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REVOLUTION OF 1905

A dress rehearsal for 1917. No factor of major consequence in 1917 was absent in 1905.

I. GROUPS TAKING PART IN REVOL.

1. Liberals -- for political objectives.
2. Proletariat -- for political and econ objectives.
3. Peasants -- econ objectives. Didn't understand politics.
4. Army and Navy -- (largely peasants). Many disturbances, mutinies, insubordination. But loyal at the crucial time.
5. Non-Russian minorities --- including Poles, Ukrainians, Byelo Russians, Finns.

II. FORMS OF ORGANIZATION.

1. Trade-unions, political parties, peasant unions, ~~peasant unions~~ soviets.

III. FORMS OF ACTION.

1. Strikes, riots, mutinies, uprisings, petitions, meetings. (All of these present in 1917 also.)

IV. EFFECTS OF RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

1. ^{War} Opposed from the start by majority of Russians.
2. Increased sufferings of people, from conscription, taxes, etc. (In both 1905 and 1917 had suffered defeat in war)
3. Discredited govt -- showed up weakness, inefficiency, especially in transport, army, navy. (Like Crimean War) Not only a defeat, but a bungling defeat, with no heroic glory. (No revol after successful war.)
4. To existing greivances, + sufferings were added new ones by the war. Caused an explosion.

V. ZEMSTVO CONGRESS. (NOV. 1904) (mentioned earlier)

1. Demanded freedom of person, conscience, speech, meeting, press, equal civil rights for all; elective local govt not based on class system, wider zemstvo franchise, freedom of education, reforms for peasants and factory workers. Also for elective natl assby, with legislative authority.

2. Reply of Tsar -- Told Zemstvos to mind their own business, not discuss political questions.
But also promised to put thru ~~reforms~~ certain reforms, although not a natl assby.

X (3. Professional groups came out in support of Zemstvo program.

VI. FALL OF PORT ARTHUR (JAN 1, 1905)

1. Further discredited govt. Surrendered when still possible to fight on.

VII. STRIKES IN ST. PETE. (in some factories)

1. Proletariat now came out ~~unorganized~~ to add their strength to the liberals.
2. Strike in Putilov Metal Works.

VIII. GAPON AND BLOODY SUNDAY. (Jan. 22, 1905)

1. Father Gapon -- Zubatov unions, anti-revolutionary.
2. Petition to tsar -- ^{masses} (trust in tsar that he would ease their hardships if only they let him know.
3. Procession to Winter Palace. (Jan 22, 1905)
4. Troops shot them down. About 500 killed, others wounded.
5. Arrested many others, expelled them from St. Pete. Spread word thru country. Destroyed faith in tsar. ("Little Father")

IX. SPREAD OF STRIKES.

1. Epidemic of strikes, involving almost every trade.
13 RRs stopped. Police officers killed.

*TUs organized everywhere.
→ (Pickpockets) ✓*

X. MARCH MANIFESTO. (1905)

1. Emperor declared that a scheme would be drawn up ~~by which~~ by which "the worthiest persons should be elected to share in the drafting and discussing of laws."

X (2. June 29 -- commission to review all legislation on Jews.
Removed some restrictions.

Made little impression. Too little.

XI. PEASANT ACTION.

1. Disturbances -- started in 1905, continued through 1906. Varied from small illegal seizures of hay, to huge armed uprisings. Burning of ~~manor~~ manor houses, etc.
2. Peasants Union -- attempt to form a natl body, but represented only a fraction of peasants. (July 1905)
3. Natl Peasants Congresses -- 2 of them.
2nd Peasant Congress (Nov. 1905) -- called for constitutional assy, political reforms. But most significant point of program called for nationalization of land. For right of use of land with periodic redistribution, equalizing ownership.

XII. TSUSHIMA (MAY 27 1905)

1. Showed that war was ~~probably~~ ^{probably} lost.
2. Demands for peace. ¹

XIII. AUGUST MANIFESTO. (1905)

1. Tsar declared intention to set up a Duma. ^{But} To be consultative only. Electoral system to exclude proletariat, by indirect system.

XIV. ~~CLIMAX~~ CLIMAX IN AUTUMN OF 1905.

1. Treaty of Portsmouth (Sept) -- ^{admission of} defeat in war was a signal for many outbursts.

October 2. Strike movement -- 1st natl General Strike in any country.

a. During 1905 total of 93% of all factories affected by strikes at one time or another. ^{RR workers spread it.}

b. Number of strikers for whole year ^{exceeded no. of workers.} 1 - 2,900,000. (16390)

c. Objectives -- largely political. Many employers supported them, paid wages to strikers.

