

# **Study Guide**

# Ispolkom: The Executive Committee of the Petrogad Soviet

Agenda: Ensuring the completion of the revolution in Russia with the successful overthrow of the Provisional Government, thereby securing the establishment of a Successive Socialist State.

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# **Chairperson's Address**

Delegates,

Welcome to Ispolkom - The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet.

"A revolution is always distinguished by impoliteness, probably because the ruling classes did not take the trouble in good season to teach the people fine manners."

-Leon Trotsky

Teaching people fine manners being a distant yen beyond reality, The Russian Empire seems to be marred by death, famine, poverty, corruption, confusion - but most importantly, a hated ruler. Tsar Nicholas II's reign was marked by a fatal combination of incompetence and arrogance, leading to the downfall of his dynasty and the end of centuries of Romanov rule. Revolution appeared to be a struggle not only for political power, but for the very soul of the Russian people.

With the war to end all wars raging in all its glory, we enter 1917 with the world at an ailing juncture. Our focus - Russia. In February, the people arose; workers, soldiers and peasants, all in unison. The people achieved their dream. The Tsar, forced to abdicate, fled the scene. However, their dreams would soon broaden, almost by compulsion. Little did the people know that the governance to follow would be different in name yet unchanged in its principle. The Provisional Government led by Prince Lvov was merely that and nothing more.

However, hope inspires us to do great things, to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles, and to persevere through the darkest of times. The voice of the people survived through the Petrograd Soviet and now its executive committee meets to finish what the people had started. Though divided by principles and ideologies, the members of the Ispolkom must strive to come together and ensure the rightful completion of The Revolution in Russia. It is up to you, the flag bearers of socialism to forge Russia's new path.

We expect scintillating debate, ingenious ideas, formation of new alliances and perhaps the decimation of old ones. Be shrewd, be cunning, be loyal - for your motherland.

Greetings Delegates,

My name is **Krish Roy Barman** and it is my honour and privilege to serve as the Chairperson for this committee.

If I was writing my autobiography, I'd list (just) a few of my distinctions down as a seasoned MUNer, the school's Quiz Club President, a Tenor Soloist for an international choir, and the Lead Vocalist of the School Band and if that was not enough I have clawed my way through to becoming your chair.

Having said that, it becomes obligatory for me to emphasise the ideals that lie beneath which form the pedestal to this identity.

Ranging from my passion and utmost love for public speaking for which you'll see me in almost every possible event, dramatics (just a sneak peak on how the updates will be), the English Language and the art of thinking just a little beyond the box, these I believe, are the soft skills that have moulded, shaped and transformed my persona from a crude rock deep under the sea to the shining pebble you see today.

For these three days of the conference; give your very best, enjoy and most importantly, learn.

If all goes well, you'll get a chance to see me performing a duet with the Best Delegate at the end of it just like the finals of 'The Voice'.

#### Greetings delegates,

I am **Ushnish Bhattacharya** and I will be serving as your Chairperson for the three days of the conference. I just passed out of St. James' School and I'm still trying to figure out which college to go to (don't really have many options). The only thing I'm greatly passionate about, academically, is economics and I'm looking forward to pursuing that in the future. I'm a very musically inclined person, though most of gen z doesn't appreciate my music preferences. I have been playing the violin for the past 11 years and the guitar for the past 2 (just to be in the school band). I am also very interested in history and politics and I somehow find a way to turn every discussion into a communism vs capitalism debate. Which brings me to public speaking and especially MUNing - I've been speaking on stage since class 5 and MUNing since 7. All I

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can say is that MUNs have actually shaped me, to some extent, to make me who i am. The

process of MINing is transformative and enriching. The better delegate is not the one who talks

the most, but the one who listens and analyses the situation at hand to come up with the most

comprehensive and unconventional approach to deal with it. Especially in a committee like the

Ispolkom, where your creativity and reflexes will be put to the ultimate test, this is demanded

out of every single delegate.

Looking forward to seeing all of you in July! Meanwhile, feel free to contact me about any

query at ispolkom.jacomun23@gmail.com

Until then,

Godspeed,

Chairpersons,

Ispolkom: The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet.

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# **Committee Background**

In the vast expanse of history, there exists a moment, like a resplendent star, that forever illuminates the annals of human struggle and aspiration. It is the tale of a revolution, a symphony of defiance, pulsating with the hopes and dreams of the oppressed. With a fervour unmatched, the Bolshevik Revolution tore through the fabric of time, leaving in its wake a landscape forever altered, forever transformed. Oh, how the world trembled beneath the weight of their audacity! The revolutionaries, armed not only with weapons, but also with a vision of a just and egalitarian society, dared to traverse uncharted territories, to challenge the established order with the indomitable force of their conviction. They believed, with every fibre of their being, that the time had come for the proletariat to seize the reins of destiny, to forge a new world from the ashes of the old. From the storm-battered streets of Petrograd to the sprawling expanse of the Russian countryside, the revolutionaries mobilised an impassioned proletariat, rallying the dispossessed, the disillusioned, and the downtrodden. Their manifesto, like a thunderclap in the night, resonated across the land, promising a world where power belonged not to the few, but to the many; where the wealth of the nation flowed not into the coffers of the privileged, but into the hands of the deserving masses.

With that, delegates, welcome to the Ispolkom: The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. "When dictatorship is a fact, revolution becomes a right." These words encapsulate the very essence of our committee's purpose—reliving an extraordinary chapter of history where ideals collided and ideologies were forged in the crucible of strife. A cataclysmic event that ignited the flames of transformation, propelled a radical reordering of the world order, and forever altered the course of humanity's collective narrative. Delegates, you will embark on a journey through the corridors of time, immersing yourselves in an era of profound significance, where the echoes of revolution reverberate and the spirit of change dances in the air. As we convene to delve into the tumultuous era of the Bolshevik Revolution, let us prepare to witness the birth pangs of a nation, to witness dreams, ambitions, and ideologies being realised, shaping the destiny of an empire.

Delegates, you have been entrusted with the responsibility of embodying the minds, the passions, and the convictions of those who stood on the precipice of change. It is within your hands that the aspirations of countless individuals find voice, resonating through chronicles, reminding us of the immense power inherent within the human spirit. Let us soar on the wings

of hope, aspiring to discover the solutions that eluded even the most audacious visionaries of that era. Let the deliberations be filled with intellectual vigour, and fuelled by an unwavering commitment to seek want we want and what we deserve. Let our actions be profound, and our resolutions transformative. As we embark on this odyssey together, let us seize this opportunity to illuminate the future by studying the past, to decipher the grand tapestry woven by revolutionaries and reactionaries alike. Together, we shall honour history, rewrite narratives, and unleash the power of diplomacy to transcend the barriers that confine us.

# **Tsarist Russia**

From 1547 until the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Russian Empire was governed by the Czarist Monarchy, a political system where the emperor, known as the Tsar, held complete authority over the nation.

The Czarist Empire was also known as the Tsardom of Muscovy. That period was associated with an era of emperors, or Czars, having total control over Russian governance, with an authoritarian regime dominating all social, political and economic affairs. The Czar claimed his absolute authority of being divinely appointed by god. This meant him having all power and levity to make laws, alter taxation, restructure the judicial order and even plunge the nation into the abyss of war at his will.

#### ORIGIN:

The empire was formally founded on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1721, when the Russian Senate bestowed the title of the Czar upon Peter I. The empire had its genesis when the Russian nobility sought a new bloodline for its monarchy. It was Michael Romanov, a young nobleman, who was elected as the Czar in 1613. He and his successors, Alexis and Fyodor III, were all young people who came under external influence during their reign, which caused some dissatisfaction, but these were popular rulers who were weak but rendered admirable service during their times. The dictatorship of the Czars in later years caused mass dissatisfaction, leading to several uprisings such as the Great Peasant Rebellion (1670 – 71). In theory, there was no end to the grandeur and power of the arbitrary dictatorship, but it received certain drawbacks due to its inadequate governance, and archaic policies.

#### **ADMINISTRATION:**

The society during the Czarist rule was mainly characterised by a structured caste system which has been prevalent in the history books of many countries around the world. The Czars and their families held the position of noblemen, who had the authority to own property, defy taxes and manoeuvre society according to their whims and fancies. The peasants, forming a significant chunk of the lower strata of society, were made to do all the laborious work without compensation for their hard labour. They were subjected to harsh laws and made to pay compulsive tribute to their kings, having been subjected to arbitrary rule. The government system corresponded to that of many ancient empires around the world. The empire was

divided into various provinces, with highly centralised but subjective governance being at play. Governors and officials were appointed to the provinces by the Czars, The governors were responsible for taxation, security, development and the administration of the entire region.

#### ECONOMY:

The economy was orthodox and agrarian. The principles of serfdom which have been prevalent in Russia since the 16<sup>th</sup> century tended to dominate. Serfs were people who were bound to their lands and had to pay tributes and duties to their lords out of a percentage of their laborious earnings. The empire often had huge tracts of land which were put under the labour of thousands of serfs, often with low pay and abject poverty and living conditions at the very worst of what they could be. The empire used this system of social hierarchy and serfdom to extract as much labour and tribute from the serfs as they could, often making them face intense torture and brutalities which were a complete violation of what the modern world acknowledges as human rights. The Tsarist Empire also had a small but growing industrial sector, which was centred around St. Petersburg and Moscow. The industrial sector primarily focused on textiles, iron and steel, and coal mining, and was largely controlled by foreign investors.

This slow, laid back industrialization was only aided when Tsar Alexander II created laws abolishing serfdom and creating a central and provincial governmental system that was legal at its core, paving the way for slow and uneven but guaranteed industrial growth and benefits.

#### MILITARY:

By 1710, Russia had a regular army, known as the Imperial Russian Army, recruited by conscription from among the peasantry and townsfolk. In 1724 its personnel numbered 131,400 infantry and 38400 cavalry, excellently trained and equipped.

Although the Black Sea fleet of the navy had to be given up, the Baltic fleet remained with some 200 guns and 16000 soldiers, with more than 11 military-grade ships. The army expenditure of the government was around 4 million rubles annually. There were different kinds of regiments, such as regulars, dragoons and reiters.

This was an effective replacement against the unreliable and ineffective streltsy musketeer corps kept by Ivan the Terrible and Peter I. Preceding the Russo-Polish war, about ten more regiments were formed, which were disbanded after the commencement of this war, This war was also followed by many new defensive regiments being formed. The military personnel mostly consisted of the boyars or landless gentry of the nation, with the personnel being usually the noblemen.

#### **RELIGION:**

In 1721, Peter abolished the Moscow patriarchate, and the Russian Orthodox Church was subordinated to the state through the Holy Governing Synod, a ministry of Ecclesiastes affairs under the direction of a chief procurator. The church, in 1722 acted as the landlord for about 1 million peasant families. It was nationalised also in the economic sense: the income from its lands was passed on to the state. Navigation schools and naval academies reigned during this period. Basic knowledge of reading, writing, assessing, and mathematics had to be the daily know-how of the landed gentry. The engineering school of the National Engineering Company and the Moscow Teaching Hospital also aided the education and advancement of the empire.

#### WESTERN RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

There were diplomatic relations established with the world at large. Foreigners were invited into Russia and delegations were sent out on missions for development. Trade and traffic with the West increased as Russia marked an estimated 1.5 million roubles worth of imports and 2.5 million roubles worth of export money on goods. In 1724 a high protective tariff was imposed on all imports, to be levied in foreign currency. England and Netherlands were chief benefactors in the Russian diplomatic and trade relations, with a breakdown in their relations between 1720 and 1730. Eastern trading partners were Persia and China. With permanent envoys in most European capitals, Russia was able to treat war and diplomacy as two separate but equally strong methods to fall back on. Russian alliances in Sweden also made them very influential in the Baltic regions.

