had to be suspended twice. By the Fourth Duma, strike action was revived. ● Never gained the support or acceptance of the Tsar; it was always a body to be controlled and minimalised and did not mark a reach change in attitude. Fundamental Laws were evidence of this. The Duma was never a genuine concession to creating a parliamentary system; it was the result of revolutionary pressure and pressure from France. The Tsar's impression and attitude had not changed. Stolypin use repression (Stolypin's necktie) after the Vyborg Manifesto to punish those who disagreed too much

Conclusion: How far was Russia's political system changed for the better, 1906-14?

STOLYPIN (1906-11)

You need to know about Stolypin and you must be able to discuss:

- Agricultural policies/land reform – successes/limitations → impact by 1917
- Efforts he made with industry (limited!)
- His involvement in the Duma (see Second-Third Duma, he changed the election franchise)
- His use of repression and the impact it had → impact by 1917

Tricky word check!
Agrarian = agriculture (farming/peasants)
Kulak = rich peasant, private ownership of their land

The Tsar appointed him BECAUSE of his repressive characteristics – it was his response to the First Duma and his concerns with that.

Stolypin

Career and experience:

- Hardliner and ruthless – known as only governor able to keep firm control during peasant unrest 1901, 1904-06
- 'suppression first and then, and only then, reform' = basically ensure your population is under control, then reform.
- Appointed Minister for Internal Affairs and replaced Goremykin as PM in 1906
- Assassinated in 1911 (indication of his popularity!)



Vision and opinions:

- Control Duma - wanted to make sure Duma members were compliant. Changed the electoral law after the second Duma to make sure more pro-Tsar supporters were in the Duma and less opposition.
- Firm control and clamp down on revolutionary activity – 1906 established court martials led by military against political criminals (no defence, death sentences carried out in 24 hours) = 1906-09 3000 executed = Hangman's noose known as 'Stolypin's necktie'
- Believed in radical reform of agriculture as the best strategy for resisting revolutionary demands
- Carried through major programme of educational and health reform
- Implemented agricultural reform 1906 and 1910-11

Historical opinion: Waller: Despite his reforms there was still widespread rural poverty

Why reform agriculture?

- ✘ **Need to feed nation's rapidly growing population - end the 'rural crisis'** –Big increase in population at this time = shortage of land and rural over-population. Crisis deepened by bad harvests 1891, 1901-02.
- ✘ **Limitations of emancipation of serfs** - peasants had been emancipated ('freed') to allow them to buy the lands. The government had set up a state scheme to help them to buy the land – state mortgages. Some were able to buy land but most were unable to and were crippled by high mortgage repayments. The high price of land resulted in heavy mortgage payments and resulted in impoverishing many of the peasantry. The peasants insecurity (concern government would repossess their land if they didn't pay mortgages) and continuation of outdated farming techniques did not turn them into the efficient farmers as hoped by the state when the emancipated them = did not become the efficient food producers as hoped, peasant discontent (dark masses), resentment towards landlords (attacks) → dangerous social force in the making.
- ✘ **Calm peasant discontent and curb revolutionary activity** – 'de-revolutionise' the peasantry and avoid a repeat of rural violence of 1904 (Year of the Red Cockerel) and 1905 when they had joined revolution due to fear government was going to repossess the land of mortgage holders who had defaulted on their payments. To ensure the peasantry do not turn to revolutionary groups like the SRs who announced in 1906 their special pledge to peasants that they would end private ownership of the land and redistribute it to the peasantry. If the peasants themselves became prosperous farm owners, they would instead act as a defence against revolution as prosperity would make them hostile to change and want to support the tsar, not extremists like the SRs.
- ✘ **Change society** - initiatives were an exercise in social engineering: wanted to create more Kulaks (rural upper class) who he saw as the 'sturdy and strong'. Aim was to create a new class of richer peasants by encouraging them to set up as independent small farmers = better agricultural economy which would produce more grain to export. More grain exported = more money to fund industrialisation.
- ✘ **Economic modernisation** - wanted to break the vicious cycle of backwardness and compete with Western Europe. Future of Russia depended on prosperous peasantry and developing Kulak/rural upper class who could produce improved grain yields to export and trade
- ✘ **Stimulate internal industry** –improve agriculture = wealth would be spent on consumer goods, so stimulating industry

