

Table 4.1 Russian political parties and programs, 1905–1917

Program
Marxist (overthrow of tsarism; establishment of a workers' state)  1. Stress violent revolution 2. Orthodox Marxists; move toward nonviolent, parliamentary socialism
Peasant socialism (violent overthrow of tsarism establishment of federal state; confiscation of estates without compensation)
Liberal-democratic (constitutional monarchy or a republic; all civil rights; ministerial responsibility; land reform)
Radical groups favor drastic land reform; national autonomy for minority peoples; civil liberties
Conservatives (program of "October Manifesto limited monarchy; mild reform; rule of law)
Faction or pressure group to promote noble interests; mainly conservative
Extreme conservatives ("orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationalism"; racist)

1914–1921	War, Revolution, Civil War
1914	Outbreak of First World War
1915	Progressive Bloc and political crisis (August)
1916	Central Asia rebellion; murder of Rasputin
1917	February Revolution (23 February–1 March); establishment of
	Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers'
	Deputies (1 March); abdication of Nicholas II (2 March); 'Programme' of
	the Provisional Government (8 March); 'Appeal to All the Peoples of the
	World' by Petrograd Soviet (14 March); Lenin's return to Russia (3 April)
	and the 'April crisis' in the party; Petrograd crisis (23-4 April); coalition
	governments (May-October); first 'All-Russian Congress of Soviets'
	(June); 'July Days'; Kornilov mutiny (25-8 August); publication of Lenin's
	State and Revolution; Bolshevik seizure of power (25 October); elections for
Continuing May 20	Constituent Assembly (25 November); establishment of the Cheka (7
	December)
1918	Constituent Assembly meets (5–6 January); separation of Church and
1320	State; civil war commences; first Soviet constitution (July)
1919	Height of White challenge (autumn 1919); establishment of the
	Comintern
1920	Soviet-Polish War
1520	

## DECREE ON THE LAND, OCTOBER 26 [NOVEMBER 8], 1917

Landlord ownership of land is abolished forthwith without any compensation. The landed estates, as also all crown, monasterial and church lands, with all their livestock, implements, buildings and everything pertaining thereto, shall be placed at the disposal of the *volost* [township] land committees and the *uezd* [district] soviets of peasants' deputies pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. . . .

- 4. The following peasant mandate, compiled by the *Izvestia* of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasant's Deputies from 242 local peasant mandates and published in No. 88 of *Izvestia* (Petrograd, no. 88, August 19, 1917), shall serve everywhere to guide the implementation of the great land reforms until a final decision on the latter is taken by the Constituent Assembly.
  - 5. The land of ordinary peasants and ordinary Cossacks shall not be confiscated.

## Peasant Mandate on the Land

'The land question in its full scope can be settled only by the popular Constituent Assembly.

'The most equitable settlement of the land question is to be as follows:

"1) Private ownership of land shall be abolished forever; land shall not be

sold, purchased, leased, mortgaged, or otherwise alienated.

"All land, whether state, appanage, crown, monasterial, church, factory, primogenitary, private, public, peasant, etc., shall be alienated without compensation and become the property of the whole people, and pass into the use of all those who cultivate it.

"Persons who suffer by this property revolution shall be deemed to be entitled to public support only for the period necessary for adaptation to the new conditions of life.

- "2) All mineral wealth, e.g., ore, oil, coal, salt, etc., as well as all forests and waters of state importance, shall pass into the exclusive use of the state. All the small streams, lakes, woods, etc., shall pass into the use of the communities, to be administered by the local self-government bodies.
- "3) Lands on which high-level scientific farming is practiced, e.g., orchards, plantations, seed plots, nurseries, hot-houses, etc. shall not be divided up, but shall be converted into model farms, to he turned over for exclusive use to the state or to the communities, depending on the size and importance of such lands.

"Household land in towns and villages, with orchards and vegetable gardens shall be reserved for the use of their present owners, the size of the holdings, and the size of tax levied for the use thereof, to be determined by law. . . .