### FOREIGN POLICY:

The foreign policy of the Russian Czarist Empire was characterised by a desire to expand and protect its territory and influence, particularly in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Throughout the 19th century, Russian influence and participation in wars and diplomatic meets paved the way for making the geopolitical landscape that the Russians enjoyed in the 1900s. Russia's desire to gain power in Eastern Europe caused their clash and the severance of diplomatic ties with Austria. They launched a war on Turkey in 1853, which was supported by the likes of Britain and France. This war, also termed the Crimean War, was one in which heavy defeat and humiliation caused the Russians to thoroughly re-evaluate what they called their "foreign policy." This led them to focus less on military expansionism and imperialism, and more on diplomatic ties globally. It joined the European Union and signed a lot of international treaties that neutralised its reputation. At the same time, Russia continued to pursue its interests in Asia, particularly in Central Asia. The country annexed the territories of Turkestan and Kazakhstan, which gave it control over important trade routes and strategic resources. Russia also maintained close ties with China, and the two countries worked together to counter the influence of Western powers in the region.

The military and economic failures and setbacks in the First World War were finally major factors which led to the Russian Empire collapsing. Though their foreign policy was marked by some success, such as triumphs in Asia, their end goal remained unscathed and the world war and revolutionary movements played the role of the final nail in the coffin.

# **Needs and Causes of the 1905 Revolution**

#### ORIGIN AND CAUSES:

The Russian Empire's humiliating international defeat in the Russo-Japanese War at the hands of the Japanese, who had been underestimated to a great extent and were considered far inferior to their Russian counterparts, were able to defeat the Russians owing to their naval strategy and excellent tactical prowess. This was one of the primary causes which led to various uprisings amongst the Russian people, the first of its kind during the Tsarist rule, which came to be known popularly as the First Russian Revolt of 1905.

It was the first time that the diverse socio-political groups of the Russian Empire seemed to unite and come together, fuelled by their hate and despise towards the noblemen and the Tsar, challenging the authority of their dictator and demanding constitutional reforms and a stronger mode of governance. Unlike other revolutions, the 1905 Revolution was spontaneous, uncoordinated and lacked a single guiding movement or objective. It was a series of revolutionary actions by several unconnected groups and classes, each with their own political motive and their own set of grievances.

Though the 1905 Revolution began in the cities, it quickly spread across the empire. It included mutinies in remote naval bases, peasant uprisings in the provinces and large-scale worker unrest in Siberia.

The shooting of factory workers in St. Petersburg in 1905 by government officials, resulting in the collection of hundreds of bodies on the bloody factory floor, an event which scorned the Russian history books as "Bloody Sunday," marked the start of the revolution – the beginning of the people's gritty resolve to overthrow their emperor – "Bloody Nicholas."

#### NEEDS:

The 1905 Russian Revolution was instigated as a result of the persistent grievances of the Russian populace, who were enduring the repressive rule of the Tsarist regime. The uprising was propelled by various factors, such as political suppression, disparity in social status, and financial adversity.

- The primary requirement of the revolution was the freedom of the people from the Tsarist regime. Under this oppressive regime, the people had no right to free speech and could not voice their opinions or stand up to the Tsar. Political power in its pure essence belonged to the Tsar, with the governance of the nation being characterised majorly by corruption and cronyism.
- Adding to that reason was the huge divide that existed between the classes of poor peasants and wealthy landowners. The noblemen and landowners had great ties with the regime and characterised the upper levels of the power-pyramid. The peasants who had no representation of any kind in their well-being rose to rebellion when the opportunity presented itself. The political tension and social inequality contributed highly to the rebellious sentiment of the people at the time.
- Economic hardship was another factor that fuelled the seeds of revolt. The Russian Empire had great infrastructure for industrial development as well as immense potential to rise to the top. However, stagnant attention and the scarcity of government investment in infrastructure, industrial development or economic progress fuelled the hardships of the common men. The Russian economy was breaking down and people were finding it hard to make ends meet. This political scenario and carelessness on behalf of the Tsarist regime called for a sturdy uprising on the people's side.
- None of these factors, not even the events on Bloody Sunday could have struck such controversy and hatred against government policies in any realm until the Russo-Japanese War turned against the favour of the Russians. Defeat in this war and humiliation faced by the Russians, who lost to the very people it was in a mad attempt to colonise and imperialism, made the people of the Empire question the power and authority of the Tsarist regime and question the competence of the system they were working under. This led to the uprising of revolt which was one of the major factors regarding the uprising of 1905.
- The Agrarian problem was another major reason for the Russian Revolution. The merchants sold off one-third of their lands to the monarchy and mortgaged off the other one-third. These lands, labelled as "allotment lands," were worked by the peasants. Although they had been freed under laws made in 1861, now they were required to work chosen strips of land without being able to mortgage it off or renounce it at will. This led to discontentment. On the other hand, poor farmers from non-fertile regions

wandering in search of work and food led to a rise in a lot of strikes and violence, which further weakened the government's grasp on this situation.

- Another major factor which deeply affected the revolt was the national sentiment. Russia was a nation which was home to various religious minorities and ethnic groups. These different cultures were subject to the unjust Russification by the empire, which sought to bring everyone who set foot onto the Russian land under their umbrella, imposing their culture and language on various religious and ethnic groups. This policy notably caused a huge upsurge, when different people residing in the empire got alarmed and took the stance of not wanting to erase their identity for Russian lineage.
- The situation became more complex due to the presence of several non-Russian factions striving for more self-governance or sovereignty. For instance, in Poland, a daring nationalist movement emerged that demanded freedom from Russian influence. In the Caucasus region, various ethnic groups aspired to obtain greater autonomy and independence. These national uprisings made it very difficult for the Tsarist regime to hold unparalleled and strong political reign over their subjects. The Polish caused great uprisings during the year 1963.
- Discrimination against the Jews was another major factor in Russian unsettlement. For years, the Jews had been looked down upon as inferiors and not deserving of the rights they were entitled to. They lived in poor backward places, suffering great disasters and hardships at the hands of their dictators. The policy of Russification was once again rejected by them. There were repeated attacks on them and limited access to education and basic human rights. Although the Jews were not a major contributor to the Russian Revolution of 1905, their social and political uprising was a major factor which led to the weakening of state authority.
- A major contributor to the widespread discontentment was the labour revolt. The labour laws which gave certain levity to children between the ages of 12 15, did not completely clear out the strenuous system. Widespread discontentment on behalf of people who believed the labour laws were not just or definite contributed to the revolt. The average wages were disastrously low, and the average work day was more than 11 hours. The laws also prevented any form of autonomy by prohibiting the formation of labour unions and pro-labour organisations. The industrial depression of 1900-1903 and the railroad strike of 1902 also contributed to the labour uprising. The six-day work

weeks and exclusion from political involvement made the peasants and workers think that revolution would lead them to turn into a more active chunk of the society. In addition, the immigrant and ethnically diverse labourers also faced widespread attempts of Russification, which naturally affected their morale and spirits.

• Although there was certain levity on students and education, there was widespread student radicalism which disrupted society. Student radicals described their mission as being to spread the word of liberty. The left-wing student factions wrought great havoc and there were many protests followed by arrests. Government brutalities against student revolutionaries such as shutting down universities and expelling students who took part in such proceedings had an adverse effect on their ego. The students, exposed to new socialist and anarchist ideologies, were not ready to step down. The government-controlled educational system provided limited mobility and freedom, and the students felt like their wings were clipped and their feet were tied. Many students who came from abroad and from wealthy privileged backgrounds were now exposed to the Russian brutalities against the common people and peasants, which was a culture shock for them. The boundless anarchy and desperation caused them to rise in revolt and take up the cause of their poor brethren.

Collectively, such factors led to what was the first uprising of the Russian people against their Tsarist authoritarian government, which paved the way to the tumultuous February Revolution of 1917, which led to the eventual overthrow of the Tsarist dictatorship and the reveal of the Iron Curtain.

# **Division of the Russian Socialist Movement in 1903**

The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party was founded in 1898 by socialists who respected Marx's ideas. The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was formed in 1898 to unite various revolutionary organisations of the Russian Empire into one party. The RSDLP split in 1903 into Bolshevik and Menshevik factions. The split was caused by disagreements over party membership and organisation. The Bolshevik faction eventually became the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The division of the Russian socialist movement in 1903 was a significant event that led to the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, two factions within the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). The Mensheviks, loyal to traditional Social Democratic teachings, concentrated on developing ties with labour and rejected a premature political revolution in agrarian, largely pre-capitalist Russia. The Bolsheviks, who in some ideological respects were closer to the Socialist Revolutionaries, believed that Russia was finally ready for socialism.

At the Second Congress of the RSDLP held in Brussels and London in 1903, the party was divided over several issues, including the role of the party, the nature of the revolution, and the criteria for membership. The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, argued for a more tightly organised party with a centralised leadership and strict party discipline. The Mensheviks, led by Julius Martov, advocated for a looser organisation and a more democratic approach to party leadership and decision-making.

The split was ultimately caused by a vote on the rules of party membership, which the Bolsheviks won by a narrow margin. This led to a split in the party, with the Bolsheviks forming their faction and the Mensheviks remaining within the RSDLP.

The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, were a revolutionary socialist faction that believed in the need for a violent overthrow of the existing government for the establishment of a socialist state. They advocated for centralised party leadership and strict party discipline and prioritised the needs of the urban working class over those of the peasantry.

The Mensheviks, led by Julius Martov, were a more moderate faction that believed in working within the existing political system to achieve socialist goals. They advocated for a decentralised party structure and greater internal democracy and placed more emphasis on the importance of the role of the peasantry in the socialist movement.

Other parties that emerged from the RSDLP split included the Social Revolutionaries, a populist party that drew its support primarily from the peasantry, and the Jewish Labour Bund, a socialist party that focused on the rights and interests of Jewish workers in the Russian Empire.

Some of the other parties represented in the Ispolkom at that time included:

Mensheviks: A faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) that opposed the Bolsheviks. Some of the prominent Mensheviks on the Ispolkom included Irakli Tsereteli, Fedor Dan, and Julius Martov.

Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs): A socialist political party that supported the overthrow of the Tsarist government and the establishment of a socialist state. The SRs were represented on the Ispolkom by Viktor Chernov, Nikolai Avksentiev, and Maria Spiridonova.

Anarchists: A political movement that advocated for the abolition of all forms of government and the establishment of a society based on voluntary cooperation. The anarchists on the Ispolkom included Pavel Milyukov and Nestor Makhno.

Left Socialist Revolutionaries (Left SRs): A faction of the SRs that supported the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution but eventually broke with them. The Left SRs were represented on the Ispolkom by Maria Spiridonova and Lev Kamenev (who later joined the Bolsheviks).

These parties represented a range of perspectives and ideologies, and their presence on the Ispolkom reflected the diverse political landscape of the time. However, the Bolsheviks ultimately emerged as the dominant political force in Russia and consolidated power under their rule.

The Social Democratic Party, founded in Minsk in 1898, believed that Russia could achieve peace only after establishing a bourgeois society with the urban proletariat. They rejected the populist idea that the collective peasantry or workers could be the basis of a socialist society that could transcend the capitalist stage.

Most of the leaders elected at the founding congress were soon arrested. The Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party on July 30, 1903, attended by 57 delegates, was seen as small, controversial, and illegal. They assembled in a flea-ridden flour warehouse in Brussels and Georgi Plekhanov, the respected veteran Russian Marxist was elected chairman,

but the representatives were upset in Belgium and moved to London, where they could be ignored by the police.

Lenin had no time for democracy and no confidence in the masses. He wanted a small, tightly organised, strictly disciplined party of full-time members who did what they were told, followed the party line in every particular and would be far more difficult for the Tsarist police to infiltrate.

Georgy Plekhanov, one of the founders of Russian Marxism, took a generally middle position. This argument dominated the internal life of the party. Party members played a major role in the unsuccessful Russian Revolution of 1905, in which one Social-Democratic leader, Leon Trotsky, was elected president of the St. Petersburg Soviet. In the turmoil of 1917, the Bolsheviks broke definitively with their Menshevik rivals and, after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, changed their name to the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). Their rivals, the Mensheviks, were finally suppressed after the end of the Russian Civil War.