What was included in his agricultural reforms? The 'wager on the strong'

- ✘ **Farmers urged to abandon inefficient strip farming** – urged to use fence system instead.
- ✘ **Stop peasants grouping into 'obscina' - 1906 law which freed the peasants** – freed the peasants from the commune in attempt to make them return to individual farming. To leave the commune, they no longer needed to ask permission from the majority of its members. Collective ownership of land by the family was abolished and so the land could become the personal property of an individual who could create one big compact farm.
- ✘ **Increase availability of land** – 1906 amount of state and crown land available to peasants grew.
- ✘ **Peasant land bank** – instructed to give loans to peasants who wanted to leave the commune. Provide funds for independent peasant to buy land.
- ✘ **Resettlement plans** - large scale voluntary resettlement of peasants with aim to populate the empire's remoter areas, such as Siberia, and turn them into food-growing areas (Siberia → dairy farming)
- ✘ **Granted more rights 1906** - peasants granted equal rights in local administration, right to leave the commune and the collective ownership of land by a family was abolished. Land was not the property of an individual who could withdraw it from the commune and consolidate it into one compact farm.
- ✘ **Land organisation commissions set up** – peasants elected representatives to supervise new rights given
- ✘ **1910 Dissolution of mirs where land re-distribution had not occurred**
- ✘ **Redemption payments officially abolished 1907**
- ✘ **Increase in government subsidies to encourage migration and settlement in Siberia**

How successful were Stolypin's agricultural reforms?

Remember to consider the context in which he was trying to change agriculture: did he have any real chance in reforming it given how backward it was and the time he had to change things (his assassination, 1911, and WW1 1914 limited potential benefits if they had not occurred). The conservatism of peasants prevented changes. Also, even in advanced countries, land reform takes time to become effective.

Successes	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Evidence of more tax being paid by 1914 = suggests higher profits must have been made during this time. ✓ Freedom of peasant to leave the mir/commune – could go to work in cities or buy their own land as there were more opportunities due to peasant banks and availability of communal land now up for sale. 1906-1924, 25% of peasants left the mirs. ✓ Peasant land ownership increased from 20% 1905 to 50% by 1915. Due in part to new Peasant Land Bank created more opportunity of peasants to buy own land and redemption payments abolishment – could afford to buy land. ✓ Increases in production of grain – development of larger farms, use of more modern machinery and artificial fertilizers ✓ Siberian emigration – 3.5 million emigrated, led to development of good dairy farming economy in this area and took burden off over-populated areas in south and west Russia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊗ Assassination and war = limited success of his policy. ⊗ Deep conservatism of peasantry and backwards nature of agriculture = difficult to change ⊗ Change takes time, even in advanced countries – unfair assessment of achievements given context in which he was trying to implement change ⊗ Land still unaffordable to many peasants – despite abolition of redemption payments and new peasant land banks, many could still not afford to buy land. Created a class of landless peasants rather than helping them to improve their situation – alienated and poor peasants who could not afford their own land and had to either rent land, work on others lands or drift to the cities for work. ⊗ Limitations on amount of communal land had been bought privately – only 14% of communal land had become private by 1915. ⊗ By 1914, strip farming persisted rather than consolidating land in some central areas with some unwilling to give up mir system. Some nobles still held onto the land despite threats and violence. This limited land available to buy. ⊗ Old fashioned farming techniques continued despite more machinery available ⊗ Land reforms had limited impact in the cities

Stolypin and repression:

- Fierce policy of repression
- Martial law – network of military courts with sweeping powers.
- 1906-1911 = 2500 executions → nickname of 'Stolypin's necktie'
- Arrested the 200 Kadets who had organised the Vyborg appeal (1906) → arrested and de-barred from re-election into the duma.

