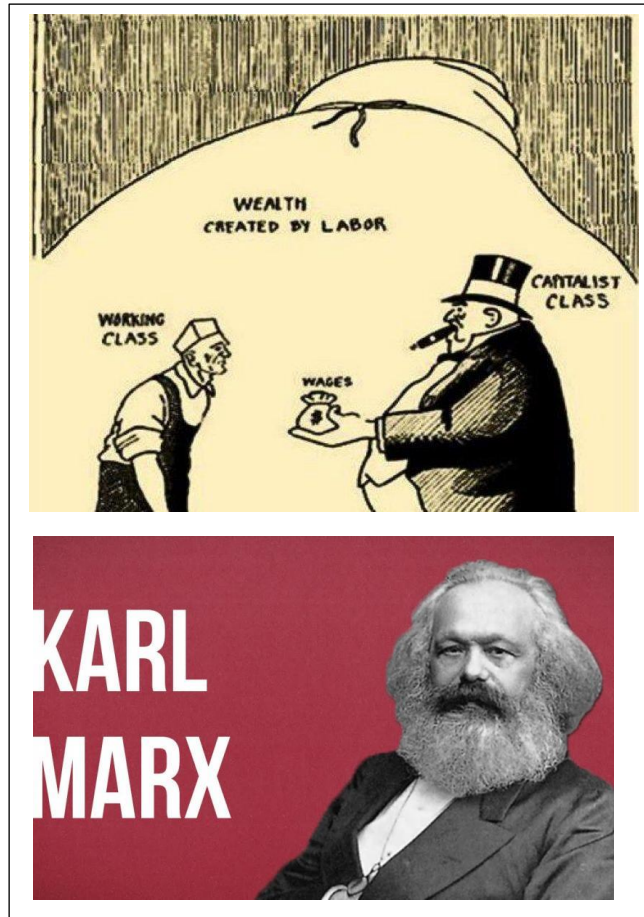


Year 11 Bridging Project

2N History

Part 2



Part 2. Opposition to the Tsars.

You have a choice about how you do this – any is fine.

- Print out the booklet and write in the gaps
- Download a copy and type in the gaps
- Record your answers on paper (use the same headings in your work as the page/section you are working from.)

Whichever you choose, just keep your work safe!

Extra challenge questions are optional.

THE OPPONENTS OF TSARDOM – GROWTH OF OPPOSITION

This section is about the growth of organisations committed to change and improve life in Russia. Some wanted to overthrow the Tsars (revolutionaries) and some wanted to work with him to make life better (reformers).

They are important because they contributed to the Russian Revolutions which took part in 1917.

Look out for:

- Their beliefs (what sort of Russia did they want to replace the Tsarist system?)
- Their methods (would they use violence? Did they want a small or mass organisation?)
- Their successes (did they get many followers? Did they change anything)

There were two main types of group who opposed Tsardom:

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

1. Revolutionaries (extremists)

There were 3 different groups of revolutionaries:

- a) Populists
- b) Social Revolutionaries (SRs)
- c) Social Democrats (SDs)

a) 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 uniformed 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. Assassinated Alexander II with a bomb in 1881– achieved this but weakened rather than strengthened populist movement: murder of a 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.
- The assassination led to repression - a wave of arrests and greater police surveillance
- On the other hand, it did have symbolic significance: showed vulnerability of tsarist autocracy; won some support overseas; created martyrs who popularised the revolutionary cause



Task: Evaluation of the Populists/People's Will

Successes/strengths	Failures/weaknesses

b) Social Revolutionaries

ORIGINS:

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

INFLUENCES:

- Viktor Chernov - leader.

SUPPORT BASE:

- Wide national base with peasants and 50% urban working class. By 1905 – 50,000 but influence decreased from 1906
- Also joined by middle class intelligentsia

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 were 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:

- Urban population growth in 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.
- Widened earlier populist notion of 'going to the people' to now include not just peasants but all those wanting end to Tsardom.
- Split into left and right elements with different ideas about how to change Russia. 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; continued 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)

Task: Evaluation of the SRs

Successes/strengths	Failures/weaknesses

c) Social Democrats.

ORIGINS:

- 1898. Founded by Plekhanov.

VIEW:

- Wanted to achieve revolution following Marx's ideas and scientific principles – class struggle ('haves' vs 'have-nots'), a process that operated throughout history
- Contemporary industrial era (industrial spurt of 1890s) 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 INFLUENCES:

- **Karl Marx – 19th century German philosopher and economist**

Stop here to look at Marxism in more detail – the ideas of Marx are also known as communism - this is a really important set of ideas – in October 1917 a party called the Bolsheviks took power in Russia. They followed Marxist ideas so the history of Russia from 1917-1990 is the story of people trying to create the first communist country following the teaching of Karl Marx.

