# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Richard Pipes



# **CONTENTS**

	Illustrations	xiii
	Acknowledgments	xvii
	Abbreviations	xix
	Introduction	xxi
PART ONE	The Agony of the Old Regime	I
1	1905: The Foreshock University disturbances of 1899 as beginning of revolution (4); Plehve and Zubatov (9); outbreak of Russo-Japanese War (14); Plehve assassinated and replaced by Mirskii: the great Zemstvo Congress (November 1904) (14); "Bloody Sunday" (21); tsarism tries moderate reforms (27); the debacle of Tsushima and talk of a representative body (30); university turmoil resumes and leads to general strike (35); Witte advises concessions (38); emergence of St. Petersburg Soviet (39); the October Manifesto (42); Witte forms cabinet and represses radicals; nationwide pogroms (44); 1905 as apogee of Russian liberalism (51)	3
2	Official Russia  Patrimonialism (53); Nicholas and Alexandra (57); the bureaucracy (61); ministries (65); conservative and liberal officialdom (68); economic development undermines autocracy (76); the army (80); the gentry (84); the Orthodox church (86)	53
3	Rural Russia Household, village, and commune (92); land shortage (100); industrial workers (107); peasant mentality (109); peasant attitudes to law and property (114); changes in peasant mood after 1900 (119)	91

viii Contents

4 ine intempentsia	4	The	Intelligen	ıtsia
--------------------	---	-----	------------	-------

Its European origins (122); sociétés de pensée (128); socialism as ideology of the intelligentsia (133); the ideal of a "new man" (135); emergence of Russian intelligentsia (138); revolutionary movement in nineteenth century Russia (140); the Socialists-Revolutionaries (146); Russian liberals (140)

## 5 The Constitutional Experiment

Monarchy and constitutionalism (153); the Fundamental Laws of 1906 (157); elections to the Duma (160); the First Duma (162); Stolypin (166); Stolypin represses terror (169); his agrarian reforms (171); the Second Duma and the electoral law of June 3, 1907 (177); Stolypin's political difficulties begin (182); the Western zemstvo crisis (184); Stolypin's murder (187); assessment of Stolypin (190); Russia on the eve of World War I (191)

## 6 Russia at War

Strategic preparations and Russia's readiness for war (196); early campaigns: East Prussia and Galicia (211); Russian debacle in Poland, 1915 (216); changes in government (219); emergence of the Progressive Bloc and Nicholas's assumption of high command (221); bringing society into limited partnership in the war effort (228)

## 7 Toward the Catastrophe

Inflation (234); the Brusilov offensive (238); rise of tension in the country (239); food crisis (245); Protopopov (246); the liberals decide to attack (250); Duma sessions of November 1916 (252); assassination of Rasputin (258); last days at Tsarskoe Selo (266); plots against the Imperial family (260)

#### 8 The February Revolution

Mutiny of Petrograd garrison (273); the Duma hesitates to claim power (286); emergence of Petrograd Soviet and of its Executive Committee (289); Duma and Soviet agree on formation of Provisional Government (296); Order No. 1 (304); abdication of Nicholas II (307); Michael refuses the crown (317); early actions of Provisional Government (320); Soviet undermines the government (323); land, Constituent Assembly, and war aims (326); revolution spreads nationwide (330); ex-tsar returns to Tsarskoe Selo (331); extraordinary rapidity of Russia's breakdown (336)

121

153

195

233

272

PART TWO The Bolsheviks Conquer Russ	PART TY	WO	The	<b>Bolsheviks</b>	Conquer	Russi
--------------------------------------	---------	----	-----	-------------------	---------	-------

339

341

## 9 Lenin and the Origins of Bolshevism

Lenin's early years (341); Lenin and Social Democracy (345); his personality (348); his disenchantment with Social Democracy (354); emergence of Bolshevism (358); final split with the Mensheviks (361); Lenin's agrarian and nationality programs (366); financial affairs of the Bolshevik party (369); the Malinovskii episode (372); Zimmerwald, Kiental, and connections with enemy agents (376)

## 10 The Bolshevik Bid for Power

385

The Bolshevik Party in early 1917 (386); Lenin returns to Russia with German help (389); Lenin's revolutionary tactics (394); the April 1917 Bolshevik demonstration (399); socialists enter Provisional Government (405); Bolshevik assets in the struggle for power and German subsidies (407); the aborted Bolshevik street action in June (412); Kerensky's summer offensive (417); the Bolsheviks ready another assault (419); preparation for putsch (421); the events of July 3-5 (426); the putsch suppressed: Lenin flees, Kerensky dictator (431)