OVERALL FOR STOLYPIN (1906-11): Review Witte (earlier on at same time to get the whole overview)

- Helpful to assess work of Witte (1892-1903, 1905-06) and Stolypin (1906-11) as complementary – Witte mainly concerned with developing industry, Stolypin agriculture.
- Had the tsarist government and bureaucracy been more willing to support Witte and Stolypin's efforts to modernise the economy, this might have prevented the build-up of the social and political tensions.
- Resistance to reform
 - Reforms and introduction of the duma were important advances but were not enough to alter the essentially reactionary nature of the tsarist government
 - Tsar's resistance to change – government remained hostile to change.
 - But, if he systems introduced had operated more efficiently, his resistance would have mattered less.
 - However, the tsar was both oppressive and inefficient = alienated progressive elements in society who could now no longer see possibility of real advance whilst the government and bureaucracy remained in the hands of the incompetents = this undermined the efforts of Witte and Stolypin who sought to strengthen/preserve the tsarist system.
 - By 1914, Russia was headed towards a major confrontation between unchanging stardom and the forces of change.

EXAM QUESTION: How successful were Stolypin's reforms?

Success	Failure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊙ Politics - Strengthened the Tsar's position – able to reassert control over the Duma and ensure they were less able to challenge rule e.g. changed electoral franchise, able to pass agrarian reforms. Agrarian reforms also meant that peasants who now owned land were more loyal to Tsar. ⊙ Economy - Agricultural reforms and improvements – agrarian reforms such as dissolution of mirs and creation of peasant land banks resulted in larger farms/Kulak class growing = increase in grain production. Success of dairy farming in Siberia ⊙ Society – created more opportunities for peasants. 1906-1907 15% peasants accepted new opportunities e.g. 3.5 million move to Siberia. ⊙ Decreased threat of revolutionary groups – agricultural reforms would mean peasants more content and less likely to support groups like Bolsheviks who promised change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊗ Politics – disillusionment grew as a result of increased control of dumas and ignoring their ideas. Led to Liberals such as Octoberists becoming more oppositional and led to resuming of strike action by Lena workers by 1912 as they lost faith in the system. ⊗ Economy – land reforms had a limited impact on the cities. ⊗ Society – did not help all peasants. Those who accepted Stolypin's incentives were located in more prosperous areas of Russia. Many peasants became landless peasants who could not afford to buy land and so drifted to cities looking for work. ⊗ Revolutionary groups – in long term it was the increased control of the dumas which turned Liberals against idea of working with Tsar and in future would not accept his promises of concessions to power. Meant come 1917 they refused to accept his proposal to share power = results in his abdication.

Task: Complete the Cornell notes activity on Witte and his reforms

Key questions and queries about Witte and the reforms and key words

Witte and the Reforms Key Notes

Summary

The Condition of the Russian Economy by 1914

1890's	1900's	1908
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boom • Vyshnegradsky and Witte's reforms and focus on economic development (heavy industry, rail, foreign investment) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slump • European trade recession • Heavy industry affected (due to financing by state and foreign investment) • Strikes e.g. Oil industry in Baku, textile industry 1902-03 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1908 - boom ended the slump

Russian Economy – the good!