- "6) The right to use the land shall be accorded to all citizens of the Russian state (without distinction of sex) desiring to cultivate it by their own labor, with the help of their families, or in partnership, but only as long as they are able to cultivate it. The employment of hired labor is not permitted. . . .
- "7) Land tenure shall be on an equality basis, i.e., the land shall be distributed among the toilers in conformity with a labor standard or a consumption standard, depending on local conditions.

"There shall be absolutely no restriction on the forms of land tenure: household, farm, communal, or cooperative, as shall be decided in each individual village and settlement.

"8) All land, when alienated, shall become part of the national land fund. Its distribution among the toilers shall be in charge of the local and central self-government bodies, from democratically organized village and city communities, in which there are no distinctions of social rank, to central regional government bodies.

"The land fund shall be subject to periodical redistribution, depending on the growth of population and the increase in the productivity and the scientific level of farming. . . .

V.I. Lenin, Selected Works in Two Volumes (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), II, Part 1, pp. 338–343.

## LENIN'S DECREE ON PEACE, OCTOBER 26 [NOVEMBER 9], 1917

The workers' and peasants' government created by the revolution of October 24–25 and relying on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies calls upon all the belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace. By a just or democratic peace, for which the overwhelming majority of the working and toiling classes of all the belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war, are craving—a peace that has been most definitely and insistently demanded by the Russian workers and peasants ever since the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy—by such a peace the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without indemnities.

This is the kind of peace the government of Russia proposes to all the belligerent nations to conclude immediately, and expresses its readiness to take all the resolute measures immediately, without the least delay, pending the final ratification of all the terms of such a peace by authoritative assemblies of the people's representatives of all countries and all nations. In accordance with the sense of justice of the democracy in general, and of the toiling classes in particular, the government conceives the annexation or seizure of foreign lands to mean every incorporation into a large or powerful state of a small or weak nation without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to, or forcibly retained within, the borders of the given state, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation resides in Europe or in distant, overseas countries.

If any nation whatsoever is forcibly retained within the borders of a given state, if, in spite of its expressed desire—no matter whether expressed in the press, at public meetings, in the decisions of parties, or in protests and uprisings against national oppression—it is not accorded the right to decide the forms of its state existence by a free vote, taken after the complete evacuation of the troops of the incorporating or, generally, of the stronger nation and without the least pressure being brought to bear, such incorporation is annexation, i.e., seizure and violence. The government considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the conditions indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception. At the same time the government declares that it does not regard the above-mentioned terms of peace as an ultimatum; in other words, it is prepared to consider any other terms of peace, but only insists that they be advanced by any of the belligerent nations as speedily as possible, and that in the proposals of peace there should be absolute clarity and the complete absence of all ambiguity and

The government abolishes secret diplomacy, and, for its part, announces its firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly under the eyes of the whole people. It will immediately proceed to the full publication of the secret treaties endorsed or concluded by the government of landlords and capitalists from February to October, 25, 1917. The government proclaims the absolute and immediate annulment of everything contained in these secret treaties in so far as it is aimed, as is mostly the

case, at securing advantages and privileges for the Russian landlords and capitalists and at the retention, or extension, of the annexations made by the Great Russians. . . . In proposing an immediate armistice, we appeal to the class-conscious workers of the countries that have done so much for the development of the proletarian movement. We appeal to the workers of England, where there was the Chartist movement, to the workers of France, who have in repeated uprisings displayed the strength of their class consciousness, and to the workers of Germany, who waged the fight against the Anti-Socialist Law and have created powerful organizations.

In the manifesto of March 14, we called for the overthrow of the bankers, but, far from overthrowing our own bankers, we entered into an alliance with them. Now we have overthrown the government of the bankers.

That government and the bourgeoisie will make every effort to unite their forces and drown the workers' and peasants' revolution in blood. But the three years of war have been a good lesson to the masses: the Soviet movement in other countries and the mutiny in the German navy, which was crushed by the Junkers of Wilhelm the hangman. Finally, we must remember that we are not living in the wilds of Africa, but in Europe, where news can spread quickly.

The workers' movement will triumph and will pave the way to peace and socialism.

V.I. Lenin, Selected Works in Tivo Volumes (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), II, Part 1, pp. 328–330, 332–333.

## DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA, NOVEMBER 2 [15], 1917

The October revolution of the workmen and peasants began under the common banner of emancipation.