~~As a result of the strike movement...~~

3. Minorities -- uprisings among Poles, Finns, Baltic peoples, peoples in Caucasus.

4.

XV. RISE OF SOVIETS.

1. Origin -- In one strike in Ivano-Vosnesensk, all of the factories were on strike. Representatives of dif factories got together in a central body to negotiate with employers as a group. Committee of elected representatives, - the prototype of soviet.

In St. Pete the Soviet developed out of the General Strike of Oct. 1905. Invited all factories to send delegates to a central workers body. Not planned by any political party.

2. St. Pete Soviet -- dominated by Mensheviks, Trotsky as v-pres. *(later Pres.)*
Very loose organization. About 550 delegates. Run by executive committee. Very democratic.

Assumed extraordinary powers, both econ and political. Ran the whole city, saying which newspapers could operate, preventing tsarist censorship, operating in competition with legal govt agencies.

Supported by many liberals and employers, at first.

3. Attitude of Bolsheviki -- skeptical at first, *(competition w. The Party)* then realized that here was the real workers organiz.

Reappeared in 1917 revol, gave name to Soviet govt. Russians speak of it as a great new political organ, in same way English speak of growth of Parliament.

Additional XVI. CONCESSIONS BY THE GOVT.

A. To National Minorities --

1. Jews - restrictions of freedom of movement, right to own property, now rescinded.
Yet police officers tried to divert opposition and dissatisfaction against the Jews by promoting and organizing pogroms. ~~(also...)~~
2. Language -- Ukrainins could now print newspapers in their language. Polish and Lithuanian could be used in schools.
3. Finns ← *concessions.* ~~get liberal constitutional govt.~~
4. Religion - disabilities on non-orthodox ~~instit~~ lifted.

B. To The ARMY - higher pay.
 Bonuses for police duty (Sec. 6 (OS))
 Democratic relations w. officers.

B. To peasants -- (Nov. 16, 1905)

1. Arrears and redemption dues cancelled.
 (For 1906 - pay half, from then on ~~none~~ none)

C. To Proletariat --

1. Strikes -- laws against them modified. Law still prohibited strikes that affected production of necessities.
2. Trade Unions -- legalized. (1906)

D. General Political Concessions - October Manifesto. (Oct. 17, 1905)

PROMISES

1. Civil Liberties -- freedom of press, assembly, religion, inviolability of person. The reforms demanded by the Zemstvo congress in 1904.

2. Duma -- natl legislature elected by ^{all classes.} ~~universal suffrage~~.
 No law to be passed without its okay.
 Tsar had veto.
 Right to investigate administrative acts, question the Ministers.
 Could be dissolved by tsar, but new elections had to be held within certain time.
~~*Members immune from arrest without ok of Duma.~~

Restrictions - Duma could not amend the basic state law.

Art. 87 -- when Duma not in session, the govt might ~~enact~~ enact urgent measures, to be ratified by the Duma when it reconvened. Such measures could not affect the basic laws, the Duma, or method of election.

Budget -- ~~Duma had right to okay most of it. But if Duma failed to pass budget, govt could operate on basis of same budget as year before.~~

3. Preface -- "The disturbances overflow our hearts with shame. The sorrow of the people is our sorrow."

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XVII. REACTION TO THE CONCESSIONS.

3 Main Attitudes:

1. Revolutionaries - gov't had not gone far enough.
- ~~2. Revolutionaries - gov't had gone too far, retract concessions~~
2. Moderates - stop with these concessions (Octobrists)
- ~~3. Revolutionaries - gov't had gone too far, retract concessions.~~
3. Reactionaries - gov't had gone too far, retract concessions.

① Reaction by Lower Classes.

• Direct Action.

Question of whether to continue to use force in direct action, or to put all faith in peaceful means such as the Duma. Problem of whether or not to trust the gov't's sincerity, whether or not the Duma could become a real force.

Some showed themselves unwilling to try the peaceful means by:

1. Strikes -- continued. In 1906 had 1/3 as many as in 1905.
2. Boycott of election -- by Bolsheviks and SR's, showing that they distrusted peaceful means.
3. Seizure of industrial plants - as in Moscow, Dec. 1905.
4. Peasant disturbances -- cancellation of redemption dues a great gain, but many still not satisfied. Several thousand disturbances during 1906.