# Aftermath of 1905

The Russian Revolution of 1905 brought about significant changes in the Russian Regime. It brought about the courage in the common people to take up revolutionary feelings in the minds and hearts of the Russian common men, who fought against the Tsar's autocratic empire. Marked by brutal revolts and widespread discontentment, this war saw the beginning of an internal as well as international struggle. The struggle has been discussed in the following subdivisions:

#### POLITICAL EFFECTS

- The end of the Russian Tsarist monarchy was more or less assured as Russians moved entirely towards a communist approach to government.
- Establishment of the October Manifesto, signalling towards a change of policy on behalf of the Tsar.
- The Tsar in 1906 established the fundamental laws, which were a bit progressive for the society of that time. The Tsar for the first time ever shared power with a parliamentary body. Acting under a constitution, the laws, on the outside, seemed to be a check on the power of the Tsar. The Duma, however, had been given restricted powers, such as a minimised control over budget, which furthermore put the power more and more in the hands of the Tsar ever so slightly. It did not, however, make all changes as stated in the October Manifesto of 1905, such as reduced voters and drawing back of civil rights which were earlier announced as part of the manifesto.
- The end of the war also hinted at people's reluctance at the prospect of any more militancy. After the Tsar demolished the first Duma in 1906, on 8<sup>th</sup> June, the discontentment displayed by the Bolsheviks was not eventful enough for the masses to cause big uprisings. Though uprisings on the matter did occur, their fearsome character and extreme degree of tension had been diluted by the prospect of another war.
- The aftermath of the revolt saw the crumbling of the Tsarist regime. A revolutionary movement called the black hundreds, raised widespread agitation and action against anti–semitic comments on behalf of the Tsarist governance. This far–right nationalist organisation was formed by a set of people both inside and outside the government. The involvement of governmental characters caused the government to go down in shambles as the people and the arrangement of the organisation brought to light that the

- government was incapable of running a kingdom properly in light of the policies they believed and followed.
- The establishment of the Duma led to the formation of a lot of political rivals for the autocratic Tsars, in the form of the establishment of manifold political parties and organisations, many of whom opposed the reign of the Tsar and many who agitated for reforms to be established.
- The primary political rivals were the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The former wanted a revolutionary overthrow of the current Tsar, seemingly influenced by the actions of the past. The latter, however, was more sympathetic and considerate, wishing to go forward with the current system all the while establishing new changes which would gradually and almost invisibly transform the regime from the tyrannous state it currently resides in.
- Political parties such as the Kadets arose, who brought forward for the first time
  efficiently the idea of a democratic and secular Russian state. This signalled towards
  the reachable goal of modernism in Russia and also the establishment of serious
  political threats to the Tsarist regime.
- The Tsar had made the mistake of thinking he could effectively hide the shambles which was the government, with great fervour and grandeur, in the form of the establishment of legislative bodies such as the Duma. He aimed to control the army, police and bureaucracy, being able to crack down on any dissents at any time. This, however, did not play out to his benefit, as the grandeur with which the Dumas was received was not enough to mask their truth from the empire.
- The inability of the officials of the Duma to effectively take part in the consideration of the elections made them sure that the government did not intend to be on their side.
- The appointment of Petr Stolypin after abolishing more Dumas was seen as a first and frivolous change in the administrative system as he strived to bring about reforms and change the Russian society and help them progress towards a better future.

#### SOCIAL EFFECTS

• The social scenario was far more radicalised in the aftermath of the revolution. The workers and peasants carried out massive agitation against the repression of the Tsar and asked for basic rights such as better wages and working conditions, and better social conditions for all. The regime responded to these strikes and requests in the form of

inconceivably distraught violence and imprisonment of revolters. The violent massacre carried out by the government now had the opposite effect than intended. The Russian people now felt more empowered against the Tsar, who had been eroded away from their minds by earlier occurrences. They united for many years against the oppression, and the social conditions wreaked havoc as food shortages erupted and prices increased, pushing the society into turmoil and the government with their hands red. The people, however, were effectively disillusioned.

- Old aristocratic practices were banned and army uniforms and uniforms of other governmental posts were renewed.
- Banks and industries were nationalised
- The government declared land social property, which allowed the peasants to snatch it away from the noblemen.
- The 85% agriculturist society of Russia went on strike, which considerably affected the silk and textile industries as well as the metal industry.
- The revolution played an important role in the upscaling of women in the society. Women who had earlier been restricted to household activities were now more openly involved in public meetings, strikes and rallies, questioning the almost ancestral gender divide. The rise of women saw the wake of many female rights as well, such as the right of females to own individual property and their right to a proper education, which further empowered the earlier oppressed gender.

#### **ECONOMIC EFFECTS**

• The economic crisis after the revolution was severe. On top of the strikes in factories and farmlands by peasants and workers, the government was being dealt a bad hand. On the other hand, increase =d government expenditure on the police and the army was necessary to suppress and keep the people of the empire in check so that they did not erode the existing powers of the Tsar. This expenditure, however, posed a threat and a burden to the treasury, which had the problem of worker agitation already burdening their shoulders. On top of that, the refusal to pay taxes to the full and in some cases not at all, and the excess land revenue caused a mighty problem for the Tsarist regime.

#### **ASSASSINATIONS**

- There were deemed to have been more than 10000 people assassinated at the order of the Tsar.
- The bulk of the people, although being common citizens, did not rule out the many military mutineers and statesmen who also had to put their foot through the Shambles Gate. Anyone who objected or even unknowingly displeased the Tsars was done for. The Tsar tried to mute society to retain solidarity and power.
- There were many military expeditions in places such as the Bahamas and Caucasus Islands, where people were executed. People were even hunted down.

#### MILITARY CHANGES

- The defeat in the Russo Japanese war changed the Tsar's attitude towards the military.
   The Russian army, formerly the strongest in the world, was set to carry out a comeback against the regression it had faced.
- The Tsar appointed a Military Commission of Inquiry to look into the key reasons for the war-front failure of the Russian army. The committee pinpointed the failure as the lack of training and discipline amongst troops, lack of accountability and very haphazard and constricted lines of communication within personnel.
- It resulted in the restriction of the age of personnel to under 50 years so that the military personnel would not be lacklustre and be able to effectively tackle challenges.
- The traditional Russian military belief in rifles and artillery was extinguished as the army reformed towards newer developed technology.
- Wireless telegraphy improved communication lines.
- Before the revolution the military was seen as a bastion of the Tsar, but now they were disillusioned and strengthened.

This, along with small other changes was what triggered the end and collapse of the seemingly impenetrable Tsarist Regime of Russia.

# The Duma: The Parliamentary System Explained - It's Flaws

The Duma was a legislative body established in Russia in 1905 as part of a series of political reforms aimed at increasing the rights and freedoms of the Russian people. It was modelled on parliamentary systems in other European countries, and its establishment was seen as a significant step towards the constitutional government in Russia.

The State Duma, or lower house, and the Council of the Empire, or upper house, were the two chambers that made up the Duma. The members of the Council of the Empire were chosen by the Tsar, whereas the State Duma was elected directly by the populace.

The Duma's main duties included passing laws and approving government spending plans. Members of the Duma were chosen to serve five-year terms, and they were required to participate in the legislative process and represent the interests of their voters.

As the first occasion when the Russian people had a formal involvement in the legislative process, the creation of the Duma was an important event in Russian history. Before the Duma was established, the Tsar had almost total power and had no real means of being held accountable to the people.

The problem of authority and power was one of the Duma's biggest problems. The Duma had little ability to shape policy or hold the government responsible while being a check on the power of the Tsar. The Tsar had the power to veto laws passed by the Duma and, at any time, he could dissolve the body and call fresh elections.

The Duma did contribute significantly to Russian politics in the early 20th century in spite of these difficulties. It offered a forum for political discussion and permitted the expression of a diverse variety of thoughts and viewpoints. Additionally, it opened the door for later political changes in Russia, such as the inauguration of a constitutional monarchy in 1906.

A proportional representation system, which allows legislative seats based on the percentage of votes each political party got in the election, is a common characteristic of parliamentary systems. The goal of this method is to guarantee that all opinions are heard during the legislative process and that minorities have a voice in politics.

Parliamentary systems offer numerous benefits, but they also have certain drawbacks. Political deadlock is one of the biggest problems that parliamentary systems must deal with. Passing

legislation or significantly altering government policy can frequently be challenging due to the legislative branch's considerable power.

The possibility of power abuse and corruption presents another difficulty. The executive branch is answerable to the legislature in a parliamentary system, but this accountability may be jeopardised if the ruling party wields excessive power or is not held to account by the opposition.

Russian history was significantly influenced by the Duma, and the parliamentary style of governance that it represented had numerous benefits. The difficulties the Duma faced, however, demonstrated how difficult it was to put in place effective checks and balances on the authority of the executive branch, and the election system's shortcomings revealed the limits of representative democracy in terms of guaranteeing that the opinions of all residents were heard.

One of the most significant figures associated with the Duma and the parliamentary system in Russia was Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin, who served from 1906 until his assassination in 1911. Stolypin was a strong advocate for political reform and worked to strengthen the power of the executive branch, intending to create a more stable and effective government.

Stolypin believed that the Duma had limited power and was too focused on political squabbles and personal interests. He argued that the executive branch needed more power to implement meaningful reforms and address the challenges facing Russia, including poverty, corruption, and social unrest.

One of Stolypin's most significant reforms was the establishment of a new electoral system that aimed to give more power to the middle and working classes. Under the new system, which was implemented in 1907, voters were divided into three categories based on their level of education and income. Each category was allocated a certain number of seats in the State Duma, to ensure that a diverse range of voices was represented in the legislative process.

Stolypin also worked to suppress dissent and opposition to his reforms, using a combination of force and propaganda to silence his critics. His policies, including the execution of thousands of political dissidents and the forced resettlement of millions of peasants, were controversial and deeply divisive.

Despite his efforts to strengthen the power of the executive branch and implement meaningful reforms, Stolypin's legacy is mixed. Some historians argue that his reforms were necessary to modernise Russia and bring it into line with other European nations. Others criticise his heavy-handed tactics and the way his policies were implemented, which they argue were brutal and ineffective.

The Duma was a significant development in Russia's history, representing a move towards constitutional government and giving the Russian people a formal role in the legislative process. However, the flaws of the Duma and the parliamentary system in Russia highlighted the challenges of implementing effective checks and balances on the power of the executive branch and ensuring that the voices of all citizens were heard. The reforms and policies of Pyotr Stolypin, who served as Prime Minister during the Duma's early years, played a significant role in shaping the parliamentary system in Russia and modernising the country but also sparked controversy and criticism due to his heavy-handed tactics and implementation of policies. Ultimately, the Duma and the parliamentary system in Russia were significant developments, but they also demonstrated the challenges of implementing a functioning representative democracy in a complex and rapidly changing political environment.

The flaws of the Duma and the challenges facing the parliamentary system in Russia were also indicative of the broader political and social issues that were present in Russia at the time. The country was facing a range of challenges, including widespread poverty, social unrest, and political dissent, all of which were exacerbated by the failures of the government to address these issues effectively. The Duma and the parliamentary system were supposed to address these problems by giving the Russian people a voice in the legislative process and holding the government accountable, but in practice, they were limited in their ability to do so.

One of the key challenges facing the Duma was the power of the executive branch, which was able to veto legislation and dissolve the Duma at will. This limited the ability of the legislative branch to hold the government accountable and effectively represent the interests of the Russian people. The electoral system was also flawed, with certain segments of society having more power than others, which meant that the Duma was not fully representative of the Russian population.

The Duma was also plagued by internal divisions and political infighting, with different parties and factions competing for power and influence. This led to a lack of coherence and consensus

in the legislative process, making it difficult for the Duma to pass meaningful legislation and address the pressing issues facing Russia.

Despite these challenges, the Duma and the parliamentary system in Russia were significant steps towards greater political representation and accountability, and their legacy can still be seen in Russia's political system today. While the Duma was dissolved following the 1917 revolution, the idea of parliamentary democracy has continued to play a role in Russian politics, and there have been attempts to establish a more representative and accountable system of government.