Think of this as an introduction – don't worry if it doesn't all make sense now as we will teach this in Y12.

This video clip explains the communist point of view of different classes and the exploitation of the working class.

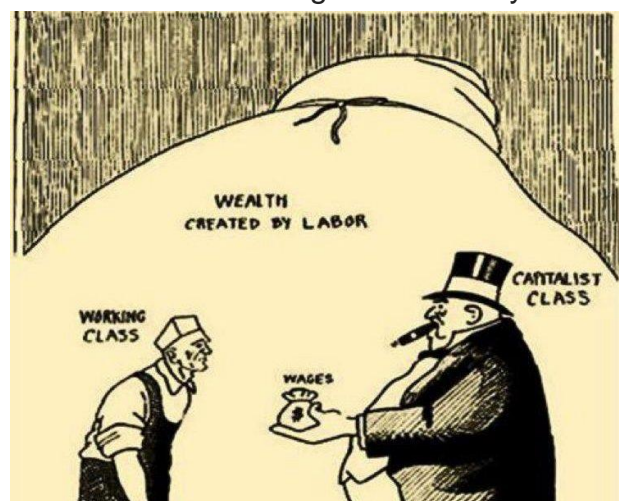
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbTIJ9_bLP4

Key Points about Marxism – words and phrases in bold are explained below

- Marx saw society evolving through stages. He said there was always **class conflict** which moved history on to the next stage
- The class struggle was based on controlling the **means of production**
- According to Marx, at each stage of society (before communism) the upper class controls the means of production and the lower class is forced to provide labour (work).
- Marx was writing in the 19th century when countries like Germany and Britain were in the **capitalist** phase of development.
- Marx was especially critical of capitalism because he said the **bourgeoisie** were exploiting the **proletariat**
- Marx predicted that class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat would lead to capitalism's downfall and a communist revolution.

Key Terms

- **Class conflict** – struggle or war between groups of society with different economic wealth or power
- **Means of production** – the resources which can be turned into goods and then profit (e.g. land for farming or factories)
- **Capitalist** – when the means of production are owned by private individuals (not the state) and individuals can make profit for themselves
- **bourgeoisie**: The capitalist class (owned the factories)
- **proletariat**: the working class or lower class
- **communism** - a theory or system of social organization in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.



MEMBERS of the Social Democrats were:

- University thinkers. Upper/middle class men

METHODS:

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

LENIN:

- 1900 – he returned from exile (living abroad to avoid arrest for revolutionary activity) and started to try to turn SDs into a truly revolutionary party.
- He created party newspaper called Iskra (The Spark) with Martov to put case to members.

Lenin is an important individual. He became leader of Russia in 1917: the world's first communist ruler



Lenin's beliefs:

- 1) Reject economism, said it would be better if the conditions of workers declined - Criticised Plekhanov saying he was too interested in reform not revolution. Lenin rejected 'economism' (improving conditions of workers) and championed transforming workers into revolutionaries (didn't want to improve conditions like Plekhanov as he said this would delay rev, instead allow conditions to continue to decline which would turn more workers into revolutionaries due to discontent/bitterness = spark revolution)
- 2) He wanted a 'telescoped revolution' – this was a change to Marxism – Lenin believed they could speed up the revolutionary phases. Even though Russia wasn't fully in the capitalist phase, Lenin wanted the Bolsheviks to prepare for a proletariat revolution.
- 3) Dedicated small group of professional revolutionaries only (small, tight knit and exclusive party)– no working with other anti-tsar parties – Lenin wrote a pamphlet '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 – this was Lenin's phrase for tight party discipline. He set up an elite, informed group of 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 Social Democrat PARTY 1903 - Emergence of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks

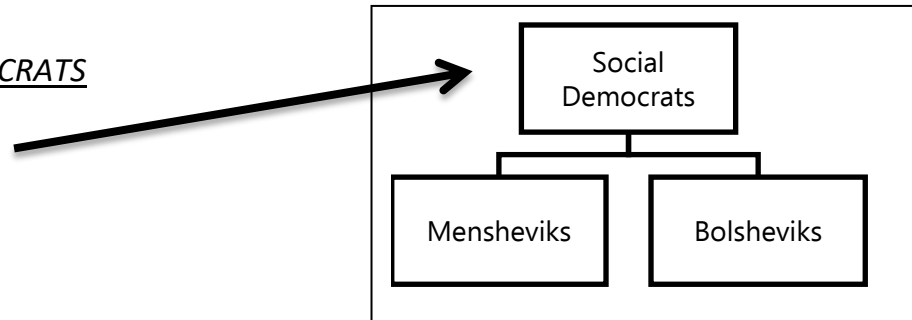
1903 Second Party Congress - 51 delegates were present

- **Aim:** to decide how the party should move forward
- Martov sided with Plekhanov– thought Lenin was trying to dictate to the party
- SD congress vote – evenly split between Martov and Lenin = split
- Split hardened the two groups into a set of opposed attitudes.