② • Reaction of Liberals. - peaceful means.

1. They had come nearer than any group to getting what they wanted. Formed 2 parties:
 - a. Cadets -- constitutional democrats.
 - b. Octobrists -- satisfied with OCT Manifesto.
2. These groups clearly turned to peaceful means, and were satisfied with limited political and econ objectives. Mild opposition to gov't.

Gov't thus achieved splitting of opposition.

③ • Conservatives and Reactionaries.

Under the pressure of the opposition to the gov't being exerted by the revolutionaries, these groups finally got together in late 1905 and began active support of gov't.

1. Congress of Nobles -- lasted till 1917.
2. Congresses of Representatives of Industry & Trade -- opposed revol. Issued publications. Lasted till 1917.
3. Union of Rus People -- mostly rough specimens who took part in street fighting. Led pogroms ag Jews (KKK)

Black Hundreds.

XVIII. POSITION OF GOVT STRENGTHENED.

1. ~~Conservatives and Reactionaries~~ Conservatives and Reactionaries -- now organized in active support of govt.
2. Liberals -- willing to ~~maintain~~ place all their hopes on the Duma. Opposed to any extreme measures.
Thus the concessions of the govt had divided the opposition - liberals and revolutionaries did not cooperate as before.
Made it possible for govt to deal harshly with the revolutionaries.
3. Troops -- released from the front by treaty of Portsmouth in Sept. 1905. During Nov and Dec were returning ~~in~~ in large numbers, could be used for suppression of strikes, uprisings, peasant disturbances.
Probably the most crucial difference between 1905 and 1917 was that in 1905 the majority of the troops remained loyal to the tsar.
Trotsky -- the revol was broken "on the bayonets of the peasant army."
4. Foreign Loan -- Govt had been in bad shape financially, but in spring of 1906 Witte ~~arranged~~ arranged loan of 2 billion francs, mostly from French bankers. Thus govt made temporarily independent of Duma financially.

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Nov-Dec 1905

XIX

DECLINE IN REVOLUTION AFTER OCT. MANIFESTO

- at same time govt becoming stronger.



- 1. Strikes -- St. Pete Soviet called for a strike on Nov. 11 for an 8-hour day. Demanded economic concessions which could be granted only at the expense of the employers. Employers formerly had supported Soviet - now they opposed it. Strike had little effect.
- 2. Exhaustion -- people tired of the revolution. The thrill of ~~parading and protesting~~ parading and protesting and striking had worn thin. Harder to get the workers ~~out~~ out.

~~Amplification of Socialism~~

~~Liberals -- opposed to further extreme action. Willing to accept the concessions of the govt. This separated them from the revolutionaries, strengthened~~

At the same time ^{the} govt was getting stronger & bolder.

- 4. President of Soviet arrested, Dec. 5. (Khrustalov-Nosar)
- 5. Martial law declared in St Pete a week later.
- 6. ^{many} ~~most~~ of members of Soviet (190) arrested -- Dec. 16.
- 7. General Strike -- tried to call a 3rd genl strike, but it was not successful in St Pete.
- 8. Moscow Uprising -- (Dec 22--Jan 1) -- small band of revolutionaries and workers tried to seize control of city. Suppressed by troops. (Bols)
- 9. Electoral Law of Dec. 24, 1905 --- Moscow uprising ~~was~~ successful to the extent that ~~it~~ it did scare Witte into issuing regulation making the franchise practically universal. To include all taxpayers, nearly all lodgers and factory workers. (but was indirect). 1st two Dumas elected under this law. Tsar did not like this.
- 10. Peasantry -- Punitive expeditions of troops sent out ~~to~~ ~~the columns~~ to suppress the peasant uprisings. Did succeed in reducing them.

Dumas

Results of Elections under Law in effect for 1st & 2nd Dumas

		<u>1st</u>		<u>2nd</u>		<u>3rd</u>	
Radicals -	Trudoviki (Labor Group)	94	}	104	}	13	
	Natl Socialists	--		16		-- 222	}
	SR	--		37		- 175	
	SD (Mens and Bols)	17		65			
Moderates -	Natl Bourgeois Party	--	}	76	}	23	
	Cadets (and associated)	197 - 197		99		54	}
	Non party	100		50		77	
Conservatives + reactionaries	Okhobrists, Monarchists,	26		54		292	
	Reactionaries						

Source?

