

- (a) The Provisional Government had been challenged by the existence of the soviets from the start, and its unqualified legitimacy* was never accepted by the majority of the population.
- (b) The Provisional Government insisted upon unpopular policies:
 - (i) postponing the land question;
 - (ii) staying in the war.which weakened its support among the increasingly radical population.
- (c) In August the moderates left the Provisional Government, leaving Kerensky isolated.
- (d) Lenin had been prepared to compromise his principles, courting popularity by accepting popular policies, e.g. by supporting the peasants' land seizures.
- (e) Lenin judged well the moment of maximum hostility to the Kerensky government.
- (f) The Bolshevik Party alone was untainted by compromise with the Provisional Government, which the people rejected.
- (g) Leon Trotsky carried out the coup successfully.

The Establishment of the Soviet State

1. Lenin intended to build a socialist society, but he did not yet have the means to coerce a partly ignorant and partly reluctant public.
2. After the coup the government was entrusted to a Council of Peoples' Commissars (Sovnarcom), headed by Lenin, while the All-Russian Congress of Soviets became a legislative body.
3. The main problems which Lenin's government faced were:
 - (a) The Bolsheviks were a small minority in the country, with no support in the countryside.
 - (b) Lenin had criticised Kerensky's postponement of the elections for the Constituent Assembly, so he could hardly postpone them himself.
 - (c) the war was still going on.
4. The first step was to reform the Russian economy in accordance with socialist principles. Immediately Sovnarcom issued a series of edicts:
 - (a) 540 million acres of land was seized from rich landowners and the Church, without compensation, for distribution to poor peasants.
 - (b) A **Supreme Council of the National Economy** was created to plan the economy.
 - (c) Nationalization* of banks and foreign trade
 - (d) Wages were fixed and an eight-hour day introduced.
 - (e) All foreign debts were repudiated.
 - (f) Comprehensive social insurance was announced.The purpose of these edicts was:
 - (i) to gain popularity with the masses;
 - (ii) to begin building up a socialist society.However, the right of workers on factory committees was limited to representation; direction and decision-making were to be the prerogative of the Party.
5. In order to fix the election for the Constituent Assembly, the KDs were first made illegal. The Bolsheviks won 168 out of 700 seats, while the Social Revolutionaries (SRs) held 380. When the Assembly convened it was surrounded by Red Guards. After some anti-Bolshevik speeches, the Assembly was abolished by a decree of Sovnarcom, and dispersed by the guards.
6. Further reforms were then introduced:
 - (a) Private inheritance was abolished in April.
 - (b) Major industries were nationalised in June.
 - (c) Mortgages were abolished in August.

7. In July 1918 a **constitution** for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was created.
- Sovereign authority was vested in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
 - They elected a Central Executive Committee, which in turn elected a Council of Peoples' Commissars as the government.
 - The capital city was moved to Moscow.
 - Other Soviet Republics were founded e.g. in the Ukraine and Azerbaijan, and alliances concluded with them. Bolsheviks were installed to govern them.

War and Peace

- Leon Trotsky, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, announced "I will issue a few revolutionary proclamations to the peoples of the world, and then shut up shop." It was thought that the revolution in Russia would be followed by similar revolutions in other countries. There would soon be no old-fashioned states for the Foreign Ministry to do business with.
- The Bolsheviks renounced the wartime alliance. Lenin needed to end the war to:
 - fulfil the promises he had made;
 - consolidate Bolshevik power.
- An armistice was arranged with Germany in Dec. 1917. Negotiations followed, managed by Trotsky, but proceeded slowly. The Bolsheviks were deliberately dragging their feet. On Jan. 7th, 1918, Trotsky asked for adjournment, still hoping for the long-awaited world revolution to break out. There was a mutiny in the Austrian fleet and a general strike in Berlin, but both were easily suppressed. The Bolshevik leadership now faced a choice between three alternatives:
 - to defy the Germans, and risk conquest and the overthrow of the regime;
 - to relent and sign over half of European Russia to German control;
 - to continue to stall,* pursuing what Trotsky called "neither war nor peace," while awaiting the outbreak of revolution in Germany.
- In the meantime the Germans and Austrians concluded the **Brotfrieden** ("bread peace") with representatives of the Ukraine. When Bolshevik forces entered the Ukraine the Germans broke off talks and ordered their army to resume its advance. The French ambassador offered the Bolsheviks aid if they would fight the Germans, but Lenin ordered immediate capitulation.
- Germany presented harsh peace terms, and on March 3 the Bolsheviks signed the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk**. The Bolsheviks were forced to recognise the independence of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), Poland and the Ukraine. They surrendered:
 - 34% of Russia's population,
 - 32 % of its farmland,
 - 54 % of its industrial plant,
 - 89% of its coal mines,
 - virtually all of its cotton and oil.