The Duma and the parliamentary system in Russia were significant developments in the country's history, representing a move towards constitutional government and giving the Russian people a formal role in the legislative process. However, their flaws and limitations also highlighted the challenges of implementing a functioning representative democracy in a complex political environment, and the legacy of the Duma continues to shape Russia's political system today.

# The Course of the February Revolution

The February Revolution of 1917 was the turning point in Russian history, marking the end of Tsarist rule and the beginning of a new era of political and social change. The revolution was a complex process, marked by strikes, protests, and riots that spread rapidly across the country, eventually leading to the downfall of the Tsarist regime.

The revolution began on February 23, 1917, with a demonstration of women textile workers in Petrograd. The workers were protesting against food shortages and rising prices, which were making it difficult for them to feed their families. The demonstration soon grew in size, and other workers soon joined in, demanding better working conditions, higher wages, and an end to the war.

The strikes and protests continued to grow in size and intensity over the following days, with workers and students joining the movement. The police and military were unable to contain the protests, and the government was forced to send in troops to restore order. However, the troops were sympathetic to the protestors, and many of them mutinied, refusing to fire on their fellow citizens.

As the protests grew in size and scope, the government became increasingly isolated and ineffective. The Tsar, Nicholas II, was incommunicado at his military headquarters, leaving the government in the hands of his ministers. The government attempted to respond to the protests by offering concessions, such as releasing political prisoners and promising to hold elections to a Constituent Assembly. However, these measures were seen as too little, too late; and the protests continued to spread.

On March 2, the government attempted to disperse a demonstration by workers from the Putilov factory, but the troops sent to quell the protest mutinied and joined the protestors. This marked a turning point in the revolution, as the government was no longer able to rely on the military to maintain order.

On March 3, the Duma, Russia's parliament, formed a provisional committee to take control of the government. The committee consisted of liberal politicians and intellectuals who were committed to establishing a democratic government in Russia. The provisional committee quickly gained the support of the military and the public, and on March 15, the Tsar was forced to abdicate, ending 300 years of Romanov rule.

The establishment of the provisional government marked a new phase in the revolution, as the country began the process of transitioning from an autocratic monarchy to a democratic republic. The provisional government faced many challenges, including managing the war effort, addressing the concerns of various social groups, and stabilising the economy.

The revolution continued to evolve over the following months, as different political parties and social movements emerged, each with its own vision for the future of Russia. The Bolshevik Party, led by Vladimir Lenin sought a socialist revolution and the establishment of a government that would represent the interests of workers and peasants.

The course of the February Revolution was marked by a series of events that were driven by a range of political, social, and economic factors. The revolution was sparked by the frustrations and grievances of workers and peasants, who were suffering under the weight of food shortages, rising prices, and poor working conditions. The protests quickly grew in size and intensity, with workers and students joining the movement, and the government becoming increasingly isolated and ineffective.

The course of the revolution highlighted a series of protests, strikes, and demonstrations that gradually intensified over time. The revolution was not a single event but a process that unfolded over several weeks. It involved the participation of various social groups and political forces and was characterised by a high degree of spontaneity and improvisation.

The revolution was marked by a remarkable level of popular participation and mobilisation. The people took to the streets, demanding an end to the war, an end to food shortages, and greater political freedom. The revolution was also characterised by a high degree of creativity and innovation. The people used various forms of expression, such as poetry, music, and art, to articulate their demands and aspirations.

The February Revolution of 1917 was a complex and multifaceted process that involved the participation of various social groups and political forces. The revolution began with a series of strikes and demonstrations in Petrograd, which eventually led to the overthrow of the Tsarist regime and the establishment of a provisional government.

# **Events leading to the February Revolution**

The February Revolution of 1917 was the result of a series of long-term and short-term factors. Long-term factors included the autocratic rule of the Tsarist regime, social and economic problems, and lack of political representation. Short-term factors included food and fuel shortages and the government's inability to address these issues. The revolution was sparked by a series of strikes and protests in Petrograd, which grew into a mass movement. The Petrograd garrison mutinied, and the government was unable to quell the uprising. The Tsar abdicated, and a provisional government was established. The revolution marked the end of the Tsarist autocracy and the beginning of a new era of political and social change in Russia.

On February 22, 1917, a group of women textile workers in Petrograd went on strike to protest against bread shortages and high food prices. This strike quickly spread to other factories and industries in the city, and soon thousands of workers joined in the protest.

The women's strike on February 22 marked the beginning of the February Revolution, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Tsarist regime in Russia. The strike galvanised other groups in Petrograd, including students, intellectuals, and soldiers, who all began to demand political reform and an end to the war. The protests and strikes continued to grow in size and intensity over the following days, with workers and citizens taking to the streets to demand better living conditions and greater political freedom. The Tsarist regime attempted to respond with force, but this only served to further inflame the situation. The strike on February 22 was significant because it showed that the Russian people were no longer willing to tolerate the injustices and inequalities of the Tsarist system. It also demonstrated the power of collective action, as the workers were able to bring about significant change through their actions. The strike also marked the beginning of a new era in Russian history, as the country was plunged into a period of political and social upheaval that would ultimately result in the establishment of a socialist state.

The strikes and protests that started on February 23, 1917, in Petrograd, began to grow rapidly in size and intensity, eventually leading to a mass movement that swept across the city and other parts of Russia.

The mass movement that preceded the February 1917 strike in Petrograd was a culmination of years of social, economic, and political unrest in Russia. The Russian people were facing severe hardships, including food shortages, rising prices, and a lack of political freedom. These

conditions had been exacerbated by the country's involvement in World War I, which had drained Russia's resources and led to high casualties among the Russian military.

The Russian people had long been dissatisfied with the Tsarist system, which was characterised by political repression, economic inequality, and widespread corruption. They had also been inspired by the revolutionary movements that had swept across Europe in the preceding decades, including the French Revolution and the socialist movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The mass movement that preceded the February 1917 strike was fueled by a sense of anger and frustration among the Russian people, who felt that their voices were not being heard by the government. The movement was made up of workers, students, intellectuals, soldiers, and other ordinary citizens, all of whom shared a desire for political reform and an end to the war. The movement began to gain momentum in early 1917, as more and more people became disillusioned with the government's handling of the war and its failure to address the country's social and economic problems. Workers began to organise themselves into trade unions and engage in strikes and protests, while students and intellectuals began to publish articles and pamphlets critiquing the government.

The movement reached a critical mass in Petrograd in February 1917, when a series of strikes and protests erupted in the city. The initial strike on February 23, led by women textile workers, was quickly joined by other groups in the city, including workers from other industries, students, and soldiers. As the protests and strikes continued to grow in size and intensity, the government attempted to respond with force, but this only served to further inflame the situation. The Petrograd garrison mutinied in support of the protesters, effectively depriving the government of its main means of maintaining control over the city.

The mass movement that preceded the February 1917 strike was significant because it showed the power of collective action in bringing about political change. The movement was made up of ordinary people who were united in their desire for a better future, and who were willing to risk their lives to achieve it. The movement ultimately led to the downfall of the Tsarist regime and the establishment of a provisional government, which marked a major turning point in Russian history.

# **Formation of the Provisional Government**

The February Revolution of 1917 saw the end of the Tsarist regime in Russia, with Tsar Nicholas II abdicating his throne after a series of strikes and protests in Petrograd. With the fall of the Tsar, power and authority in Russia was left in a state of flux. A Provisional Government was established, which faced the challenge of not only running the country in the aftermath of the revolution but also dealing with the deep-rooted issues that had led to it.

The Provisional Government was formed by a group of politicians, mostly from the liberal and conservative factions of the Duma (Russia's elected parliament), who saw themselves as the legitimate representatives of the Russian people. They were led by Prince Georgy Lvov, a wealthy landowner and member of the Constitutional Democratic Party, also known as the Kadets. The Provisional Government was initially meant to be a temporary solution, designed to manage the transition to a more democratic government. However, it faced a number of challenges from the outset.

One of the main issues the Provisional Government faced was the question of legitimacy. The Tsarist regime had been deeply unpopular, but the Provisional Government was not democratically elected, and its members were not representative of the working-class population that had played a crucial role in the revolution. This lack of legitimacy was compounded by the fact that the Provisional Government was dominated by elites who were seen as out of touch with the needs of ordinary Russians.

The Provisional Government's decision to continue Russia's involvement in World War I was also a major issue. Many Russians were tired of the war, which had drained the country's resources and caused immense suffering. The Provisional Government's commitment to the war, which it saw as necessary to maintain Russia's position as a great power, put it at odds with many of the revolutionary groups that had helped bring it to power.

The Provisional Government also faced a number of practical challenges in trying to run the country. It inherited a bureaucracy that was largely unresponsive to its needs, and it struggled to establish its authority over the vast Russian Empire. It was also facing a severe economic crisis, with shortages of food and fuel leading to widespread unrest.

Despite these challenges, the Provisional Government was able to implement a number of important reforms during its brief time in power. It granted amnesty to political prisoners, abolished the death penalty, and established freedom of the press and freedom of speech. It also

initiated measures to improve the living conditions of workers and peasants, including the introduction of an eight-hour workday and the right to form trade unions.

However, these reforms were not enough to satisfy the various revolutionary groups that were active in Russia at the time. The Provisional Government was criticised for being too slow to implement reforms, too beholden to the old elites, and too committed to the war effort. In particular, the Bolshevik Party, led by Vladimir Lenin, emerged as a powerful force that was dedicated to overthrowing the Provisional Government and establishing a socialist state.

Furthermore, the government's decision to continue the war effort was unpopular among both soldiers and civilians, and the lack of progress on the battlefield only added to the government's woes. In addition, the government's inability to address the food shortage crisis and its failure to provide relief to the poor further eroded its legitimacy.

The provisional government's downfall ultimately came from its failure to win the support of the people. The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, capitalised on this discontent and promised to bring about real change through their platform of radical socialism. The Bolsheviks garnered support from the working class, who saw them as the only party that truly represented their interests.

The formation of the Provisional Government after the February Revolution was a critical moment in Russia's history. It represented an attempt to manage the transition to a more democratic government, but it faced several challenges that ultimately proved insurmountable. The Provisional Government's lack of legitimacy, commitment to the war effort, and inability to satisfy the demands of the various revolutionary groups in Russia all contributed to its eventual downfall.

# **Challenges faced by the Provisional Government**

On March 3rd the Provisional Government had issued a manifesto containing eight principles by which it would function. The first four were the most significant:

- 1. An immediate and complete amnesty in all cases of a political and religious nature, including terrorist acts, military revolts and agrarian offences, etc.
- 2. Freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and the right to form unions and to strike and the extension of political freedom to persons serving in the armed forces limited only by the demands of military and technical circumstances.
- 3. The abolition of all restrictions based on class, religion, and nationality.
- 4. The immediate arrangements for the calling on the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage and secret ballot, which will determine the form of government and the constitution of the country.

As its name suggested, the Provisional Government was only intended to be a temporary regime. It was expected to oversee Russia's transition from tsarism to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly. Most expected elections for this Constituent Assembly would be organised and held within six months, certainly well before the end of 1917.

In the meanwhile, The Provisional Government attempted to rule as one might expect an elected government to rule. This was extremely difficult, for numerous reasons. While its members were drawn from the Duma, the Provisional Government itself had no mandate. It had not been elected or endorsed by the people. Russians were aware of its temporary nature, so the Provisional Government's laws and decrees – and particularly its war policies – were not always respected or taken seriously. As the year progressed, the Provisional Government found it more difficult to see its policies through to completion. By the summer of 1917, the government was largely impotent. It could formulate policies and directives but they were carried out partially or half-heartedly, if at all. One contemporary observer dubbed it the "Persuasive Government" since it frequently resorted to cajoling or convincing to get things done.

