

Les candidats doivent remplir cette page puis remettre cette chemise accompagnée de la version finale de leur mémoire à leur superviseur.

Numéro de session du candidat

Nom du candidat

Code de l'établissement

Nom de l'établissement

Sessions d'examens (mai ou novembre)

mai

Année

2012

Matière du Programme du diplôme dans laquelle ce mémoire est inscrit : Histoire
(Dans le cas d'un mémoire de langue, précisez la langue et s'il s'agit du groupe 1 ou 2.)

Titre du mémoire : Towards a Bolshevik Revolution: The Impact of World War One on Early Twentieth Century Russia

Déclaration du candidat

Cette déclaration doit être signée par le candidat, sans quoi aucune note finale ne pourra être attribuée.

Le mémoire ci-joint est le fruit de mon travail personnel (mis à part les conseils permis par le Baccalauréat International que j'ai pu recevoir).

J'ai signalé tous les emprunts d'idées, d'éléments graphiques ou de paroles, qu'ils aient été communiqués originellement par écrit, visuellement ou oralement.

Je suis conscient que la longueur maximale fixée pour les mémoires est de 4 000 mots et que les examinateurs ne sont pas tenus de lire au-delà de cette limite.

Ceci est la version finale de mon mémoire.

Signature du candidat :

Date :

23 janvier 2012

Rapport et déclaration du superviseur.

Le superviseur doit remplir ce rapport, signer la déclaration et remettre au coordonnateur du Programme du diplôme la version définitive du mémoire dans la présente chemise.

Nom du superviseur [en CAPITALES] _____

Le cas échéant, veuillez décrire le travail du candidat, le contexte dans lequel il a entrepris sa recherche, les difficultés rencontrées et sa façon de les surmonter (voir les pages 13 et 14 du guide Le mémoire). L'entretien de conclusion (ou soutenance) pourra s'avérer utile pour cette tâche. Les remarques du superviseur peuvent aider l'examineur à attribuer un niveau pour le critère K (évaluation globale). Ne faites aucun commentaire sur les circonstances personnelles défavorables qui auraient pu affecter le candidat. Si le temps passé avec le candidat est égal à zéro, vous devrez l'expliquer et indiquer comment il vous a été possible de vérifier que le mémoire était bien le fruit du travail du candidat en question. Vous pouvez joindre une feuille supplémentaire si l'espace fourni ci-après est insuffisant.

Cette déclaration doit être signée par le superviseur, sans quoi aucune note finale ne pourra être attribuée.

J'ai lu la version finale du mémoire qui sera envoyée à l'examineur.

À ma connaissance, le mémoire constitue le travail authentique du candidat.

J'ai consacré heures d'encadrement au candidat pour ce mémoire.

Signature du superviseur _____

Date : 9/02/2012

Formulaire d'évaluation (réservé à l'examinateur)

Numéro de session du candidat

Niveau

critères d'évaluation

	L'examinateur 1	Max.	L'examinateur 2	Max.	L'examinateur 3
Question de recherche	2 ✓	2	2 ✓	2	
Introduction	2 ✓	2	2 ✓ <i>just</i>	2	
Recherche	3 ✓	4	3 ✓	4	
Connaissance et compréhension du sujet étudié	3 ✓	4	3 ✓	4	
Raisonnement	3 ✓	4	3 ✓	4	
Utilisation des compétences d'analyse et d'évaluation adaptées à la matière	3 ✓	4	3 ✓ <i>just - 4 more evidence needed / key sources used</i>	4	
Utilisation d'un langage adapté à la matière	4 ✓	4	3 ✓	4	
Conclusion	2 ✓	2	2 ✓	2	
Présentation formelle	3 ✓	4	3 ✓	4	
Résumé	2 ✓	2	2 ✓ <i>just</i>	2	
Évaluation globale	3 ✓	4	3 ✓ <i>just</i>	4	
Total sur 36	30 ✓		29 ✓ <i>and previous</i>		

Nom de l'examinateur 1 : _____
[CAPITALES]

Code de l'examinateur : _____

Nom de l'examinateur 2 : _____
[CAPITALES]

Code de l'examinateur : _____

Nom de l'examinateur 3 : _____
[CAPITALES]

Code de l'examinateur : _____

Champs réservés à IB Cardiff : B : _____ ✓

Champs réservés à IB Cardiff : A : 99018

Date : 24-5-12

INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE
EXTENDED ESSAY
HISTORY


**Towards a Bolshevik Revolution:
The Impact of World War One on Early Twentieth Century Russia**

Word Count: 3,972

Session May 2012

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor, _____ for his helpful
comments and patience. I would also like to thank _____ and
_____ for their explanations on the process of writing an extended essay.