With these economic gains, plus the release of troops, who could now be shifted to the Western Front, the Germans hoped that victory could be achieved before American soldiers began to arrive at the Western Front in significant numbers.
- The signing of the treaty caused a breach between the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs). There was also considerable opposition within the party itself. Lenin considered that he was "giving up space to gain a little time"; time for the revolution to spread to Germany and the other countries of Europe. When it did, there would be no more hostile governments to deal with. Workers would join hands with workers across the national borders to create a new world order. The Treaty would simply become irrelevant.

The Russian Civil War

[For a more detailed study of the Civil War; see the companion volume, "Wars and Warfare".]

1. Following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russian opponents of Lenin and the Bolsheviks found common cause:
 - (a) The rightist whites, including all counter-revolutionaries*: supporters of the Tsar, the landlords or democracy.
 - (b) The non-Bolshevik left: left SRs and anarchists: who had been alienated by Lenin's dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
2. Resistance to the Communists began at the end of 1917, leading to civil war between the Bolsheviks and their opponents. By summer 1918 different factions of the "Whites"* had set up provisional governments in various places. At the same time, the Left SRs attempted a coup. Attempts were made to assassinate Lenin and leading officials.
3. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a disaster for the Allies, who considered intervention in Russia:
 - (a) If they could link up with nationalist Russians and reopen the Eastern Front, they might save their exhausted armies in France from facing the full might of the Central Powers.
 - (b) It would be helpful if they could save Allied war *materiel* that had stacked up in Russian ports from seizure by the Germans or Bolsheviks, and distribute it to Russians still willing to fight the Germans.
 - (c) The repudiation of foreign debts and the confiscation of foreign assets had infuriated the French.
 - (d) The Allies, fearful of revolution among their own populations, hoped, in Churchill's words, "to strangle the revolution in its cradle."
4. Britain, Japan, the USA, France, Rumania, Poland Serbia and Greece sent troops to Russia. Czech and Slovak deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army, whom the Tsarist government had allowed to form their own units, took control of the Trans-Siberian Railroad.
5. Direct intervention by Allied military forces involved about 200,000 soldiers.
 - (a) The French in the Ukraine were bewildered by the confused struggle between Russian Bolsheviks, Russian Whites and Ukrainian nationalists, and they withdrew their forces during March and April 1919, having hardly fired a shot.
 - (b) The British in the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk areas did some fighting before the last forces were withdrawn in the early fall of 1919.
 - (c) The Japanese established themselves systematically in the Far Eastern provinces.
6. In the late summer of 1919 the Red Army repelled attacks by:
 - (a) General Kolchak, attacking from the Urals near the Volga in March and April 1919;
 - (b) General Denikin advancing from southern Russia in October 1919;
 - (c) General Yudenich making a thrust towards Petrograd in October 1919;
 - (d) General Pyotr N. Wrangel attacking from the Crimea in 1920.By November 1920, the danger was over.

War Communism

1. **War communism**, the mobilization of the state, party and people against the counter-revolutionary forces which threatened the government of the Bolsheviks. It was introduced in mid 1918. Lenin enacted emergency decrees to take control of all the resources of the state:
 - (a) all large factories were nationalized, virtually being placed under military control;