The peasants are being emancipated from the power of the landowners, for there is no longer the landowner's property right in the land—it has been abolished. The soldiers and sailors are being emancipated from the power of autocratic generals, for generals will henceforth be elective and subject to recall. The workingmen are being emancipated from the whims and arbitrary will of the capitalists, for henceforth there will be established the control of the workers over mills and factories. Everything living and capable of life is being emancipated from the hateful shackles.

There remain only the peoples of Russia, who have suffered and are suffering oppression and arbitrariness, and whose emancipation must immediately be begun,

whose liberation must be effected resolutely and definitely.

During the period of tsarism the peoples of Russia were systematically incited against one another. The results of such a policy are known—massacres and programs on the one hand, slavery of peoples on the other. There can be and there must be no return to this disgraceful policy of instigation. Henceforth the policy of a voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russia must be substituted.

In the period of imperialism, after the February revolution, when the power was transferred to the hands of the Kadet [leading liberal party] bourgeoisie, the naked policy of instigation gave way to one of cowardly distrust of the peoples of Russia, to a policy of fault-finding and provocation, of "freedom" and "equality" of peoples. The results of such a policy are known: the growth of national enmity, the impairment of mutual trust.

An end must be put to this unworthy policy of falsehood and distrust, of fault-finding and provocation. Henceforth it must be replaced by an open and honest policy which leads to complete mutual trust of the people of Russia. Only as the result of such a trust can there be formed an honest and lasting union of the peoples of Russia. Only as the result of such a union can the workmen and peasants of the peoples of Russia be cemented into one revolutionary force able to resist all attempts on the part of the imperialist-annexationist bourgeoisie.

Starting with these assumptions, the First Congress of Soviets, in June of this year, proclaimed the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination. The Second Congress of Soviets, in October of this year, reaffirmed this inalienable right of the peoples of Russia more decisively and definitely. The united will of these congresses, the Council of the People's Commissaries, resolved to base its activity upon the question of the nationalities of Russia, as expressed in the following principles:

The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.

The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state.

The abolition of any and all national and national-religious privileges and disabilities.

The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

The concrete decrees that follow from these principles will be immediately elaborated after the setting up of a Commission on Nationality Affairs.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, V. Ulianov (Lenin) People's Commissar of Nationality Affairs, Iosef Jugashvili (Stalin)



Monument to Stolypin erected in Kiev



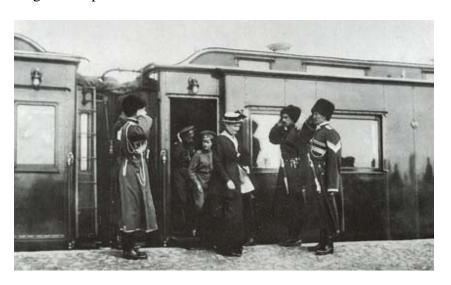
Monument to Stolypin being torn down in Kiev



Monument to Marx erected at the site



Grigorii Rasputin – assassinated 1916



Alexandra, Alexei, and Nicholas II arriving at Stavka in Mogilev



Lenin's speech at the Tauride Palace, April 1917



Kornilov greeted by his troops



Alexander Kerensky in his office in the Winter Palace (1917)

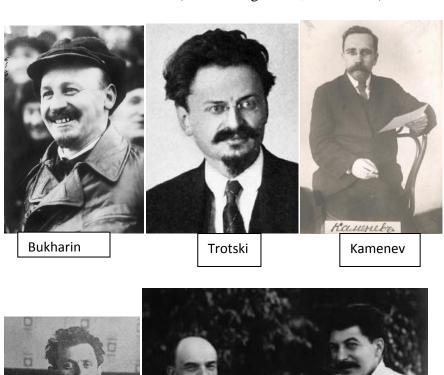
Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin (1888-1938)

Leon Trotskii (born Bronshtein, 1879-1940)

Lev Borisovich Kamenev (born Rozenfeld, 1883-1836)

Grigorii Evseevich Zinov'ev (born Apfelbaum, 1883-1936)

Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin (born Dzhugashvili, 1878-1953)



Zinov'ev

Stalin and Lenin in 1922