Abstract

The Russian Revolution is recognized as being a significant event in human history, since it led to the establishment of the first major ^{socialist} communist government. But though there is much research on the circumstances in which the revolution developed and on the chronology of its events, there seems to be much less analysis of whether the Bolshevik party, a fringe group at its foundation, could have taken command of Russia in a different historical context. Therefore, this study poses the following question: would the Bolsheviks have been capable of ascending to power in early twentieth century Russia without World War One or a conflict similar in both scope and duration? *- A little counterfactual is possible, but hard to have "to which extent" and what would be the results of the power.*

Several sources (in both printed and electronic forms) were consulted and analyzed in order to reach a conclusion. Primary sources (Lenin's works, Maurice Paléologue's diary, newspaper articles and the abdication text of Nicholas II, for example) were studied to understand people's perception of the events of 1917 as they were unfolding. Several secondary sources were also considered to gather supplemental information (where the authors had the benefit of hindsight), and were evaluated based on their references and on their coherence with other sources.

This study first focuses on the pre-war situation in Russia in the nineteenth century. Next, the Revolution of 1905 is examined to understand its origins and the reasons for its failure. The devastating impact of World War One on Russia is then evaluated to shed light on the Russian population's anger and the failings of the tsarist regime and of the Provisional Government, which led to the Bolshevik seizure of power. This study reaches the conclusion that the Bolsheviks rose to power in Russia in 1917 because of World War One, without which an insufficient amount of social unrest would have been present to spark a revolution.

RQ:

method

scope

concl.

clear, good

Method

$J = \left(\frac{2}{2} \right)$

RP - clear & referred conclusion

SC ✓

Bolshevik 1917

But for (3) ... Concl ✓

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND UNREST IN RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	1
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1905.....	3
RUSSIA IN WORLD WAR ONE.....	4
A DISINTEGRATING GOVERNMENT AND THE INEPTITUDES OF THE TSAR.....	7
THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION.....	8
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CONTINUATION OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR	10
LENIN'S TRIUMPHANT RETURN	13
CONCLUSION	14
APPENDIX	16
DOCUMENT I: TABLE OF STRIKES IN RUSSIA	16
DOCUMENT II: ABDICATION OF NICHOLAS II	17
DOCUMENT III: RENUNCIATION OF GRAND DUKE MIKHAIL ALEXANDROVICH	18
DOCUMENT IV: BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA POSTER	19
BIBLIOGRAPHY	20

$A = \frac{2}{2}$ RQ clearly presented in Introduction
itself + relatively feasible

Introduction

Many revolutions have taken place across the globe and will likely continue to occur for years to come. But the fact that there have been numerous revolutions in the past does not mean that they are trivial. A revolution is sparked when there is sufficient anger and discontent in a population to engender a large-scale uprising, demonstrating important instability in the country in question. One of the most significant revolutions in human history took place in Russia in 1917, when in a very short lapse of time, the country's government shifted from a monarchy to a (failed) bourgeois democracy to a form of communism. This represented the first time that communism was put to the test as a form of government for a major country. The revolution happened at a time of distress for Russia (and for the whole world), as 1917 was the middle of the devastating First World War. People's initial patriotism became to tension and rage, which the Bolsheviks were able to exploit.

Would the Bolsheviks have been capable of ascending to power in early twentieth century Russia without World War One or a conflict similar in both scope and duration? This question is extremely important because it can shed light on the reasons people fight against their own governments and on the hidden peril faced by a country at war. It is also interesting to understand how a group as radical as the Bolsheviks could have won the support of so many people who had been under the tsarist regime for so long. Grasping the underlying causes of the Bolsheviks' seizure of power can also provide new insights into revolutions taking place in the present along with ones that might occur in the future during a time of global unrest.