- (b) banks and credit were abolished
 - (c) all private trade was banned
 - (d) Lacking funds or goods to exchange against grain needed to feed the Red Army and the towns, and faced with the possibility of major famine, Lenin instituted a "food dictatorship," a system of requisitioning grain surpluses without compensation.
 - (e) special production targets were allocated to all enterprises
 - (f) On "Communist Saturdays" workers had to work for one day extra without pay.
2. War communism was an attempt to establish total state control over the means of production and distribution. It was introduced:
 - (a) for ideological reasons
 - (b) as a temporary emergency measure because of the outbreak of the civil war. Lenin said: "War communism was thrust upon us by war and ruin... It was a temporary measure.
 3. Many peasants resisted the forced requisitions, which led to a drop in production and the development of a black market.*
 4. Local Party officials carried the nationalization decree beyond the original intention of the government, including small artisan businesses, reducing their efficiency.
 5. The Moscow government cracked down heavily on non-Bolshevik socialists. The Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary deputies were expelled from the central and local soviets and prevented from engaging in any organised political activity.
 6. The **PanRussian Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-Revolution (Cheka)**, a committee for fighting counter-revolution, was created, headed by the Polish Bolshevik, Felix Dzerzhinsky. It was formed to:
 - (a) control banditry
 - (b) keep watch on anti-Bolshevik conspiracies, whether from the Whites, the counter-revolutionaries, or the non-Bolshevik Reds.

It came to employ a staff of 30,000 to run a political police force and its own army. During early 1918 it rounded up and imprisoned many prominent SRs and anarchists.
 7. Among the early victims of the Civil War were the members of the former imperial family. Nicholas II, his wife, and his children had been moved in the spring of 1918 to Yekaterinburg. The local soviet feared that Nicholas might be liberated and become a rallying point for counter-revolutionaries, so on the night of July 16-17, 1918, all the members of the family were taken to the cellar of their prison house and shot.
 8. Eventually, in September 1918, the government proclaimed a campaign of "Red terror," which authorized the shooting of hostages, and gave increased powers to the Cheka of summary arrest, trial, and the execution of suspects.
 9. During this period many of what would later be thought of as the distinguishing characteristics of the Soviet system were set:
 - (a) Industrial production was paramount, since socialism could only be built after production was able to meet everyone's needs. (This was known as **productionism***)
 - (b) a **siege mentality***: the belief that all other powers and classes were dangerous enemies against which the Bolshevik state had to struggle to survive.

The Results of the Civil War

1. In 1920, when the Civil War was virtually over, industrial production was about one-quarter of what it had been in 1913, and the number of employed workers had fallen by roughly one-half.
2. Since the civil war gave Russians only two alternatives, and one was not acceptable, the civil war might be said to have kept the Bolsheviks in power despite their unpopularity in 1918.

3. The political system that emerged victorious from the civil war, was one in which the soviets had been pushed to one side. All power belonged to the Communist Party, members of which occupied all the posts in the Soviet of People's Commissars, and the key posts at all the lower levels of government. The party itself was governed by its Central Committee, which Lenin dominated.
4. The style of Bolshevik government was dictated by the needs of war. Robert C. Tucker notes that this was based upon the **militarization** of the Party:
 - (a) ready resort to coercion;
 - (b) rule by administrative *fiat*;
 - (c) centralised administration;
 - (d) summary justice.
5. The Communist victory was a defeat for the various nationalist movements of the non-Russian peoples. The Communists proclaimed the right of self-determination, but in practice they imposed Russian hegemony on them.

The New Economic Policy

The Origins of the New Economic Policy

1. The end of the civil war led to increased opposition among various groups which had previously supported the Bolsheviks.
2. War communism had been unpopular with the peasants, who saw no reason to produce food which was taken from them without compensation, and so they began to produce only enough for their own needs. This caused severe food-shortages, aggravated by a severe drought during 1920-1. Famine led to widespread peasant disorders.
3. Early in 1921 urban workers held strikes and demonstrations. A "Workers Opposition" was formed within the party under the Peoples' Commissar for Labour, Shylapnikov, calling for a return to the purity of original ideals.
4. Revolts broke out in several regions, e.g. the eastern Ukraine and Western Siberia.
5. In March 1921 there was a mutiny* by the sailors at the Kronstadt Naval Base. They had taken part in the October Revolution, but had become disenchanted with the Bolshevik government. They formed a Provisional Revolutionary Committee and demanded:
 - (a) "soviets without Bolsheviks,"
 - (b) the release of non-Bolshevik socialists from prison,
 - (c) the end of the Communist Party's dictatorship,
 - (d) the establishment of political freedoms and civil rights.
 - (e) economic liberalization

Leon Trotsky and Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky led a force that crushed the rebels in ten days, shooting or imprisoning the survivors.