XX. CONCESSIONS MODIFIED.

With the force of the revolution dying down and the position of the govt strengthened, it ~~was~~ now felt strong enough to welch on some of the concessions which it had made.

1. Additions to Fundamental Laws -- increased the list of those ^{laws} over which the Duma had no control.
2. Budget -- parts of it removed from public discussion. Govt now claimed that if the new budget was not approved ~~by the Duma~~ by the Duma, it had the right to ~~renew~~ renew the previous year's budget.
3. Loans and currency -- under uncontrolled jurisdiction of the Minister of Finance.

~~Army and Navy -- ruled independently by tsar~~

(20 Feb. 1906)

5. State Council -- added another house to the legislature. Remodeled the old State Council, which had been an advisory body to the tsar. It was made the upper house. Half of members appted by tsar, ~~half~~ half elected by zemstvos, congresses of nobility, chambers of commerce, etc. Acted as conservative force restraining Duma.

(23 April 1906)

6. Executive power -- tsar still retained much power. Controlled foreign affairs, army, navy independently of duma. Ministers appointed by tsar, responsible to him, could not be overthrown by vote of Duma. *No ministerial responsibility to the Duma, as in England.*

These modifications announced by govt 4 days before the ~~first~~ 1st Duma was to meet, and were put into the fundamental laws.

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XXI. FIRST DUMA (APRIL-^{July} 1906)

1. Membership -- Cadets had by far the largest group. This partly due to fact that most socialists had boycotted the elections. Cadets wanted to make the Duma like the English Parliament.
2. Presented programme to govt, which rejected it. Duma then passed vote of censure on Ministry, but had no power to force the ministry to resign.
3. Agrarian proposals -- various proposals, all of them calling for expropriation of private estates.

4. Govt ~~was~~ made public announcements ~~in~~ warning people not to trust the ~~govt~~ Duma. Duma replied by publishing an appeal to the country.
5. Dissolved without warning, July 21.
6. Viborg -- 200 members went to Viborg, Finland, ~~and~~ drew up an appeal to the country ~~for~~ for passive resistance until the Duma was reconvened. Little effect. *Govt had triumphed.*
Little political consciousness.

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XXII. SECOND DUMA (March - June 1907)

1. Elections -- New Premier, Stolypin, did his best to influence the elections. The Senate, by arbitrary interpretations of the law, excluded many categories of the population from the vote. Especially excluded Liberals and Jews.
2. Membership -- signers of Viborg protest excluded from membership in Duma, so many Cadets left out. Socialists now took active part in elections. (This showed their despair at effectiveness of further direct action.)

Membership much more radical. Leftists had total of 222 members, almost half.

3. Reactionaries -- tried to disrupt the Duma, prevent it from doing anything, get it dissolved.
4. Stolypin ~~was~~ demanded that all SD members of Duma be expelled. Duma refused without making an investigation. Dissolved June 16, 1907. *(to)*

XXXIII. ELECTION LAW OF JUNE 16, 1907.

1. Imperial manifesto announced that there had been a plot on life of tsar, and that therefore the electoral laws had to be changed. New laws issued on same day Duma dissolved.
2. Illegal -- by law tsar could issue temporary laws, but could not change fundamental laws such as election rules. So this was a ~~violation~~ violation of constitution *he had set up.*
3. *Confirmed* ~~legalized~~ all the arbitrary restrictions which had been placed on suffrage ~~preceding~~ preceding the elections for 2nd Duma, ~~preceding~~
4. Additional restrictions -- Central Asia disfranchised. Representation from Poland, Caucasus, Siberia reduced. Suffrage still pretty universal, but votes grouped and weighted so as to give ~~more~~ landed nobility and wealthy townsmen much more representation.

Constitutional monarchy if constitution ignored?

5. SD's -- 31 deputies in Duma sent to Siberia.

XXXIV. THIRD DUMA (Nov. 1907 - 1912)

1. Elections under new laws.
2. Membership -- landed nobility were largest group. Octobrists had most members, dominated the Duma. Contained many able men, who took over the leadership. Cooperated with govt. generally.
3. Octobrists -- Harsh criticism of govt administration, especially when budget submitted for approval. Criticized abuses in army, navy. Used its right to ask full explanations of ministers. Won some ~~respect~~ respect among the public.
4. Lasted full term.

XXV. Reaction Triumphant.

By 1907 Govt once more in power.
Revolution definitely over.

Concessions partly withdrawn.