The Provisional Government issued a number of reforms after February:

- Abolishing the *Okhrana* (Department for Protecting the Public Security and Order)
- Removal of Tsarist Governors
- Allowing freedom of speech
- Abolishing the death penalty
- Release of political prisoners
- Giving an amnesty to opponents of the Tsar

Although many of these changes were popular, they also made it easier for enemies of the provisional government to criticise them. There was little the government could do to prevent it. These were positive aims but, as best demonstrated by the failure to call the Constituent Assembly and deal with land reform, their implementation was poorly handled and often ineffective. From the start, the Provisional Government had lacked both support and authority. Its attempts to pursue a moderate line were perhaps undermined by the lack of a substantial middle class in Russia, but it could have done more to gain support from the conservative elements or even from the moderate Left. Instead, it tended to alienate both groups and as a result, was left isolated. The decision to continue the war was perhaps a crucial factor, "sapping" the strength and diverting the energies of a government whose hold on power was tenuous in the first place.

A significant problem for the Provisional Government's weakness was the rise of *The Petrograd Soviet*. A reincarnation of the old St Petersburg Soviet of 1905, the Petrograd Soviet came together in the final days of the February Revolution. It began as a rowdy meeting of militant workers and soldiers. Within days, it had become a representative council containing delegates from almost every factory, workplace and military unit in the capital.

At its peak, the Petrograd Soviet boasted more than 3,000 members. While its meetings were loud and boisterous, the Soviet's political aims were initially moderate. Its executive council (*Ispolkom*) and daily newspaper (*Izvestia*) were dominated by Mensheviks and moderate Socialist-Revolutionaries but slowly and steadily, the Bolsheviks emerged as the controlling party.

In its first weeks, the Soviets harboured very little talk of overthrowing or replacing the Provisional Government. It was more divided on the question of war, however, with a sizable number of its delegates supporting Russia's immediate withdrawal.

One of the Petrograd Soviet's most telling acts was its passing of the famous *Order Number One*, issued two days before the abdication of the tsar.

#### It unequivocally stated:

- Committees were to be elected to replace officers and control weapons and equipment.
- Officers were not to be saluted.
- All soldiers and sailors were to obey the Soviet

This had an impact on the discipline of the army. Soldiers refused to obey orders and large numbers simply went home. This was particularly true of those from the countryside who wanted to take advantage of the disorder to seize land. The result was that there were very few troops who could be relied on to follow orders.

This order called on all military units to maintain discipline and readiness but to seek the approval of the Soviet before carrying out any orders issued by the State Duma. It was passed to prevent an armed counter-revolution, either from pro-tsarist generals or conservatives in the Duma.

Order Number One is often interpreted as an attempt to undermine the Provisional Government. This was not the case because the order was passed before the Provisional Government was formed. What the order clearly demonstrated, however, was the Soviet's willingness to ignore or countermand orders given by civilian authorities, if those orders conflicted with the interests of workers and soldiers.

This set the scene for what became known as the 'Dual Power' or 'Dual Authority': an eightmonth period in 1917 when political control was divided between the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet. As Kerensky later put it, the Soviets possessed "power without authority" while the Provisional Government had "authority without power".

The First World War was the most pressing issue which revealed the flaws of the Provisional Government, who took the unpopular decision to continue the campaign against Germany, in the hope that they could turn the tide against the Germans and gain land. They also felt that by honouring the alliance with France and Britain Russia would get important financial support. Kerensky launched a major offensive against the Germans in June but the Russians made no headway and morale started to collapse. Desertions reached worrying levels with over two million soldiers returning home in 1917. This decision to continue the war severely weakened the capacity of the Provisional Government to consolidate its position and deal with the other problems it faced. It also showed just how out of touch the government was with the concerns

of those suffering the hardships of war: rank-and-file soldiers, the industrial workers and the peasantry.

In mid-April 1917, the Provisional Government's first foreign minister, Pavel Milyukov, penned a note to the Allies, informing them that Russia was committed to the war effort and would remain in the war until its conclusion.

Milyukov's telegram was leaked to radical socialists and then the press. Its publication triggered large public demonstrations in Petrograd.

Kerensky had learned no lessons from the April unrest or the fate of his predecessors, however. Two months after his appointment as war minister, he ordered an ambitious new offensive against the Austro-Hungarians in Galicia.

Kerensky toured the frontline, worked closely with military commanders and gave rousing speeches – but these ploys had little effect. The Russian army was fatigued by three years of war, still poorly led and under-resourced and pushed to the brink of mutiny by anti-war propaganda.

The July Offensive in Galicia was a costly defeat, resulting in 400,000 casualties. Kerensky's only response was to sack his commander-in-chief, Brusilov, and replace him with General Lavr Kornilov – a move that would soon have consequences for Kerensky's government.

There was also the rising demand for land. The Government wanted to leave the discussion of this issue until after the elections. This caused the peasants to become unhappy with the authorities. It also ignored reality. After February 1917 the peasant had simply taken the land. The land seizures also encouraged many peasants to desert from the army. They were afraid they would miss out. There were continued shortages of food in the cities throughout 1917. Food riots were common as the price of food rose much faster than wages.

The failure to tackle the major problems meant that the Provisional Government lost support. The Kornilov revolt meant it was relying on its enemies, the Red Guards, to defend it. By the autumn of 1917, few people were prepared to fight to defend the Provisional Government.

# **Timeline**

## January 1

Russian troops tenaciously defend Riga against a German offensive (Northern front), while on the Romanian (Central) front troops retreat after a fresh defeat. The Caucasian (Southern) front is relatively quiet. Morale in the army is extremely low: the vast majority of soldiers do not believe in the goals of annexing more territory for Russia. 1.5 million Soldiers deserted the army in 1916. Many soldiers' families are starving (50% of the nation's farmers are fighting in the war), and are being kicked off their land by kulaks.

Meanwhile, ethnic minorities continue to suffer severe repression. The Tsar orders the wide-scale firing of all Jews in government, while crippled Jewish soldiers are sent to Siberia.

# January 9

The Bolsheviks, whose membership has been steadily increasing to 24,000 people, help organise demonstrations in rememberance of Bloody Sunday. All the main Bolshevik leaders are in prison or exile, so the vast majority of current party decisions are made from the bottom up. 30,000 Moscow workers strike in demonstration, while 145,000 workers strike in Petrograd. Baku, Nizhni Novgorod, Novocherkassk, Voronezh, Kharkov, Rostov-on-Don, the Donbass area, and other cities also conduct a one day strike.

## January 26

The Workers' Group, a part of the War Industries Committee, has its members arrested by the secret police after appealing for a new Provisional Government.

# January 31

Petrograd is starving. The city stockpile for flour will last only 10 more days. Meat supplies are completely depleted. Massive queues for food form, despite excruciatingly cold temperatures. Crowds of women sporadically break into stores.

# February 10

The Councillor of State Mikhail Rodzianko meets with Tsar Nicholas II in Tsarskoye Selo, and warns him of massive upheavel throughout the country. Rodzianko insists that tumultuous events can be avoided by stregthening the Duma. Nicholas II ignores this advice.

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks call a strike in Petrograd to protest the 1915 arrest of their Duma members for opposing the war.

# February 14

The strike called by the Bolsheviks continues, while a Menshevik called strike begins to show support for the Duma at Taurida Palace (as opposed to the Tsar), which opens a new session. 90,000 workers are on strike, from 58 different factories. Police attempt to arrest demostrators, but they fight the police back. No workers march on Taurida Palace, as the Mensheviks had hoped. The Bolshevik Petrograd Committee calls on workers to overthrow the Tsar.

# February 22

The Tsar leaves for the General Headquarters in Mogilev. Meanwhile, the bosses of the Putilov Plant lock-out striking workers.

# February 23

The February Revolution begins, ignited by International Women's Day. Militant women textile workers, many of whom are soldiers' wives, inititate a massive strike in Petrograd, despite the protests of their own union leadership. 128,000 workers take to the streets, and among their chief demands is an end to the World War and an increase in food. Bourgeois history recounts this organized movement as "Bread riots".

# February 24

The strike doubles in size to around 200,000 workers. Nearly half of all industrial workers in Petrograd are on strike. The new demands of the strike shift heavily towards overthrowing the autocracy and putting and end to the war. Striking workers fraternize with soldiers and cossacks, while bitterly hating the police.

## February 25

Vyborg (Bolshevik) workers break into police stations and cut the telephones to Government offices. Armed clashes with the police occur, with many killed and wounded. Meanwhile, Empress Alexandra writes to Nicholas II: "This is a hooligan campaign, with boys and girls running about shouting that they have no bread... all this will surely pass." General Khabalov (Commander of the Petrograd District), acting under the Tsar's orders, threatens that he will use any means necessary to ban all demonstrations.

# February 26

Early Sunday morning, the police launch wide scale arrests of over 100 leaders of revolutionary organisations, including the Bolsheviks. General Khabalov's soldiers, acting under the Tsar's orders, open fire on striking workers. 169 workers are killed, and over 1,000 people are injured. By 4 pm, the 4th company of the Pavlovsky Regiment, outraged that part of their regiment fired on workers, rushes into the street to subdue them. On the way, police try to stop the company, and a fire fight ensues. General Khabalov orders the company to disarm; some soldiers refuse and join the protestors. Bolshevik workers in the Vyborg district plan to push events into an armed uprising.

# February 27

Bolshevik agitators visit with soldiers of the Volynsky Regiment with the intention of merely starting a good relationship. Before noon, the soldiers decide to kill the commander of the company that fired on demostrators the previous day. The soldiers arm themselves, and spread the agitation throughout their entire Regiment. By afternoon, the Litovsky and Preobrazhensky Regiments join this new army, and they storm the Main Arsenal, liberating 40,000 rifles. Fully armed, they move on to liberate political prisoners frm Kresty jail.

By nightfall, 66,000 men of the Petrograd garrison — a day ago ordered to fire on striking workers — have now joined the striking workers, fully armed! The Bolsheviks continue agitating for the creation of a new government, and the elected delegates (workers, peasants and soldiers) of the Petrograd Soviet arrive at Taurida Palace, creating the Executive Committee. While the Bolshevik rank and file had been incredibly successful at creating a revolutionary movement, they were unable to get good results in elections to the Soviet. The Mensheviks and SRs, who promise everything under the sun, fair much better. Both parties believe the current revolution needs to be capitalist, before the nation can move into Socialism in the unforseen future (a political theory called stagism). The Menshevik N.S. Chkheidze becomes leader of the Soviet.

Meanwhile, the wheels of the old order keep turning. Rodzianko asks the Duma to convene to resolve on a course of action. The group creates a Provisional Committee, which urgently asks the Tsar to save himself by sharing power with a Prime Minister. The Tsar refuses.

# February 28

The revolutionary masses seize the city of Moscow. The Tsar's Ministers are arrested. The Provisional Committee assumes control of the Army, while the Kronstadt sailors mutiny

against their officers. The first issue of Izvestia is published; a newspaper of the Petrograd Soviet.

### March 1

The first Joint Plenum of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies issues Soviet Order No. 1: all soldiers' units will elect Soldiers' Committees. The decree stipulates that soldiers will now accept orders from the Soldiers' Soviet and their locally elected committees. The Soviet also forbids its members from joining the soon to form government, but recognizes the authority of the Duma.

### March 2

The Soviet and Duma continue discussions on the formation of a new government. At the Soviet Plenum, the Bolsheviks criticize the lack of focus on questions of land, peace, and the 8 hour day. On the request of the Provisional Committee, Nicholas II abdicates power to his brother Mikhail, who refuses power. Thus ends their hopes to keep the monarchy alive, side by side to the new Provisional Government. Workers, soldiers, and young people take to the streets, tearing down statues of the Tsar, and set alight the Imperial emblems. Loyalist police ambush and shoot the revelers, but armed Soviet soldiers hunt the police down and arrest them. Whenever a cop is uncovered in the middle of a crowd, however, their fate is more severe.

## March 3

The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet orders the arrest of Nicholas II.

## March 5

The first issue of Pravda is published, since being closed down as a result of its peaceful stance on the World War.

## March 6

The Provisional Government declares a general amnesty for all political prisoners.

## March 8

The Petrograd Soviet creates the Contact Commission as an organ of communication with the Provisional Government. Meanwhile, the Provisional Government refuses to allow Finland the indepedence it demands.