6. There followed a mass arrest of Mensheviks and SRs across the country.
7. At this time Lenin seized the wealth of the Church and executed and imprisoned many of the clergy.

The Compromise or Retreat

1. Lenin decided to retreat from war communism and from the move towards a fully socialist system temporarily in order to avoid another revolution. This economic relaxation was called the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**:
 - (a) Peasants were allowed to sell any surplus produce for profit after paying tax.

- (b) Small-scale private enterprise was allowed once more. Over 90% of all enterprises were returned to their original owners. The state was to control only "the commanding heights of the economy."
- (c) Incentives and bonuses for workers were introduced.
2. The NEP was viewed by the Bolsheviks as a temporary measure:
 - (a) to prevent another revolution;
 - (b) to allow the economy to recover;
 - (c) to give a breathing space for the Communists to solidify their political control.
 3. In consequence of the new policy:
 - (a) Some *kulaks* built up large and profitable farms.
 - (b) Traders, or *Nepmen*,* began to flourish in the cities.

The NEP Years

1. A controversy arose over the role of the trade unions. It was decided that a monopoly of power must be retained by the party. This was called the "dictatorship of the party".
2. During 1923 prices fluctuated wildly in the **scissors crisis**. The government imposed price controls, which stabilised the situation.
3. Lenin accompanied economic liberalisation with intensified political repression.
 - (a) In 1922 the Cheka was abolished and replaced by the GPU (the State Political Administration). Its powers were greater than those of the Cheka, since, in addition to dealing with political opponents and running the network of concentration camps (the **Gulag**), it was charged with spying on all economic institutions to prevent "sabotage" by *Nepmen*.
 - (b) In 1922 the leaders of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SRs) were subjected to a sham trial, and condemned to death on charges of counter-revolution. Only international protests caused their executions to be deferred.
 - (c) The "Workers' Opposition," led by Bolshevik veterans who objected to the bureaucratization of the state and the elimination of workers from decision making, was suppressed when a secret clause in the party regulations forbade the formation of "factions," i.e. organised resistance within Communist Party ranks to the policies of the leadership. The leaders of the "Workers' Opposition" were purged.
4. In 1923 Russia adopted a new constitution, largely drawn up by Stalin.
 - (a) The country was constituted the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).
 - (b) The Peoples' Commissars remained the government.
 - (c) The Congress of Soviets, indirectly elected, remained the legislature.
 - (d) The GPU was replaced with the **Unified State Political Administration (OGPU)**.
5. By 1925 Nikolay Bukharin became the chief supporter of the NEP, while Leon Trotsky was opposed to it and Joseph Stalin was noncommittal.*

Cultural Policy

1. As the Party-directed activities of the state expanded, most areas of culture were brought under state control, and effectively bureaucratized.
2. In 1920 the **Agitation and Propaganda Department** of the Central Committee (*Agitprop*) was set up to perform missionary work to the population. It came to:
 - (a) supervise the entire educational system;
 - (b) censor the arts.
3. Lenin personally was very hostile to religion:
 - (a) Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow had condemned the Bolsheviks;

- (b) The Church was associated with the Tsarist regime, providing its ideological support;
 - (c) The Churches and monasteries had been great landowners;
 - (d) They had adopted attitudes which were: xenophobic,* anti-Semitic* and obscurantist.*
- Religion was seen as outmoded and to be replaced by science. There was considerable persecution of the priests and monks at this time.

Foreign Policy

1. Relations with foreign powers were uniformly bad following the revolution and civil war.
2. In 1919 Lenin established the **Communist International (Comintern)**:
 - (a) to spread radical ideas and revolutionary activities;
 - (b) to counter or weaken anti-Soviet policies abroad.
3. In 1920 the Poles conquered parts of the western Ukraine. The Red Army drove them back and almost reached Warsaw, expecting Polish workers to rise and join them. However the Polish workers were nationalists, and with French assistance under General Weygand, Marshall Pilsudski recovered the lost territory, before the **Treaty of Riga** (1921) was concluded.
4. After the Civil War, Lenin decided to establish normal inter-state relations with foreign powers:
 - (a) Trade pacts were concluded with fourteen countries, beginning with Britain.
 - (b) The **Treaty of Rapallo** was concluded with Germany. This included secret provisions to assist Germany evade the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Lenin's Last Years