Civil Disobedience and Unrest in Russia in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century saw the beginning of widespread revolts across the Russian Empire, a centralized monarchist society since the seventeenth century. Numerous uprisings against the tsar were instigated, but each was dissolved fairly quickly. An example of this can be seen in the Decembrist revolt of 1825, made up of

Men?

men protesting the existing regime and advocating freedom¹, more specifically the implementation of liberal reforms and the abolition of serfdom.² However, few could identify with the movement, since the state was considered as a sort of holy entity not to be questioned³, and it was crushed. Another failed movement was nineteenth century populism that also sought liberal reforms. Though the leaders of this group were convinced that they were expressing the voice of the people, peasants remained loyal to the royal family.⁴ Not even radical terrorism could change the social structure in Russia, as can be seen by the murder of Alexander II in 1881.⁵ The reign of the monarchy persisted, despite the death of the tsar.

Peoples' will? Not exactly?

... of ...

In fact, these revolts could not have led to a revolution. As Leon Trotsky (an eventual leader within the Bolshevik party) puts it: "A revolution breaks out when all the antagonisms of a society have reached their highest tension."⁶ Russia had not yet arrived at this point. Most of Russia's population was composed of peasants, who had little to say about political life and were kept busy on their farms. A small middle class was in formation, but it was not large enough to have a voice in the transformation of Russian society.⁷ As for the working class, it was relatively small compared to the rest of Russia's population (three million plus three million seasonal workers in 1914⁸). Furthermore, the empire comprised a large number of different nationalities, and it was exceedingly difficult to rally them all towards a common cause. Therefore, it seemed that no classes seemed either capable or willing to lead a

... of ...

... of ...

¹ Hélène Carrière d'Encausse, *Lénine, la révolution et le pouvoir* (Paris, Flammarion, 1979), p. 18.

² Anatole Gregory Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution, 1825* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1937), p. 2.

³ d'Encausse, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵ Edvard Radzindky, *Alexander II: The Last Great Tsar* (New York, Free Press, 2005) p. 416.

⁶ Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution* (New York, Pathfinder, 1999), p. 97.

⁷ d'Encausse, p. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

** Increased J. Smith & last names in references, regrettable*

large-scale uprising against the tsar that could truly have an impact on Russian society.

If movements hoped to change the structure of the Russian government, they needed to organize themselves into greater units, with a more universal picture of all of Russian society in mind. However, none of these groups could expect to fulfill this criterion, since there was not sufficiently widespread discontent in Russia. With the population being so diverse and being distributed across such a vast territory, a uniting factor was required to bring people together to fight for a common cause.

Practical
analysis
Democracy
1917
Kerensky

The Russo-Japanese War and the Revolution of 1905

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904 to 1905 was what first provided the Russian population with the uniting factor required to bring about a revolution. The war was devastating and humiliating for Russians since Russia was the first modern colonial state to be militarily defeated by a non-Caucasian people.⁹ The series of military failures and various shortages in Russia led to the revolts that began in 1905 against employers, factory owners and the tsar alike. They spread to cities across the empire and, before long, turned into a revolution.¹⁰ The discontent of such a large portion of the population with the government for having failed so miserably in the war shows that the Russian working class was prone to rebel in times of war (and especially failure). The government did eventually succeed in putting down the revolution. However, this was only made possible because the war was short and the troops returned home quickly to control the situation (the peasant army had remained loyal to the tsar).¹¹ We will see below that the army no longer took the side of the tsar in

defeated
war is
when before

⁹ d'Encausse, p. 15.

¹⁰ W. Bruce Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1986), p. 20-21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

the Great War, and that the government collapsed for this and other reasons related to the global conflict.

Russia in World War One

It might be expected that a war abroad would instigate a wave of patriotism in Russia's population and that, instead of being rallied against the tsar, people would develop into a united force against the enemies of the empire. However, since World War One was so disastrous and costly for Russia, (much more so than the Russo-Japanese War), this certainly was not the case. Indeed, as Trotsky says, "The war [...] gave the [revolutionary] process at first a backward movement, but only to accelerate it more powerfully in the next period and guarantee its overwhelming victory."¹² Though Trotsky may be prejudiced, having been a leader in the Bolshevik party, it is true that though the population may initially have had faith in the regime, they were quickly disillusioned.