## March 9

The USA is the first government in the world to formally recognize the new Provisional Government. Two days later, France, England, and Italy would follow suit, after recieving assurance the government would continue to wage war.

### March 12

Stalin arrives in Petrograd after being released from prison. Three days later, he is appointed to the editorial board of Pravda. Also on the 12th, the Provisonal government repeals the death penalty.

#### March 14

The Petrograd Soviet addresses "the people of the whole world" declaring an earnest desire for peace, an end to World War I, without annexations or indemnities.

#### March 17

Poland appeals for independence. The Provisonal Government refuses.

# March 18

Stalin becomes a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

### March 19

The Provisional Government refuses to pass an agrarian act for the desperate food crisis in the nation, and the wide-scale disenfranchisement of the peasantry. Instead, the Government condemns looters and forced seizures of the land.

## March 20

The Provisional Government abolishes all religious and ethnic restrictions formerly imposed by the Monarchy. Non-Russian languages are now allowed at private educational institutions and record keeping.

#### March 21-22

Lenin's Letters from Afar, are published, though highly abridged.

#### March 27

Trotsky leaves exile in New York to return to Russia. Meanwhile, the Provisional Government declares that its purpose in continuing the war is solely for the defense of Russia. This serves as a compromise position with the Petrograd Soviet, which accepts this new formulation.

#### March 31

Plekhanov arrives in Petrograd, after nearly 40 years in exile. Plekhanov is a different man from when he left, now supporting the War for territory, and the advance of capitalism in Russia.

# April 3

Lenin, Zinoviev, and other Bolsheviks arrive in Petrograd from exile in Switzerland. They are met at the train station by a large contigent of jubilent workers, soldiers, and party members.

# April 4

Lenin delivers his April Thesis. The Bolsheviks soon produce an educational pamphlet for workers on Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat. Meanwhile, the steamer Trotsky is traveling on is stopped for inspection by the British Navy in Canada, and despite the General Amnesty and having his visa in order, he is thrown into a British prison, along with several other Socialists for their opposition to the War.

## April 12

The Provisional Government passes a law allowing the freedom of meetings and unions.

## April 18

Massive May Day celebrations occur in Russia. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Miliukov secretly promises the Allies that Russia will continue the war until complete victory and the annexation of new territory is achieved.

# April 20

Miliukov's secret note is leaked, prompting armed demonstrations of furious soldiers in the streets for two days. The Bolsheviks resolve that the resignation of Miliukov is not enough; a new Soviet government must be formed, and give party members new instructions.

## May 1

The Petrograd Soviet votes in favor of forming a new, Coalition Government, despite Bolshevik condemnation and in contradiction to the March 1 decision of the Soviet. Weeks earlier, Lenin warned about the dangers of this new Dual Power. Miliukov's resignation comes on the following day.

# May 4

Trotsky arrives in Russia after being released from prison by the British Government.

# May 10

The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies resolves that only discharged and wounded soldiers can perform as militiamen. Lenin explains his critique.

# **May 17**

The Kronstadt Soviet declares itself the sole governing power of Kronstadt.

# May 31

Minister of War Guchkov, a member of the Cadet party, resigns after street demonstrations against him. Kerensky replaces him.

#### June 3

The First All-Russian Congress of Soviets begins in Petrograd. The Congress almost unanimously agrees to end World War I, though only through tremendous consternation agrees to support the Provisional Government, despite Bolshevik protests. Tensions flare between the parties, with the Mensheviks insisting that the Bolsheviks must be disarmed, despite not having weapons, which would in practice mean disarming the Soldiers' Soviets. The Thermidor of the February Revolution is beginning to boil. The Bolsheviks insist that all power must go to the Soviets.

## June 5

The Parliament in Finland (a territory of Russia) declare Finland a sovreign state, except on questions of foreign policy and war. The Provisional Government sends troops to crush the Parliament, which soon wavers, and votes in favor of their own dissolution.

#### June 10

The Central Rada (formed in Kiev on March 4) proclaim the independence of the Ukraine. The ongoing Congress of Soviets unanimously supports this declaration of independence.

Meanwhile, the demonstration the Bolsheviks planned to hold against the Government is banned. The Mensheviks then go factory to factory, telling workers not to stage a demonstration, who in turn berate the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks see a massive conspiracy -- "The masses are thick with Bolsheviks" -- and secretly ask the Cossacks to help them crush the Bolsheviks, to which the Cossack ataman replies: "We, Cossacks, will never go against the Soviet." Whole regiments accept the ban on the demonstration solely on the basis of Bolshevik acceptance, whose party policy wholly accepts any and all decisions of the Soviet.

#### June 11

The Mensheviks continue their assault on the Bolsheviks, agitating that they be arrested, and claim the party is controlled by Germany. After days of debate, the Mensheviks drop their demand to disarm the workers. Further, realizing their support would vaporize following the dispersal of the June 10 protests, the Mensheviks put forward a motion to hold demonstrations on the 18th, and the Soviet passes the motion.

#### June 18

Kerensky launches a fresh offensive on the Eastern Front, despite incredibly low moral, poor supplies and logistics, and in the abscence of sound strategic thinking. German counter-attacks bring devastating loses: 150,000 Russians are killed, with nearly 250,000 wounded. The propeace Bolsheviks show their massive support with an enormous demonstration against the war of 400,000 workers and soldiers in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, and other cities, nearly all protestors carrying banners echoing the Bolshevik line.

Meanwhile, under the cover of the demonstrations, the Anarchists attack several prisons, "liberating" 460 criminals. The Provisional Government turns this into propaganda, claiming the Bolsheviks helped. Many of the Petrograd Anarchists are arrested.

# June 21

After the demonstration of the 18th, workers at the Putilov factory go on strike. The Bolsheviks, together with workers from 70 other factories, meet with the Putilov workers, sympathize with their grievances, but call for restraint. Workers are starving. Soldiers demand to be sent home to plough the fields: the 1st Machine Gun Regiment declares that "detachments shall be sent to

the front only when the war has a revolutionary character." Entire divisions of soldiers are arrested for disobedience. Soldiers are constantly demanding that Bolsheviks immediately overthrow the government, but the Bolsheviks need the support of the entire Soviet. Lenin understands that the present calamities will lead to a change in the Soviet, which will then enable a real, democratic, Soviet revolution.

#### June 23

The Kronstadt Anarchists demand the liberation of Petrograd anarchists, lest they liberate them by force.

#### June 24

Izvestia reports plans by the Provisional Government to close a series of factories in Petrograd, potentially leaving thousands jobless. Meanwhile, the Oranienbaum garrisons inform the government that they support Kronstadt.

#### June 26

The Grenadier Guard Regiment returns from the front and joins the Kronstadt Anarchists.

# July 1

The 2nd Machine Gun Regiment demands: All power to the Soviets!, while the 3rd Infantry Regiment refuses to send 14 replacement companies to the front. Meanwhile, the 1st Machine Gun Regiment marches from Oranienbaum to Petrograd. The Soviet Executive Committee, now sharing power within the Provisional Government, tells them to go home, but the soldiers refuse. The Bolsheviks organise for the machine-gunners to have food and quarters. According to the historian/observer Sukhanov, in these days Petrograd "felt itself to be upon the verge of some sort of explosion."

## July 3

July Days. After receiving an order to go to the front, thousands of machine-gunners hold a meeting about an armed insurrection. The Bolsheviks try to cool things off, while the Anarchists stoke the fire. The soldiers decide to march, fully armed, and send delegates from one factory after another, with workers dropping everything to join the march. Tens of thousands go marching, demanding All power to the Soviets!

The Bolsheviks change tactics. No longer trying to restrain the masses, they agree to support them, so long as they peacefully march to the seat of government, elect delegates, and present their demands to the Executive Committee of the Soviets. The masses agree.

Meanwhile, the Government spends the entire day calling on troops from across the country to come in defence of the capital. The Mensheviks and SRs decry the Bolsheviks for the insurrection, claiming they are threatening the Soviets. The leadership of the Petrograd Soviet changes its composition and becomes a Bolshevik majority. Further strengthening the Bolshevik majority, the Mensheviks and SRs refuse to co-operate and walk out, having lost their majority power. They remain in control of the Soviet Executive Committee, and thus the ravine deepens futher between local Soviets and the Soviet Executive Committee.

## July 4

At 3am, 80,000 workers and soldiers reach the Tauride Palace. Junkers meet the demonstrators, and tear up placards. A shot is fired, but disaster is averted. The Bolsheviks spend the early hours of morning figuring out how to organize the demonstrators.

By 11 am the demonstrators assemble yet again. Now, entire Regiments arrive, but they are no longer at the front of the demonstrations: the workers have taken the lead by shear mass of numbers. Even in factories where Mensheviks and SRs hold influence, four out of five workers join the demonstrations. The nation witnesses a massive General Strike. Lenin speaks to the demonstrators, encouraging their slogan of All power to the Soviets!

Over 500,000 people attend the demonstrations in Petrograd. The first of the soldiers from the front arrive ready to support the Provisional Government, and frightened that a revolution is imminent, are ordered to launch ambushes against the masses. 400 people are killed and wounded. The Mensheviks, hands covered in blood, eventually "convince" the demonstrators to go home.

## July 5

At 6am, the Government begins the offensive. The offices and printing machinery of Pravda are destroyed. Workers distributing the paper are murdered in the streets. Ironically, the last documents to come from the press are the continued Bolshevik position of stopping the demonstration. Government agents then ransack the Kshesinskaya Palace, headquarters of the Bolshevik Central Committee and Petrograd Committee. Union and Soviet workers are arrested in mass from factories and meeting halls in retaliation for their leadership of the

demonstrations. Wide-scale fear and intimidation grips the city as the police presence intensifies to an almost martial law status; the mere mention of Lenin or the Bolsheviks is cause for arrest.

## July 6

Around 120 Kronstadt sailors refuse to give in, and retreat to the Peter and Paul fortress. Red Guards (a militia of regular factory workers) accompany the sailors, following their pledge to protect them. The Government forces setup a barricade and begin a seige. Stalin mediates and reaches an agreement with both sides: the Kronstadters will disarm, in return for getting free passage back to Kronstadt.

The General Strike comes to an end, and workers return to their jobs, fearful of arrest. The Government induced terror becomes near hysteria, and countless numbers are arrested as spies. All troops called in from the front arrive in Petrograd, in a massive show of force.

## July 7

The Provisional Government orders the arrest of Lenin, claiming he is a German spy, and that the Bolsheviks incited the uprising. The Provision Government further orders the disbandment of the Petrograd garrison.

## July 8

Kerensky becomes head of the government, after Lvov resigns. The Provisional Government attempts to improve public relations, and announces that it will hold elections to the Constituent Assembly on September 17, work on legislation for the 8 hour day, create better labor safety, and carry out land reform. None of these promises would be kept.

## July 11

Lenin goes into hiding.

## July 12

The Provisional Government re-introduces a law allowing drumhead trials at the front (summary executions for retreating, etc). Furthermore, all radical political ideals are censored, and many newspapers are shut down. On the 19th, Lenin responds that a worker's government will "close down the bourgeoisie's newspapers".

# July 18

General L.G. Kornilov becomes the Supreme Commander in Chief of the Russian Armed Forces.

# July 24

The Second Coalition Government is formed; Kerensky appoints himself President. The Mensheviks, Cadets, and SRs join the government.

# July 26 - August 3

Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(b) occurs, representing 240,000 party members. Since Lenin is in hiding, Stalin delivers the report on the work of the Central Committee. The Congress resolves that a peaceful revolution has become impossible. Further, the Party decides on the principle of democratic centralism.

# August

Since March, 568 enterprises, laying off more than 104,000 workers, have closed down. Prices on average have risen by 248% compared to 1913 prices, though urban centers are hit the hardest; in Moscow prices inflated by 836%. Meanwhile, real wages fell by 57.4% since 1913. Bread rations are severe; in Moscow the ration allows 2 pounds of bread per person, for an entire week. In this month, there are 440 cases where peasants and soldiers seize the land of big estate holders. The Provisional Government can barely keep up with the amount of work required to supress the countless uprisings.