1. By 1922 Lenin began to fear that degeneration of the Soviet system was the greatest danger to socialism in Russia.
 - (a) The state had expanded its functions from Tsarist times considerably. This required a large **bureaucracy**. The party and Soviet state were in danger of becoming hopelessly entangled in red tape and incompetence.
 - (b) The Tsarist government bureaucracy had been inherited by the Bolsheviks. The leading Bolsheviks feared its ability to block or corrupt the Revolution, but realised that they needed its technical experts, known as *spetsy*.*
 - (c) The Party was usurping many of the functions of the government which it shadowed and directed. Its own bureaucracy grew. Many of its members were uneducated workers, soldiers and peasants who had joined after the revolution and risen through the ranks of the Party during the Civil War. It was more attractive to them than the state bureaucracy. Thus the party suffered from *careerism*.*
 - (d) Leading Bolsheviks displayed **Great Russian chauvinism*** towards the non-Russian nationalities in the reorganisation of the state in which Stalin was playing a key role.
2. In May 1922 Lenin had his first stroke. After his recovery he was alarmed at the growth of Stalin's power during the period of his illness. As general secretary of the Party, Stalin was rapidly concentrating immense power into his own hands. He was converting his administrative authority into political power. In December he suffered another stroke, leaving him partially paralysed.
3. Lenin foresaw a coming power struggle between Trotsky and Stalin for the leadership of the USSR following his death. He distrusted Stalin, writing in a letter known as the **Testament of Lenin**, formally *Letter to the Congress, on Dec. 23-26, 1922, and Jan. 4, 1923*, addressed to a future Communist Party Congress. It contained proposals for changes in the political system and assessments of party leaders. His suggestions included:
 - (a) the enlargement of the Central Committee;

(b) the warning that the most serious threat to unity within the Central Committee was the strained relationship between Stalin and Trotsky.

(c) Lenin asserted that Stalin was not cautious enough to be entrusted with the large amount of power he had accumulated and that, although Trotsky was the most capable individual on the Central Committee, he was too self-assured and overly inclined toward purely administrative functions.

The document has been interpreted as an attempt by Lenin:

- (i) to guide the party's choice of his successor;
- (ii) to undermine the efforts of colleagues who, he thought, were trying to usurp his power;
- (iii) to ensure a collective leadership of the USSR after his death.

4. A postscript, dictated after Lenin had become convinced that Stalin was not only mishandling the suppression of dissent in Georgia, but was being abusive to his wife, Krupskaya, proposed that the Congress remove him from the post of secretary-general.

"Stalin is too rude, and this shortcoming, though bearable in internal relations amongst us communists, becomes quite unbearable in a General Secretary. I therefore suggest to you, Comrades, that you remove Stalin from his post and replace him with someone who is superior to Stalin in this respect; namely is more tolerant, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to the needs of the comrades, etc. This may seem a trifling detail. But as regards avoiding a split in the party and as regards the relations between Stalin and Trotsky, this is not a mere detail, but a detail which might one day acquire decisive importance."

Several copies of the *Testament* were made and sealed, with instruction that they were to be opened by Lenin personally or, in case of his death by Krupskaya.

Four months after Lenin's death, and just before the 13th Party Congress, Krupskaya sent the *Testament* to the Central Committee, indicating Lenin's wish that it be given to the Congress. But the Central Committee was already dominated by Stalin, and decided that the document should not be presented to the Congress. The Central Committee prohibited the publication even of quotations from it. As a result, its existence was soon forgotten within the USSR. However, a copy was given to the *New York Times*, indirectly by Krupskaya and published. At the 20th Party Congress (1956), Nikita S. Khrushchev quoted from the *Testament* in his secret speech to the Central Committee.

5. After March 1923 Lenin was deprived of speech after a further stroke. Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin drew together to prevent Trotsky from becoming Lenin's successor. Subjected to a campaign of defamation, he left for the Caucasus.
6. Lenin died in January 1924. His body was embalmed and displayed in a mausoleum in Red Square. Petrograd was renamed 'Leningrad' in his honour.