## 11 The October Coup

439

Kornilov appointed Commander in Chief (439); Kerensky asks Kornilov's help in suppressing anticipated Bolshevik coup (448); the break between Kerensky and Kornilov (451); rise in Bolshevik fortunes (464); Lenin in hiding (467); Bolsheviks plan their own Congress of Soviets (473); Bolsheviks take over Soviet's Military-Revolutionary Committee (477); the critical decision of October 10 (482); Milrevkom initiates coup d'état (486); Kerensky reacts (488); Bolsheviks declare Provisional Government overthrown (489); the Second Congress of Soviets ratifies passage of power and passes laws on peace and land (496); Bolshevik coup in Moscow (501); few aware of what had transpired (504)

## 12 Building the One-Party State

506

Lenin's strategy after power seizure (506); Lenin and Trotsky rid themselves of accountability to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet (510); strike of white collar employees (526); the Council of People's Commissars (529); accord with Left SRs and the breakup of the Peasant Congress (533); elections to the Constituent Assembly (537); decision to be rid of it (545); the dissolution of the Assembly (550); effects and implications (555); movement of Worker Plenipotentiaries (558)

Contents

567

#### 13 Brest-Litovsk

Bolsheviks and traditional diplomacy (568); German and Bolshevik approaches to talks (571); divisions in the Bolshevik command (575); initial negotiations (576); Trotsky at Brest (580); bitter divisions among Bolsheviks and the German ultimatum (581); Germans decide to be firm (584); they advance into Soviet Russia (586); Allied efforts to win over Bolsheviks (588); Moscow requests Allied help (590); Russians capitulate to German terms (592); Soviet government moves to Moscow (594); terms of Brest-Litovsk Treaty (595); first Allied landings in Russia (597); American reaction to Bolshevik policies (603); principles of Bolshevik foreign policy (603)

#### 14 The Revolution Internationalized

Small Western interest in Russian Revolution (606); foundations of Red Army laid (608); further talks with Allies (612); German embassy arrives in Moscow (615): Soviet embassy in Berlin and its subversive activities (610): the Czechoslovak rebellion (624); Bolsheviks adopt military conscription (628); Czech advances (630); the Kaiser decides to continue pro-Bolshevik policy (631); the Left SRs plot uprising (635); they kill Mirbach (638); suppression of their rebellion (640); Savinkov's clandestine organization (646); the Iaroslavl rising (651); Riezler fails in attempt to reorient German policy (653); further Allied activities on Russian soil (656); Bolsheviks request German intervention (660); Supplementary Treaty with Germany (662): Russians decide the Germans have lost the war (666); the problem of foreign "intervention" (668)

## 15 "War Communism"

Its origins and objectives (671); "Left Communists" plan implementation (679); attempts to abolish money (682); creation of Supreme Economic Council (689); decline of industrial productivity (695); decline of agricultural productivity (697); efforts to abolish the market and the growth of a shadow economy (698); anti-labor legislation (702); trade union policy (708); effects of War Communism (711)

## 16 War on the Village

Bolsheviks view peasants as class enemy (714); what peasants gained in 1917–18 and at what cost (716); food requisition policies and hunger in the cities (721); campaign against the village begins, May 1918 (728); food supply detachments meet with resistance: massive peas-

606

671

714

915

921

ant revolt (732); "Committees of the Poor"	' (738); assess
ment of the campaign (742)	

17	Murder of the Imperial Family Russian regicide unique (745); the ex-tsar and family in the first months of Bolshevik rule (746); Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks want ex-tsar in their custody (748); Nicholas and Alexandra transported to Ekaterinburg (750); the "House of Special Designation" (758); murder of Mi- chael as trial baloon (763); Cheka fabricates rescue operation (766); decision to kill ex-tsar taken in Mos- cow: Cheka takes over guard duties (770); the murder (774); disposal of the remains (777); assassination of other members of the Imperial family at Alapaevsk (779); Moscow announces execution of Nicholas but not of family (780); implications of these events (787)	745
18	The Red Terror  Lenin's attitude toward terror (789); abolition of law (796); origins of the Cheka (800); Cheka's conflict with the Commissariat of Justice (803); Lenin shot, August 30, 1918 (805); background of this event and beginning of Lenin cult (809); "Red Terror" officially launched (816); mass murder of hostages (822); some Bolsheviks revolted by bloodbath (825); Cheka penetrates all Soviet institutions (829); Bolsheviks create concentration camps (832); victims of Red Terror (837); foreign reactions (839)	789
	Afterword	841
	Glossary	843
	Chronology	847
	Notes	857