## August 3

Stalin is elected to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks.

# **August 12-15**

The Provisional Government holds a State Conference in Moscow. Workers Soviets overwhelming vote for a general strike in opposition to the Conference, but the Petrograd Soviet votes 364 to 304 to not strike. The Workers partly accept this, and instead strike for a single day: 400,000 workers walk out. As a result of the backwardness of the Petrograd Soviet, a vote is taken to hold new elections, and receives support in the form of 175 votes to 4.

# August 14

The division in the State Conference becomes palpable when General Kornilov arrives. Kerensky patriotically asserts his authority, to which Miliukov explains: "In reality, he invokes only a feeling of pity". Kornilov speaks with heavy defeatism, with attentive Allied diplomats in the audience, and explains that the Germans can easily win Riga, and if he is not allowed a full military dictatorship, Petrograd is sure to fall. Rhetoric vehemently crosses the aisles, threats abound, open fighting nearly breaks out. The government is starkly divided between Social Democracy and Military Dictatorship. Amazingly, world renown Anarchist Peter Kropotkin shows his support for the defense of Russia through a dictatorship, explaining that: "We need a federation such as they have in the United States."

# August 18

The Petrograd Soviet, despite the objection of Menshevik president Cheidze, holds a vote on the abolition of the death penalty. The vote resolves: 900 to 4 to abolish the death penalty. Only the top leaders of the Menshevik party — Tseretelli, Cheidze, Dan, Lieber — vote against. On the 22nd, the Provisional Government agrees to abide by the Soviet decision, fearful of retribution otherwise.

# August 19

Kornilov demands that Kerensky allow him to reassign his army to Petrograd. Kerensky refuses.

# **August 21 (Freeze Date)**

The Germans, just as Kornilov promised, occupy Riga. No defense of Riga is attempted by the Russian army, who simply retreats, allowing the Germans to occupy this "nest of Bolshevism". According to reporter John Reed, many of the officers and bourgeoisie prefer a defeat to Germany than soldiers committee's and Bolshevism. Kerensky, seeing his position is weak, makes trips to the front, where he vaguely promises several General's that sometime soon he will create a "directory" which will assume military control. Meanwhile, Kornilov summons 4,000 of his most loyal officers (4 from each regiment), and shares his vision to hang every last Bolshevik and Soviet member. Kornilov had agreed with Kerensky's plan of a military dictatorship, with just one exception: leave out Kerensky.

# **Start of Committee**

Kerensky is aware of the existential threat that Kornilov and his troops poses to the Provisional Government. Unfortunately, Kerensky has no ally on which he could depend on to effectively deal with this threat. Therefore, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, Kerensky writes a letter to Lenin, requesting him and the Bolsheviks to come to his rescue with the troops they possess (Red Guards, Military Revolutionary Committee, etc.) – the incentive being – Kerensky and the Provisional Government will adequately arm the Bolshevik troops. Kerensky however has one condition – the entire process to take place through the Ispolkom: The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Lenin has agreed to this condition and he has invited Kerensky to a meeting of the Ispolkom. In committee, Kerensky will be part of the EB and will negotiate terms with the committee as they formulate the particulars of this potential partnership and its future. Will the Bolshevik troops help Kerensky fight off Kornilov? It is for you to decide.

# **Ispolkom: The Executive Committee of the Petrogad Soviet**

Following a brief and chaotic period of fairly democratic procedures, a mixed body of socialist intellectuals known as the *Ispolkom* secured the right to "represent" the soviets. The democratic credentials of the soviets were highly imperfect to begin with: peasants - the overwhelming majority of the Russian population - had virtually no say, and soldiers were grossly overrepresented. The Ispolkom's assumption of power turned this highly imperfect democracy into an intellectuals' oligarchy. The Ispolkom was not representative of the workers and soldiers, for its members were not elected by the Soviet but, as in 1905, nominated by the socialist parties. Members of the Ispolkom represented not workers and soldiers but their respective party organisations, and could be replaced at any time by others of these parties. In short, Rather than serving as the executive organ of the Soviet, therefore, the Ispolkom was a coordinating body of socialist parties, superimposed on the Soviet and speaking in its name"

# Parties present in the Ispolkom

- The *Socialist-Revolutionary* party was a Russian revolutionary party formed in 1902. They were, for many years, Russia's largest political party. The SRs were socialists but not Marxists. They drew on the *Narodniki* or populist revolutionary traditions, embracing Russia's peasants as the obvious source of revolution and, where necessary, using violence and terrorism. As its name suggests, the party was explicitly revolutionary. It called for the removal of the tsarist government or, at the very least, radical reforms. The agenda of the Socialist-Revolutionaries lacked the complicated political philosophy of Marxism, nor was it particularly interested in world revolution. Instead, the SRs platform was chiefly concerned with Russia and its people, particularly the peasantry. The party came to develop its own policy of land reform often referred to as 'agrarian socialism'. In summary, the SRs called for 'land socialisation' the confiscation of large landholdings, especially those of Russia's royals and nobility, and the equitable redistribution of this land to the ordinary people. This focus on land reform, along with their simpler philosophy and clearer objectives, allowed the SRs to become the most popular political party in Russia.
- The *Bolsheviks* were a revolutionary party that began as a radical faction of the Social Democrats or SDs, a Russian Marxist party. The Bolsheviks formed in 1903 after a split from the Menshevik faction over issues of party membership and organisation. Led by Vladimir Lenin and employing his theories of revolution, the Bolsheviks continued to insist upon a highly centralised, disciplined, professional party. The core point of their ideology was the idea that after the revolution, a vanguard party should control the government as a dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the vanguard party the society is to develop and eventually transition to true communism.
- The *Menshevik* Party was a Russian revolutionary party that followed the theories of Karl Marx. Like the Bolsheviks, they began as part of the Social Democratic Labour Party. The Mensheviks formed after the party split in 1903 over issues of membership and organisation. While the more radical Bolsheviks agitated for socialist revolution, the Mensheviks followed a more patient and moderate course. They allowed membership for individuals who were not full-time revolutionaries. As a consequence, the Mensheviks became a much larger party than the Bolsheviks, despite their fame. In their view, a Marxist party should help sow the seedbed for socialist revolution but

- not actively instigate a socialist revolution. Any socialist revolution had to come from the workers themselves, not the party.
- The *Constitutional Democrats* (*Kadets*) wanted political reform along liberal-democratic rather than socialist lines. They included liberal-minded nobles, landlords, academics, business owners and white-collar professionals like doctors, lawyers and shopkeepers. Most Kadets favoured the development of a British-style political system, with the tsar as head of state but his political authority constrained by a constitution and an elected constituent assembly.

The Kadets also pushed for the introduction of Western-style civil rights and liberties: equality before the law, universal suffrage for men and women, an end to hereditary noble titles, free and universal state education, official recognition of trade unions and legislation protecting the right to strike. They also objected to state censorship of the press.

- Octobrists were more liberal than hardline tsarists but more conservative than the
  Kadets. The Octobrists took their name from the October Manifesto, a document they
  enthusiastically endorsed as the solution to Russia's problems. They favoured a limited
  constitutional monarchy, with the tsar retaining authority over the appointment of
  ministers and the passing of legislation. They accepted the need for reform but believed
  it should be decided and managed by the tsarist government.
- The *Popular Socialist* party was founded in 1906, by a number of dissidents from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. They objected to the adoption of political terrorism and wanted to 'nationalise' the land, rather than 'socialise' it.
- The *Union of Socialists-Revolutionaries Maximalists* was a radical wing expelled from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party in 1906. The Union united agrarian terrorists, the 'Moscow Opposition' and other radical dissidents into an independent party.
- The Progressive Party also sometimes known as the Progressists was a group of moderate Russian liberals organised in 1912.

• The *Anarchists* believed that society should have no government, laws, police, or other authority, but should be a free association of all its members. Their ideology can be summarised by the following excerpt; "The Revolutionist is a doomed man. He has no private interests, no affairs, sentiments, ties, property nor even a name of his own. His entire being is devoured by one purpose, one thought, one passion - the revolution. Heart and soul, not merely by word but by deed, he has severed every link with the social order and with the entire civilised world; with the laws, good manners, conventions, and morality of that world. He is its merciless enemy and continues to inhabit it with only one purpose - to destroy it."

# **Committee Procedure**

For the entire committee procedure, please refer to the conference handbook available at the JacoMUN website. However, the Ispolkom, being a specialized agency, would follow a slightly different procedure. Including all usual forms of debate, the Ispolkom has two special forms of debate, as well as one way in which delegates of the committee can officially work with one another under various circumstances.

The 2 special forms of debate are-

# 1. Special Speakers' List:

The Special Speakers List is almost like the General Speakers List, except that it must be motioned for. This list is opened for a specific time period to discuss a particular topic within the topic area. While motioning to open it, the purpose and time limit must be specified. Speakers may only discuss the issue that the Special Speakers List was opened to discuss. After a delegate finishes his/her speech, he has the option of yielding his/her time. If a delegate chooses not to yield, two thirty second comments pertaining to that speech may be made. Delegates are suggested to move a motion for a Special Speakers' List in the case of a crisis being handed to them.

# 2. Open Floor:

An open floor is an unconventional form of debate that can be motioned for. An open floor has a total time but not a per speaker time. Delegates who wish to speak may raise their placards. It is completely upon the Executive Board's discretion to recognise a delegate during the open floor. When recognised, the delegate has a maximum of 30 seconds to speak. However the Executive Board may interrupt him/her and move on to another speaker before the delegate's 30 seconds are exhausted. The speeches in an open floor debate are continuous and there are no pauses between two speeches. It is a very intense and disruptive form of debate.

# **Backdoor Negotiations:**

Backdoor negotiations are a medium through which delegates can negotiate with portfolios or people not present in the committee. These background negotiations will always take place in the presence of an executive board member, other delegates in committee will not be aware of another delegate's background negotiations, however developments due to these negotiations might result in revealing that the certain delegate had backdoor dealings with the said portfolio

| allow a delegate to have backdoor dealings with said portfolio or person. |  |  |  |  |  |
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# **Paperwork**

The Ispolkom being a specialized committee will not follow usual conventional paperwork. Delegates must note that the only form of paperwork that will be entertained in committee are communiques, action orders, working papers and directives. As this will be a specialized agency, communiques will play a vital role in committee.

Please note that this committee will not have a position paper.

# **Communiques:**

In a specialized committee like the Ispolkom, communiques are by far the most powerful tool that any delegate possesses. These are pieces of communication with which delegates can contact any person in the world outside the committee room in order to issue executive orders. Any action that a delegate plans to take, controversial or otherwise must be taken through communiques. This is the best place for a delegate to show their strategic creativity. However, a communique must at all times be realistic and humanly possible to carry out.

If for achieving a particular goal, many independent actions are required then delegates may also use what is known as a communique arc, which will consist of multiple communiques to achieve a common goal or to carry out an elaborate scheme. There are 2 forms of communiques- public and private.

## Private Communiques:

In most committees, this is the most widely used communiqué and it is the ideal tool for carrying out any action effectively. These prove to be useful for carrying out clandestine operations or any order that may be too controversial to execute openly. Delegates can use these as and when they deem it necessary, and closed communiqués can even help deal with handling crisis updates announced in committee. However, it must also be understood that action orders issued via closed communiqués may be implemented as a crisis update in committee as per the Executive Board's discretion, which may involve revealing its author.

## Public Communiques:

These are the communiqués which identify you to be behind the action carried out. These are used when the delegate does not wish to further a personal agenda, but rather when they wish

to take certain unilateral and decisive action on behalf of their country, that they would like the other delegates to be aware of.

# Sample Private Communique:

# Private Communique 2.0

**TO** – Colonel Armen Vagharshak Abazyan, Head of the National Security Services.

**FROM** – The Delegate of the Republic of Armenia.

The object of this piece of communication is to infiltrate into the Azerbaijani military and extract vital information about its tactics, its position in the war and its plans and strategies.