General Assessment

Lenin had:

1. Fashioned the Bolshevik Party as a small, dedicated party of revolutionaries, to conform with his own assessment of what was needed. This met with only limited success.
2. Adapted Marxism to suit the Russian situation. e.g. When he saw that the Russian peasants wanted to take the land for themselves, he changed his views and sided with them;
3. Placed the Bolsheviks as spokesmen of the mass of the Russian people during the confused period of dual authority;
4. Chosen just the right moment to launch a *coup d'état*;
5. Instituted the initial moves towards building socialism in Russia;

Lenin

6. Brought the country through a civil war and foreign invasions;
7. Prevented the total break up of the multi-national empire.
8. In the Party he created, he left a model of efficient organisation for the mobilisation of society which others were to follow.

However:

9. He had split the Russian Marxists by his insistence upon his own ideas for the Party.
10. He presided over enormous suffering, with 20 million lives lost
11. Because of his identification of socialism with modernisation among Russians, the development of industry became the chief immediate goal of the leadership of the state and party:
 - (a) to fulfil the needs of the people;
 - (b) to build up a strong proletariat.This belief in the need to increase production at all costs is known as **productionism**.*
12. He set the character of the Bolshevik regime as a totalitarian* police state, by:
 - (a) his insistence upon **democratic centralism**;*
 - (b) refounding the secret police and founding the *gulag*;
 - (c) his outlawing of **factionalism*** within the Party;
 - (d) his reliance upon Joseph Stalin for the performance of high-level administrative tasks.
13. He died leaving many problems unsolved:
 - (a) mixed economy or state control:
 - (b) the peasants and the ownership of land:
 - (c) the growth of party and state bureaucracy:
 - (d) the leadership succession.

Glossary

anarchism: a political ideology which rejects inequalities of power [see chapter 1]

anti-Semitism: prejudice against Jews

apparatus: the staff and organisation of the party

autocracy: the system of rule by a monarch who has no limitations on the exercise of his power

black market: illegal market established to avoid rationing

Bolsheviks: originally that faction of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) which followed Lenin in the belief that a small party of highly-motivated revolutionaries would be better than a larger party of possibly lukewarm members.

bourgeoisie: the exploiting middle class of capitalists in Marxist theory

bulwark: a defence

capitalism: the economic system which allows for the operation of unrestricted markets, and so gives advantages to the wealthiest in proportion to the wealth they possess

careerism: joining the Bolshevik Party in order to further one's career

Central Committee: the governing body of the Russian Social democratic Workers Party (RSDWP)

chauvinism: aggressive nationalism

Cheka: The Pan-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-Revolution - the Soviet political police, successor of the Tsarist Okhrana, set up in 1918.

Comintern: The Communist International, an organisation set up to coordinate foreign Communist parties under Moscow's direction

constitution: the basic laws in accordance with which a country is governed, or the document laying out those laws

Constituent Assembly: an assembly elected to draw up a constitution, after which a first regular government could be elected

cooperatives: cost, equipment and profit-sharing enterprises designed for mutual self-help

counter-revolutionaries: those working to overthrow a revolution

coup d'état: a violent seizure of power in the state

democratic centralism: Lenin's idea that the Central Committee will decide policy and all other party members will follow their dictates obediently

Duma: the name of the Russian parliament

emancipation: the act of freeing one in servitude

factionalism: disagreement within the Party, Lenin made it a reason for expulsion

fait accompli: a situation already brought about, so not worth arguing about any more

ghettoes: areas of a city set aside for the Jews

GPU: the State Political Administration, the second name of the Bolshevik secret police

Gulag: the network of Soviet labour camps

haemophilia: a disease

intelligentsia: the formally educated section of the population

Kadets (KDs): members of the Russian liberal party

KDs: Kadets - members of the Russian liberal party

kulaks: wealthy peasants, whose land was sufficiently profitable to allow them to employ others to do their work

legislature: the law-making branch of government

legitimacy: possessing legal rights

Marxism: the political philosophy of Karl Marx, a form of revolutionary socialism based upon categories taken from G. W. F. Hegel's dialectical philosophy

mir: traditional village commune

mausoleum: a large tomb

Mensheviks: that faction of the Russian Social democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) which followed Martov in the belief that a mass party with a large open membership would be preferable to Lenin's idea of a small party of highly-motivated revolutionaries

mir: a traditional Russian village commune

mutiny: a revolt of soldiers or sailors

nationalization: converting an enterprise into state property

Nepmen: traders, who were enabled to work and prosper from the New Economic Policy

nomenklatura lists: list of names of politically sensitive posts, and those trusted to fill them

noncommittal: expressing no opinion

obscurantist: opponents of enlightenment, and clear and rational thinking.