One Hundred Works on the Russian Revolution

Index

# **ILLUSTRATIONS**

		Page
I.	Lenin, March 1919. VAAP, Moscow.	ii
2.	Nicholas II and family shortly before outbreak of World War I.	
	Brown Brothers.	5
3.	Viacheslav Plehve.	10
4.	Remains of Plehve's body after terrorist attack.	15
5.	Prince P. D. Sviatopolk-Mirskii.	16
6.	Governor Fullon visits Father Gapon and his Assembly of Russian	
	Workers.	23
7.	Bloody Sunday.	25
8.	Paul Miliukov. The Library of Congress.	31
9.	Sergei Witte. The Library of Congress.	33
10.	Crowds celebrating the proclamation of the Manifesto of October	
	17, 1905.	45
II.	After an anti-Jewish pogrom in Rostov on Don. Courtesy of	
	Professor Abraham Ascher.	47
12.	Members of St. Petersburg Soviet en route to Siberian exile: 1905.	50
13.	The future Nicholas II as tsarevich. Courtesy of Mr. Marvin	
	Lyons.	59
14.	Dancing class at Smolnyi Institute, c. 1910. Courtesy of Mr.	
	Marvin Lyons.	84
15.	Russian peasants: late nineteenth century. The Library of	
_	Congress.	93
16.	Village assembly. Courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria	
	and Albert Museum, London.	96
17.	Peasants in winter clothing.	99
18.	Strip farming as practiced in Central Russia, c. 1900.	103
19.	L. Martov and T. Dan.	145
20.	Ivan Goremykin.	156
21.	P. A. Stolypin: 1909. M. P. Bok Papers, Bakhmeteff Archive, Rare	
	Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.	167
22.	Right-wing Duma deputies.	185
23.	General V. A. Sukhomlinov. The Illustrated London News.	205
24.	Nicholas II at army headquarters: September 1914.	215

x i v Illustrations

25.	Russian prisoners of war taken by the Germans in Poland: Spring	
	1915. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum,	
	London.	218
26.	General A. Polivanov. VAAP, Moscow.	221
27.	Alexandra Fedorovna and her confidante, Anna Vyrubova.	241
28.	Alexander Protopopov.	248
29.	Rasputin with children in his Siberian village.	261
-	International Women's Day in Petrograd, February 23, 1917.	
_	VAAP, Moscow.	274
31.	Crowds on Znamenskii Square, Petrograd. The Library of	
	Congress.	277
32.	Mutinous soldiers in Petrograd: February 1917. VAAP, Moscow.	280
-	Petrograd crowds burning emblems of the Imperial regime:	
	February 1917. The Illustrated London News.	282
34.	Arrest of a police informer. Courtesy of Mr. Marvin Lyons.	283
_	Workers toppling the statue of Alexander III in Moscow.	284
	Provisional Committee of the Duma. The Library of Congress.	288
-	Troops of the Petrograd garrison in front of the Winter Palace.	290
	A sailor removing an officer's epaulettes. VAAP, Moscow.	290
•	K. A. Gvozdev. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public	
•	Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.	292
40.	Soldier section of the Petrograd Soviet. The Library of Congress.	293
	Executive Committee (Ispolkom) of the Petrograd Soviet. Slavic	
•	and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox	
	and Tilden Foundations.	294
42.	Prince G. Lvov.	301
43.	Alexander Kerensky.	303
_	N. D. Sokolov drafting Order No. 1: March 1, 1917.	305
45.	Political meeting at the front: Summer 1917. Niva, No. 19 (1917).	306
46.	Grand Duke Michael.	318
47.	Officer candidates (iunkers) parading in Petrograd: March 1917.	329
48.	Ex-Tsar Nicholas at Tsarskoe Selo, March 1917, under house arrest.	
	The Library of Congress.	335
49.	Leonid Krasin.	371
50.	Lenin: Paris 1910.	377
51.	Kerensky addressing frontline troops: Summer 1917. The Bettman	
	Archive.	414
52.	Russian soldiers fleeing Germans: July 1917. The Daily Mirror	
	(London).	418
53.	The July 1917 events.	429
54.	P. N. Pereverzev. Niva, No. 19 (1917).	432
-	The Palace Square in Petrograd after the suppression of the	-
-	Bolshevik putsch.	434
56.	Mutinous soldiers of the 1st Machine Gun Regiment disarmed:	
	July 5, 1917. VAAP, Moscow.	437