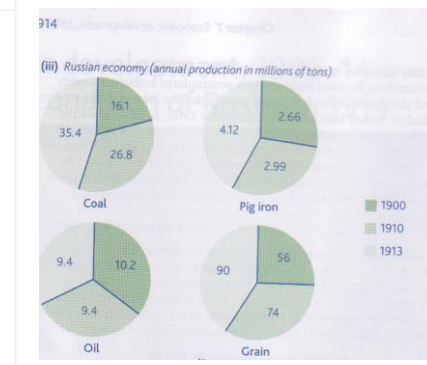
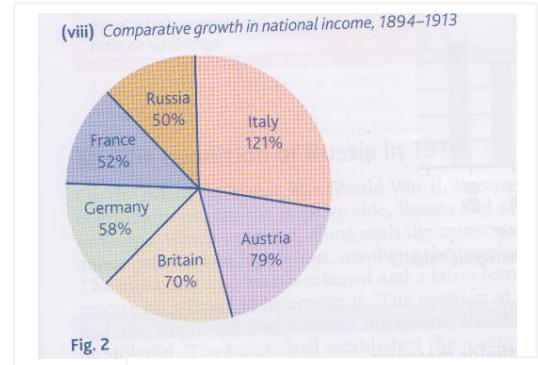
- ☺ 1908-1913 – Russian industry growth rate 8.5%
- ☺ Entrepreneurs prospered
- ☺ Large modern factories attracted large numbers of industrial workers
- ☺ Increased overseas investment
- ☺ Light industry grew (despite neglect) due to consumer demand
- ☺ 1905 State injected money into heavy industry which grew

By 1914: 5th Largest industrial power!

- ☺ 4th largest producer of coal, pig iron and steel
- ☺ 2nd largest oil production due to expansion (thanks to Baku)
- ☺ 4th place gold mining
- ☺ Germany feared Russian industrialisation would outstrip German economy.

Society and the lot of the workers

- ☺ Health
 - ✓ Extension of health services in provinces (by zemstva)
 - ✓ 1912 State system of health insurance for workers
- ☺ Education
 - ✓ Stolypin aimed to achieve compulsory universal education for all in 10 years (start 1908)
 - ✓ Spending rose: elementary schools 1.8% → 4.2% budget
 - ✓ 77% growth in students
 - ✓ 85% growth in schools
 - ✓ Literacy rate 1900: 30% → 1914: 40%



Russian Economy – the bad!

- ⊗ 1908-1914 number of workers only rises from 2.5 to 2.9 million – given the population increase of 28.5 million from 1897-1914 this should have been larger (4/5ths population still peasantry)
- ⊗ Population of Moscow and St Petersburg (major industrial cities) only increases by approx ½ million
- ⊗ Trans Siberian railway still unfinished and despite growth of rail this was still under target
- ⊗ Oil production was 10.2 tons in 1900 compared to 9.4 in 1910 and 1914
- ⊗ National income growth is 50% by 1913 - behind other European countries e.g. Britain 70%, Italy 121%, France 52%
- ⊗ Foreign trade (£ millions) is only 190 by 1913 – Britain 1123, Germany 1030, and France 424

SOCIAL COSTS

Education:

- Stolypin's compulsory universal education target not achieved by 1914
- Education levels still low
- Prospects for self improvement limited

Workers conditions

- Lack of effective trade unions and legal protection from employers
- Wages only rose 245 to 264 roubles a month whilst inflation rose by 40%
- Poor factory conditions
- Strike activity and unrest 1912 – Lena Gold field massacre led sympathy
- protest of 3 million workers 1912-14 (Bolsheviks involved in organisation)

Social engineering limited

- 4/5ths population still peasantry
- Wide scale evolution of private farmers/Kulak style peasant still had not emerge



Task: Summarise the condition of the Russian Economy by 1914

<p>What evidence is there that the Russian economy was in a strong position by 1914?</p>	
<p>What evidence is there that the Russian economy was in a weak position by 1914?</p>	
<p>What is your overall judgement of how successful the economic reforms were 1881-1914?</p>	

How strong was opposition by 1914?

Future was promising for the Tsar and governing classes who retained control over Russia. Why?