It seems as though Russia was destined for failure from the start of the war, though Russians may not have had this impression at its outset. Two days before Russia declared mobilization, Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich (the uncle of Nicholas II) wrote to French academic Frédéric Masson that Russians' patriotism was "sublime" and that their future was guaranteed were they to go to war.¹³ But Trotsky argues (with the benefit of hindsight) that the Russian army was not equipped to fight a European war: "this army was a serious force only against semi-barbaric peoples, small neighbors and disintegrating states"¹⁴ because of "lack of munitions, the small number of factories for their production, [and] the sparseness of railroad lines for

¹² Trotsky, p. 59.

¹³ Grand-duc Nicolas Mikhailovitch, *La fin du tsarisme: lettres inédites à Frédéric Masson* (Paris, Payot, 1968), p. 18.

¹⁴ Trotsky, p. 39.

their transportation.”¹⁵ Historian W. Bruce Lincoln adds that soldiers were, for the most part, unarmed and untrained.¹⁶ This second appraisal of Russia’s situation in the war is more apt. *why?*

Already, in the summer of 1915, Minister of Agriculture Aleksandr Krivoshein admitted in a secret gathering of the Council of Ministers that Russia was in a time of “unending retreats and incomprehensible defeats.”¹⁷ On August 6th, 1915, Maurice Paléologue (a French diplomat in Russia) wrote in his diary entry that the Germans had just taken Warsaw, which forced Russia to abandon Poland, along with its resources, but the moral consequences of the German victory worried him more.¹⁸ As highlighted by Trotsky: “Already in July 1915 the ministers chanted: ‘Poor Russia! Even her army [...] turns out to consist only of cowards and deserters.’”¹⁹ The order was given for soldiers who would not fight to be shot.²⁰ As early as 1915, it was apparent that the global conflict was so terrible that Russian combatants lost their faith in the war and in their tsar. *disbelief?* He sent them into a European war unprepared in which the count of captured, injured or killed (calculated by Trotsky) was five and a half million by 1915.²¹ *double check* Though these figures may be exaggerated or inexact, they are certainly closer to reality, as indicated by the result of the war, than Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich’s continued assurances, in August 1915, that Russians were

*Some good
evaluation
only via
data*

¹⁵ Trotsky, p. 40.

¹⁶ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 145.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹⁸ Maurice Paléologue, *Le crépuscule des tsars: journal 1914-1917* (Paris, Mercure de France, 2007), p. 216.

¹⁹ Trotsky, p. 41.

²⁰ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 147.

²¹ Trotsky, p. 41.

77
unanimous in wanting to continue the war until the exhaustion of the Triple Alliance's troops.²² *Confession with "Central power"?*

The home front was not weathering the storm of war very well either. In fact, the war greatly intensified shortages. People were starving as shipments stalled and food and supplies were rerouted to the front.²³ Each week, staples increased in price by over one percent²⁴ and there was extremely high inflation.²⁵ Indeed, coal prices quadrupled in the first two years of the war.²⁶ People were starving as most could no longer afford to eat eggs, meat, sugar, milk or fruit.²⁷ For these reasons, the standard of living for most of Russia's population was very poor and peasants and members of the working class were left hungry, impoverished and feeling very bitter about the war. These conditions only worsened as the war continued.

As a further cause of upset, the "war of 1914 was quite rightly greeted by the leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie as their war"²⁸ as stated by Trotsky (though, again, he may have a biased standpoint). As he mentions, certain businesses became very wealthy:

*The Moscow textile company of the Riabushinskys showed a net profit of 75 per cent; the Tver Company, 111 per cent; the copper-works of Kolchugin netted over 12 million on a basic capital of 10 million.*²⁹

²² Mikhailovitch, p. 75.

²³ W. Bruce Lincoln, *Red Victory: a History of the Russian Civil War*, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1989), p. 32.

²⁴ *Id.* *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 207.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Trotsky, p. 45.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

In times of war, production must increase, so industries related to the production of weapons and munitions boom. However, this did not necessarily transmit benefits to workers as owners could fix working hours and pay as they saw fit. People showed their discontent in the form of a rising number of strikes as the war continued (see Document I of the appendix). These figures demonstrate that people were disgruntled with their living and working conditions and expected more. When they saw that their situation was not improving, they did not hold back from demanding a better life.