Illustrations x v

57∙	Leon Trotsky.	440
58.	General Lavr Kornilov.	443
59.	Kornilov feted on his arrival at the Moscow State Conference.	447
60.	Vladimir Lvov.	451
61.	N. V. Nekrasov.	461
62.	Soldiers of the "Wild Division" meet with the Luga Soviet.	462
63.	The Military-Revolutionary Committee (Milrevkom).	481
64.	Grigorii Zinoviev. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York	
	Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.	483
65.	L. B. Kamenev. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Imperial War	
	Museum, London.	484
66.	N. I. Podvoiskii.	492
67.	Cadets (iunkers) defending the Winter Palace: October 1917.	495
68.	The Winter Palace, after being seized and looted by the Bolsheviks.	
	VAAP, Moscow.	497
69.	The Assembly Hall in Smolnyi.	497
70.	Cadets defending the Moscow Kremlin: November 1917. VAAP,	
	Moscow.	502
71.	Fires burning in Moscow during battle between loyal and	
	Bolshevik forces: November 1917. VAAP, Moscow.	503
72.	Iakov Sverdlov.	513
73.	Latvians guarding Lenin's office in Smolnyi. State Museum of the	
	Great October Socialist Revolution, Leningrad.	530
74.	Lenin and secretarial staff of the Council of People's Commissars.	
	VAAP, Moscow.	531
75.	One of the early meetings of the Council of People's Commissars.	
	VAAP, Moscow.	532
76.	Voting for the Constituent Assembly.	539
77.	Electoral poster of the Constitutional-Democrats. Poster Collection,	
	Hoover Institution Archives.	540
78.	F. M. Onipko. Niva, No. 19 (1917).	548
79.	Victor Chernov. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public	
	Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.	554
	The Russian delegation arrives at Brest-Litovsk.	577
	The signing of the Armistice at Brest.	577
82.	Russian and German troops fraternizing: Winter 1917-18. Culver	
	Pictures.	580
-	Kurt Riezler.	615
-	A. Ioffe.	620
85.	Armored train of Czech Legion in Siberia: June 1918. Courtesy of	_
	the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, London.	625
86.	General Gajda, Commander of the Czech Legion. National	
	Archives, Washington, D.C.	628
87.	Maria Spiridonova. Isaac N. Steinberg Collection, Yivo Institute	_
	for Jewish Research, New York.	637

x v i Illustrations

Colonel I. Vatsetis.	643
	043
Boris Savinkov.	648
Lieutenant-Colonel A. P. Perkhurov.	652
A German-Russian love affair: contemporary Russian cartoon.	663
Iurii Larin.	691
A common sight on the streets of Moscow and Petrograd in	_
1918-21. Hoover Institution Archives: Boris Sokoloff Collection.	702
A typical peasant "bourgeois-capitalist."	729
Ipatev's house—the "House of Special Designation."	759
Ipatev's house surrounded by a palisade. National Archives,	
Washington, D.C.	760
Alexis and Olga on board the ship Rus'.	<b>76</b> 1
The murderer of Nicholas II, Iurovskii, with his family.	772
Isaac Steinberg. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Publi	ic
Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.	794
Feliks Dzerzhinskii.	796
N. V. Krylenko.	797
Dzerzhinskii and Stalin.	829
MAPS	
Russian Empire circa 1900	xxvi–xxvii
European Russia	52
Petrograd	273
	Washington, D.C. Alexis and Olga on board the ship Rus'. The murderer of Nicholas II, Iurovskii, with his family. Isaac Steinberg. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Feliks Dzerzhinskii. N. V. Krylenko. Dzerzhinskii and Stalin.  MAPS Russian Empire circa 1900 European Russia

566

German Advance into Russia, 1917-1918