Octobrists: conservatives content with the degree of liberalisation of the Tsarist regime provided by the October Manifesto (1905)

OGPU: the Unified State Political Administration, the third name of the Bolshevik secret police, set up in 1923

Old Believers: a sect of Orthodox Christians who had refused to accept reforms

peasants: agricultural workers

Peoples' Commissars: ministers in the Soviet government

productionism: the belief that improving production is the key to creating the conditions for the building of socialism, focus upon increasing production

proletariat: a technical Marxist term for the industrial working class

provincial: living outside the capital city

Provisional Government: a temporary government, to take charge of affairs until a Constituent Assembly can be elected

radicals: those demanding substantial changes

reactionaries: those demanding a return to earlier forms of government and society

Red Terror: the campaign of terror by the Bolsheviks during the Civil War

Reds: the revolutionaries

redemption payments: payments due from the peasants for the right to work their land

revolutionaries: those seeking the violent overthrow of the existing order

RSDWP: Russian Social Democratic Workers Party - the Russian revolutionary Marxist party

Schlieffen Plan: the German war plan devised to avoid fighting a war on two fronts, by which the German Army would have six weeks in which to defeat France before the cumbersome Russian Army would be able to launch an attack upon Germany

Scissors Crisis: wild price fluctuations in 1923

separatists: those who wish their region to become an independent state

serfs: a peasant who is legally compelled to work on the land for his master

siege mentality: a defensive approach to others

socialism: a political ideology which rejects gross inequalities of wealth. *[see chapter 1]*

soviets: revolutionary committees of workers and soldiers

Sovnarcom: the Council of Peoples' Commissars, the original government of Soviet Russia

spetsy: experts

spontaneous: without previous planning

SDs: Social Democrats - the Russian Marxist party
Social Democrats (SDs) - the Russian Marxist party
Social Revolutionaries (SRs): members of a non-Marxist socialist party
soviets: revolutionary councils of workers and soldiers, later institutionalized
spontaneous: without planning or preparation
SRs: Social Revolutionaries - members of a non-Marxist socialist party
status quo: an unchanged position
Straits: the waterway between Europe and Asia, and the Mediterranean and Black Sea at Constantinople (Istanbul)
tenure: the right to hold land
terrorism: performing acts which inspire fear, in order to coerce the community
totalitarianism: a regime which seeks to control all aspects of the lives of the people
tsar (czar): the title of the Russian emperor
tsarevich (czarevich): the title of the eldest son and heir of the tsar
tsarina (czarina): the title of the Russian empress
vanguard: those in the lead of an army on the move
War Communism: Lenin's attempt to place Soviet Russia on a war economy to win the Civil War
White Terror: the campaign of terror by the counter-revolutionaries during the Civil War
Whites: the counter-revolutionaries
xenophobic: hostile to foreigners
zemstvos: local councils

Bibliography

- Acton, Edward, "State and Society under Lenin and Stalin," in *Themes in Modern European History*, ed. Paul Hayes, Routledge (London & New York, 1992)
- Carr, E. H., *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin 1917-1929*, Macmillan (London, 1980)
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila, *The Russian Revolution*, Oxford University Press (Oxford & New York, 1982)
- Hayes, Paul, "Russia and Austria-Hungary: Empires under pressure," in *Themes in Modern European History*, ed. Paul Hayes, Routledge (London & New York, 1992)
- Hosking, Geoffrey, *A History of the Soviet Union*, Collins/Fontana (London, 1985)
- Lewin, Moshe, *Lenin's Last Struggle*, Faber & Faber (London, 1969)
- Lynch, Michael, *Russia 1881-1924: Reaction and Revolution*, Lancaster Pamphlets, Routledge (London & New York, 2000)
- Marples, David, *Lenin's Revolution*, Seminar Studies in History, Longman (London 2000)
- Pipes, R., *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime 1919-1924* (London, 1995)
- Pipes, R., *The Formation of the Soviet Union*, rev. ed., Harvard University Press (Camb. Mass., 1964)
- Read, Christopher, *The Making and Breaking of the Soviet System: An Interpretation*, European