Back by
comparisons to
the - what?

A disintegrating Government and the Ineptitudes of the Tsar

A rift formed and solidified itself between the population and its government during the war. As Shulgin, an important member of the Duma, wrote to Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich in 1917: "No one believes in words any longer,"³⁰ since the tsar repeatedly made promises that he did not keep. In addition, when he could not mend Russia's wounds at home, Nicholas II went to the front and left his wife, Aleksandra, in charge. She appointed incompetent men to high positions (a classic example being the mystic Rasputin, whom Aleksandra trusted as speaking the word of God, despite his offensive behaviour).³¹ To make matters worse, capable ministers were resigning because they were upset with the ineptitude of the government.³² This would cause further agitation and less could be done in an attempt to piece the country back together. In addition, the tsar, having left the capital to go to the front, was removed from the revolutionary buildup in the cities and this would make him unaware of severity of his government's situation.

Not much
reference
indicated

As
points

107

³⁰ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 317.

³¹ *Id. Red Victory: a History of the Russian Civil War*, p. 30-31.

³² *Id. Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 200.

Though the tsar may have ignored this fact, as presented above, the population and the soldiers were turning against his government since they could no longer accept their living conditions. Perhaps just as disastrous was the fact that generals and important officials were losing faith in Nicholas as well. Trotsky states it as follows: "In all the commanding staff there was not found one man to take action in behalf of his tsar. They all hastened to transfer to the ship of the revolution, firmly expecting to find comfortable cabins there."³³ Were it not for the war causing the generals to be upset with the tsar and with the status of Russia in the war, they could have been valuable allies in terms of preparing strategies and manpower for the tsar against any form of insurrection.

In going to the front, the tsar committed another fatal mistake. Indeed, when the tsar claimed that he was at the head of the army, he took responsibility for its failures and Russia's ever-mounting losses. He was at fault and a loss of prestige and of the trust of the people was inevitable. By the time he tried to go back to Russia to regain order, it was too late. Without the war, Nicholas may have realized the dire situation facing the monarchy earlier and could likely have satisfied frustrated people (of which there would have been fewer) with certain small concessions. He would not have left the capital and would no doubt have been aware that he had to act if he wanted his government to stay in power. But a combination of the factors listed above, all stemming from the First World War, culminated in what would come to be known as the February Revolution.

The February Revolution

Contrary to what many people believed would spark a large-scale revolt in Russia, no specific group or individual organized the masses against the tsar before the revolts that took place at the end of February. There was not very much anti-

³³ Trotsky, p. 110.

monarchist propaganda either.³⁴ Demonstrations rather began spontaneously. In the first days of what would come to be known as the February Revolution, people called for bread.³⁵ Then, as the amount of protesters grew, so did their demands. They chanted for an end to the war and an end to the tsarist regime. Outcries of hunger were soon accompanied by shouts of “Down with the autocracy!” “Down with the war!”³⁶ and “Bread and peace!”³⁷ (How fitting that the Bolshevik slogan was “land, bread and peace”.³⁸) The government did attempt to control the situation by calling in the army fairly rapidly.³⁹ But as early as the fifth day, Paléologue remarked a contingent of the army joining the mob that they were supposed to dissipate.⁴⁰ This illustrates how promptly the army defected towards the cause of the revolution. They were clearly upset with Russia’s condition and yearned for change as much as the protesters. The situation then quickly degenerated: police buildings were burned, prisons were emptied and the winter palace was invaded.⁴¹

The irrepressible uprising left the tsar with no choice but to abdicate. Throughout his abdication text, Nicholas refers to the war, showcasing its importance in the events leading to his resignation of the throne. He writes that Russia must be defended and that the war must “be brought to a victorious conclusion whatever the cost”⁴² (see full text in Document II of the appendix). However, much of Russia’s

³⁴ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 321.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Trotsky, p. 123

³⁷ Paléologue, p. 309.

³⁸ Jeffrey Brooks, Georgiy Chernyaviskiy, *Lenin and the Making of the Soviet State* (New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 16.

³⁹ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 329.