You must appoint two agents (Codename -P & Q) who will execute this mission. The men must have the following qualifications: -

- 1 The men must know Arabic, Urdu and Azerbaijani fluently and must be in a disguise.
- 2 They must have detailed knowledge about the war.
- 3 They must be very well acquainted with the demands of the Azerbaijani military and the government.
- 4 He must be very good at coding and must be able to hack into high security computers and highly encrypted communication lines to retrieve information. He also must have a fake paper which proves his capabilities, written in Azerbaijani.
- 5 They must have at least five years of experience in the field.

They must introduce themselves as Ali Safavi and Huseyn Bakikhanov. They must have yaşasın azerbaycan (long live Azerbaijan) tattooed on their arms in bold letters. They must not carry anything except for clothes, two banners, two flags and the certificate proving their capabilities. NOTHING, except for clothes must be on their bodies.

They will travel to Azerbaijan through Georgia as the borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan are closed. They will travel by road, in a car from Ayrum, a town situated close to the border between Armenia and Georgia. They must drive on the M6 highway and then on the E001 highway to reach Georgia and then must continue on the E001 highway to reach the "Red Bridge" customs post, which is the checkpoint on the Georgia-Azerbaijan border. Finally, they must cross the bridge to enter Azerbaijan. Once they enter Azerbaijan, they must reach the Shamkir Army Corps but must leave their car 10 km away from the base and walk the rest of

the path. While entering Georgia and Azerbaijan if they are asked about the reason for their transport, they must say that they are circus masters and that they are going to the Baku Zoological Park in Azerbaijan to look to possibly talk to the authorities and gain permission to set up a circus there. He also must say, showing his tattoo that he is actually Azerbaijani and has only been living in Armenia for a few days.

They will infiltrate into the 3rd Army Corps also known as Shamkir Army Corps (coordinates - 40° 53′ 15″ N, 45° 57′ 25″ E) which is concentrated against the Armenian occupied territories. They must be wearing the Azerbaijani colours and must carry banners which say yaşasın azerbaycan (long live Azerbaijan) and Ermənistan aşağı enir (Armenia go down) and must also carry a white flag and an Azerbaijani Flag. They must stand outside the base and also shout out what's written on the banners while waving the white flag and the Azerbaijani flag. When approached they must say the following story: -

Long live Azerbaijan,

I was born and brought up here in Azerbaijan. This is my home, my motherland. My family is very patriotic and our family from centuries have lived to thrive on this country's wellbeing. Our country's goodwill is more important to us than ours. If my words don't prove anything (showing his tattoo), then see my arm. My mother is a nurse at a government hospital and my father had been serving in the army for the past 7 years. It is just yesterday that we received the news of his death. It was in the hands of those Armenian men, our arch rivals. Who knows how many more such fathers, brothers, husbands and sons are dying each day! I WANT REVENGE, FOR THE FAMILIES OF THOSE MEN, FOR MY MOTHERLAND. I may not be useful to you in armed combat but I might be useful to you in another way. (Showing the certificate) I can hack into complexly encrypted communications lines and provide you a lot of the enemy's vital information. Please give me this chance. I promise I will not fail you; I'm thriving for revenge, please let me have it.

By saying this he must enter into the tech team but instead of giving away information, he must take in vital information from them and give it to us. He must say that he needs nothing except for a computer. He must work isolated and must follow the same way when it comes to giving us the information.

You must create an ID and Password and share it with those two agents. After getting into the camp and after getting a computer, he must login to his mail ID and type out any piece of information that he gets and save it as a draft so that only the people who have the ID and Password will be able to obtain the information and there will be no trace of the message since

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it was never sent in the first place. This is also how we will be able to communicate with the

agents and tell them what information he should give them about us (which will be fake).

The agents must have one potassium cyanide capsule each filled into the molars. If they get

caught, they must immediately break the capsule and die.

If this mission becomes successful then we will be gaining a lot of crucial information about

the opposition which will put us in a very advantageous position with regard to the Nagorno

Karabakh crisis.

Sample Public Communique:

From: The Delegate of USA

In light of the recent terror attacks and bombings in the Israeli capital of Jerusalem, the United

States of America has decided to extend a humanitarian aid of 500 million dollars to the country

of Israel. This money will be utilised by the country to restore the city to its former glory along

with compensation to families who lost their members due to the recent events.

The United States also acknowledges that the recent disasters could had been avoided had we

assessed the situation at hand properly.

**Action Orders:** 

An action order is used when an individual delegate or a group of delegates or the committee

as the whole needs to take immediate actions in response to a series of crises thrown at them.

An action order will require two authors and no signatories. It can be passed by a simple

majority in committee.

An action order has no particular format but its intent and goal should be clear for the

committee to grasp.

Sample Action Order:

Action Order 1.0

From: Turkey, Azerbaijan

Operation Hand of God

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This is an order to prepare for the invasion of the Armenian occupied territories of the Nagorno-Karabakh region and Armenia proper by the armies of Azerbaijan and Turkey.

- The 1st, 3rd and 9th Motor Rifle Brigades are to be transferred to Əfətli. These forces will act as the main invasion force against the occupied parts of the Agdam district. The 10th Motor Brigade will act as reserve troops and must be stationed at Qəhramanbəyli.
- The Artillery Brigade must be transferred from Baku and place under the command of the 2nd Army Corps in Beylagan.
- The 2nd, 4th and the 6th Motor Rifle Brigades with the Artillery Brigade providing support, must move to Yuxarı Kürdmahmudlu and prepare to invade and capture the parts of the Fuzuli District under Armenian control. These forces will be used to move further into the Armenian controlled district of Jabrayil after the first operation.
- 2 Hermes 450 UAVs are to be used for reconnaissance operations in each district.
- Following this, 2 squadrons of 2 Sukhoi Su-25s and 2 Mig-21s are to commence aerial attacks on the districts before the land forces enter.
- To distract the Armenian army from the above operations, the Turkish army will commence the invasion of Armenia from the northern region, 3 days prior to the invasion mentioned above.
  - O The 4th Armoured Brigade, 14th Mechanized Infantry Brigade and the 9th Motorized Infantry Brigade shall invade Armenia from the extreme north-west, where the Arpi National Park is present. From there these forces must advance towards the town of Gyumri and capture it.
  - The 181st and 182nd Squadrons of the 8th Main Jet Based Group Command shall be made available to the invading forces. These two squadrons will provide air support to the land forces.

# **Position Paper:**

Position papers are the best way for delegates to transform their research and ideas in to plausible solutions and to form their policy regarding the issue at hand. Position papers usually have 3 parts:

• Statement of the Problem: This is the part where delegates give a summary of the issue from a neutral point of view and serves to show how well the delegate understands the issue at hand.

- Policy of the Individual: This is the section where delegates analyze the historical background of the issue and how it has affected them individually in the past and in the present. This is also the section where delegates make their individual policy clear by explaining the actions taken or policy followed by them in the past and present regarding similar issues.
- Possible solutions: This is the most important part of the position paper. This is where
  delegates write down solutions to the current issue while keeping their individual
  policy in mind. The solution should be plausible and should include short-term and
  long term solutions.
- Crisis Note: This is a part which is unique to the Ispolkom here, you as individuals tell the EB about your plans to influence crisis in a very short and crisp manner.

The headings and sub-headings in the position paper need not be the exact ones written above, but the document must have a clear distinction between the three categories.

The position papers are to be written in the Times New Roman Font, size 12, with single spacing. Delegates should not blatantly plagiarize from other sources. All sources used by delegates should be put as "Works cited" in MLA 8 format in the position paper. The deadline for submitting the position papers is *10th July*. It needs to be emailed to <a href="mailto:ispolkom.jacomun23@gmail.com">ispolkom.jacomun23@gmail.com</a>

# Working paper:

Working papers can be roughly termed as a precursor to a draft resolution. (Directives in our case) Working paper is just a document containing all your solutions, but without any formalities and great flexibility.

Delegates may propose working papers for committee consideration. The objective of a working paper is to bring to light certain solutions and to assist the committee in further deliberation by attempting to solve the crisis at hand.

The number of writers, co-writers, and signatories is subject to vary at the Executive Board's discretion. It may be passed by a simple majority in committee.

Working papers are accepted in the form of cartoons, in complete resolution format or as essays. However, care must be taken to keep the paper pertinent to the issue and the format such that the views of the makers can be appropriately articulated.

# Sample Working Paper:

Special Political Committee Subject

Authors: Poland, Sweden

Signatories: Macedonia, Netherlands, Spain and Italy, Brazil, Uruguay

Alarmed that every month over 2,000 people are killed or maimed by mine explosions and that most of the casualties are civilians who are killed after hostilities have ended.

- Aware that land mine usage has dramatically increased over the past 20 years, with an emphasis on its potential as a weapon to terrorize civilians.
- Noting, with deep concern, that surgical care and the fitting of orthopedic appliances costs a total of \$750 million for the 250,000 amputees registered by the United Nations.
- Deeply disturbed that mines maim and kill tens of thousands of people each year, mostly women and children.
- Strongly recommends the universal banning on the production of all new anti-personnel mines.
- Further recommends that an extensive educational program be started through the World Health Organization, in those countries that request such action as well as UNICEF programs and anti-land mine coalition.
- Demands the establishment of an international treaty to stop the use of Anti-personal and the dismantling of all those presently in stock.
- Requests the establishment of an international sign for land mines, along the lines of the sign for radiation.
- Further requests that those countries that would participate would receive a 25% return of funds once they have reached a certain amount and subsequently thereafter, for each time they reach the certain amount.

## **Directives:**

Directives are a sort of paperwork allowing for collaboration in committees such as ours.

They are quite similar to resolutions but they do not include perambulatory clauses. It is also to be noted that a resolution is binding while a directive is not.

Directives are intended to take urgent actions to remedy a crisis, rather than to address every area of the committee's agenda. Directives should have a clear goal and must be approved by the committee in order to be implemented.

The number of writers, co-writers, and signatories is subject to vary at the Executive Board's discretion. A directive needs two-thirds of committee votes to pass.

The committee can draw up plans, provide guidelines and otherwise endeavour to alleviate the crisis by guidelines in response to a crisis or numerous crises.

# **Sample Directive:**

Committee – Commission on Science and Technology Proposing Nation

Author - United Kingdom, China;

Signatories - Netherlands, India, Japan, Norway, Canada, Brazil;

- 1. **Recommends** that a three-level information interchange system be established on the National, Regional, and International levels to ameliorate the current problems of news flow imbalance, operating as follows:
  - Each region's member nations will report their national information and receive the information of other nations in their region from the regional level of this interchange system;
  - Nations will decide the character of the news flow media best suited to the need of their sovereign territory, be this printed, audio, or audio visual;
  - Regional News Gathering Agencies will serve to gather information from the nations
    in their region, and these boards will have no editorial discretion and will serve to
    forward all information to the International Board;
  - Each regional agency will be composed of representatives from every member nation of the region;
  - The primary function of the International Board will be to translate information accumulated from the regional news gathering agencies;

- The secondary purpose will be to transmit all information gathered back to the member nations via the regional news gathering agencies;
- In order to expedite the transfer of information from the international to regional level the International Board will utilize a UN frequency on an EEC (European Economic Community) satellite;
- 2. **Urges** the establishment of the University of International Communications, with main branch in Geneva, Switzerland, and additional branches located in each of the aforementioned regions, to pursue the following aims:
  - The University and branches will be established with the express purpose of bringing together world views and facilitating the transfer of technology;
  - All member nations of the United Nations will be equally represented at the University;
  - Incentives will be offered to students of journalism and communications at the University to return to their countries to teach upon completion of instruction;
  - The instructors of the regional education centres will be comprised of a multi-partisan coalition of educators from throughout the world; The Working Paper Sri Lanka Model United Nations 2019
- 3. **Deeply convinced** to continue the use of funds from the International Program for the Development of Communications, Special Account, UNESCO, the UNDP, and other sources of funding including national governments and private donors;
- 4 **Strongly supports** that the distribution of funds be decided by the IPDC.