Key point -

Lenin and his followers grew impatient with theoretical side and wanted a more active, revolutionary programme.

= SPLIT IN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS



This table shows the different views of Mensheviks and Bolsheviks (remember they were all Marxists).

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 (Russian word for ‘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)
- Rejected 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 and bank robberies e.g. post offices to get funds → use for propaganda
- Propaganda – masses of handbills, leaflets and newspapers attacking tsarist regime, calling for revolution.
- However, Lenin was largely abroad in exile between 1904-1917, his visits to Russia in this time were rare and short.
- He issued a stream of instructions to his followers but was largely absent.
- Seen as a fringe group by the police – not on the police check list as a major challenge to the Tsar
- Did help to cause industrial unrest
- Membership varied between 5-10,000 before February 1917 Revolution. Outnumbered by Mensheviks.
- There was an attempted revolution in 1905 and a successful revolution in Feb 1917 overthrowing the Tsar – but both were spontaneous and Bolsheviks weren't too involved.

Martov's Mensheviks (Russian for '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
- Police did see them as a group for concern
- Greater membership than the Bolsheviks – 40,000 members by 1904
- Very little role in 1905 year of revolt or February 1917 revolution

Task: Evaluation of the Social Democrats

Successes/strengths	Failures/weaknesses

Extra Challenge questions:

1. Which of the revolutionary groups was most closely matched to the needs of Russia at the start of the 20th century? Why?
2. If you were a Social Democrat at the 1903 Party Congress, would you have supported the Bolsheviks or Mensheviks? Why?

2. Reformers (liberals)

Definitions of a 'liberal' ideology in politics:

Liberalism, political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing the freedom of the **individual** to be the central problem of politics. Liberals typically believe that **government** is necessary to protect individuals from being harmed by others, but they also recognize that government itself can pose a threat to liberty.

Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed and equality before the law.

Liberals and Intelligentsia

- There was a number of reforming groups seeking change – 'liberals' – but they 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 and SUPPORTERS:

- 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.
- Attracted influential members – Prince Lvov, Tolstoy

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

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 (Council) 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 (Russian leaders and thinkers were divided between Slavophiles – wanting to emphasise Russian culture and ways of doing thing – and Westernisers – those who looked to Europe for ideas of progress)

METHODS

- Escaped heavy police focus as they were pre-occupied by SR's and SD's
- Contributed to momentum for political change

- Set up local councils (zemstva) which made a significant contribution to local political and economic decision making
- However, the government restricted zemstva powers under Alexander III
- Nicholas II dismissed ideas of the 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
- Liberal groups were divided in their aims so never united; they did not form a coherent front – suspicious, intolerant of one another
- No tradition of open debate in Russia which limited efforts

Task: Evaluation of the Liberals

Successes/strengths	Failures/weaknesses

Extra challenge question: find out 3 facts about Dmitry Shipov’s involvement with zemstva and the government

There are 2 important liberal groups after 1905

- The Octobrists
- The Kadets

a) The Octobrists (formed October 1905)

- Dated from issuing of October Manifesto 1905 which had created the дума – a Russian Parliament (this will be explained more in the next booklet)
- Moderates, loyal to tsar. Believed in maintenance of the empire. Saw October Manifesto and establishment of дума as major constitutional advances.
- Members: included Guchkov and Rodzianko (who later became members of the Provisional Government which replaced the Tsar in 1917), members drawn from larger, commercial industrial and landowning interests.
- 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.
- However, they were disappointed by the limited power given to the дума and 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.

Task: Evaluation of the Octobrists

Successes/strengths	Failures/weaknesses

b) Kadets (Constitutional Democrats) (1905)

- Largest of liberal parties.
- Wanted constitutional monarchy but different from Octobrists – 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 nation's 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.

Task: Evaluation of the Kadets

Successes/strengths	Failures/weaknesses

Extra challenge question: both reformers and revolutionaries found it hard to make changes in Tsarist Russia. What do you think were the main reasons for that?