- ☺ Pacification of some opposition: liberal and educated classes had grown more conservative in outlook wanting to distance themselves from radicals and excess of workers and due to Witte's policies (tactics to split opposition). Liberals were no longer revolutionary
- ☺ Undermining of the Dumas, internal squabbling and police activity weakened revolutionary groups
- ☺ Divisions amongst revolutionary opposition → Marxists were divided (SDs: Bolsheviks/Menshevik split) and Struve (one of original founders of SD's) condemned idea of revolution
- ☺ Surge of patriotism due to actions of other countries- Attention had turned away from internal concerns towards the patriotic call to champion Slavs in Serbia and Balkans (1909 Bosnian Crisis) and their struggles against Turkey and A-H

All was looking well for the future of Tsarist autocracy and opposition was much less dangerous than in 1905-1906.....

Beneath the surface....

None of issues which sparked 1905 revolution had been fully resolved...

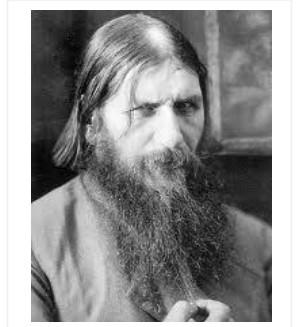
- ☹ Assassinations: No minister or official could feel safe after countless political assassinations (Stolypin 1911, 1905-1909 2,828 terrorist assassinations)
- ☹ Radical revolutionary activity: SR's 1905-1909 had 4,579 members sentenced to death (2, 365 actually executed)
- ☹ Duma/Zemstva anti-Tsarist feelings no desire to return to pre-1905 and pure autocracy, liberals enjoyed new political outlook
- ☹ Restlessness amongst peasants and workers on whom country relied
- ☐ Towns: bad to worse → 1912 Lena Gold Mine slaughter, 1913 wave of strikes, 1914 more on strike than 1905
- ☐ Many strikes organised by Bolsheviks (now dominated largest trade unions in Moscow and St Petersburg, newspaper Pravda with circulation of 40,000)

Tsar was still underestimating the possibility of a revolution.....

Evidence that Nicholas II was unchanged by 1905 and his actions would make revolution more likely...

Romanov Tercentenary

- As labour troubles resurfaced, Nicholas became increasingly detached
- Held jubilee ritual to celebrate permanency of Romanovs
- Dinners, balls, flying doves, open carriages, banners and decorated streets – 3 month tour after!
- Met with confetti, cheers, banners
- 'My people love me' → 'now you can see for yourselves what cowards those state ministers are. They are constantly frightening the emperor with threats of revolution'



Rasputin (faith healer)

- Gained influence at court and over appointments
- Corrupt behaviour

= resentment within and outside political circles, civil servants, Church and army – VERY PEOPLE HE NEEDED TO PROP UP HIS MONARCHY!!

- Stolypin and Duma president showed evidence dossiers against R but Nicholas said: 'there is nothing I can do' and 'I will allow no one to meddle in my affairs' – criticising S and DP
- Damaged reputation of Tsar
- Symptom of state of monarchy by 1914 but not cause of its position

Growing tensions 1911-14

- 1) Urban unrest – peasants who let to go to cities had been more willing in past to accept poor conditions in factories due to the higher wages. Recessions 1908 onwards led to lower wages and unemployment → discontent on streets of St Petersburg and Moscow.
- 2) Repression used – 1911-14 regime's terror tactics were both cause and effect of increase in public disorder. 'Political' strikes increased: 1911 = 24 → 1914 = 2401.
- 3) Lena Goldfields incident 1912 – demands from miners in Lena for better pay and conditions were resisted by employers who appealed to the [police to arrest strike leaders as criminals. Police moved in, strikers closed ranks and situation deteriorated = troops firing on strikers (killed/injured large amount of strikers).
- 4) General strike 1914 – ST Petersburg. Strike occurred, police used = violence. Many of the progressive members of the duma supported the strikers openly; even moderate liberal parties began to despair at the government's dealing effectively with the problems they faced. Guchkov (Octoberist leader) told party conference (1913) that blindness of tsar's government was driving the Russian people closer to revolution.