⁴⁰ Paléologue, p. 401.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁴² Nicholas II of Russia, (accessed December 19, 2011), “The Abdication of Nicholas II”, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Abdication_of_Nicholas_II.

population did not agree and protests against the war continued.⁴³ The Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich then renounced the throne with the mounting anti-war pressure in Russia. He proposed that the Russian people decide whether they wanted him to rule⁴⁴ (see Document III), but since they did not, the Provisional Government took hold of the reins of power.

When were they consulted on this?

What started out as a protest against the shortages generated by the war took on a much larger scale and quickly morphed into a revolution. People's irritation soon became rage against the tsar for having implicated Russia in such a horrible conflict. The February Revolution can therefore be traced back to Russia's involvement in the war, since Russians (workers and members of the military) became upset enough with their government to revolt in very large numbers. This surely would not have been the case had it not been for the Great War or a conflict of similar scope, as can be seen from the revolution of 1905 and earlier unrest, that failed to assemble a sufficiently large amount of Russians against the tsar.

The Provisional Government and the Continuation of the First World War

The Provisional Government was thus formed at the culmination of the February Revolution. Common people believed that this government would satisfy their demands of ending the war, redistributing land and carrying out reforms that would improve the living conditions of workers.⁴⁵ However, there was no mention of these changes in its program.⁴⁶ The newly elected deputies quickly turned to the side of the bourgeoisie instead of the proletariat, and the Soviet (the representatives of the

⁴³ Paléologue, p. 409.

⁴⁴ Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich, (accessed December 19, 2011), "Manifesto", <http://www.histdoc.net/history/abdic.html>.

⁴⁵ P. Sobolev, E. Guimpelson, G. Troukan, *Histoire de la révolution d'octobre*, (Moscow, Les Éditions du Progrès, 1977), p. 30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

workers) had little power.⁴⁷ Lenin would deem this a classic treason towards the working class.⁴⁸ Indeed, people were rapidly disappointed, (though the Provisional Government may have increased certain individual rights⁴⁹). *This is heavily doubtful*

Of the many grave errors committed by the Provisional Government, perhaps the most important was remaining in the war until victory, as Miliukov, a principal member of the Provisional Government, insisted they should.⁵⁰ This meant that soldiers could not see any real difference between being governed by the tsar or by the Provisional Government. Why would they be concerned with political changes if they were still forced to battle in the trenches? Moreover, Russia's situation in the war was worsening. Though there was an increase in available ammunition towards the end of 1916, there was a lack of food supplies and the army in the grips of typhus and scurvy.⁵¹ Soldiers therefore remained bitter and dissatisfied, though the tsar no longer ruled the empire. They continued to be possible instigators of insurrection and abandoned the front in large numbers.⁵² The Provisional Government ignoring the Russian people's sentiments with respect to the war would therefore open the way for Lenin, who had always opposed the war.⁵³

But Russia was not only unstable because people were upset with the government's policies. They were also left without a distinctive national leader when the tsar and the Grand Duke abdicated the throne. In fact, in Paléologue's opinion, tsarism was the irreplaceable framework of Russian society, and was the only unifying link for its diverse population. He predicted that if tsarism were to fall,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Brooks, Chernyaviskiy, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Paléologue, p. 413.

⁵¹ Trotsky, p. 275.

⁵² Lincoln, *Red Victory: a History of the Russian Civil War*, p. 40.

⁵³ Brooks, Chernyaviskiy, p. 12.

Russia's entire societal structure would collapse as well.⁵⁴ Indeed, without a strong figure at the head of the government, Russians could not be confident that their country was headed in a new, better direction that would alleviate the strain on the poor or on the soldiers.

Some anecdotal of his? 39/2?
- when?
Nov 11, 1917
1917
Whole page?

Kerensky did eventually emerge as a leader, but he seemed to be desperate for power and be concerned only with his own interests⁵⁵, and became very unpopular as time passed.⁵⁶ Furthermore, there was much dissent among the ranks of the government and the Soviet was becoming more and more radically Bolshevik.⁵⁷ This instability can be illustrated by the Kornilov affair. As Kornilov, appointed as the head of Russia's military forces by Kerensky⁵⁸, said at the beginning of a meeting in August, "I do not trust any longer Kerensky and the Provisional Government".⁵⁹ Kerensky had no reason to trust Kornilov either: a group was plotting to overthrow Kerensky and place Kornilov as the ruler of Russia, since they thought that a military man could regain order in the country and especially, in the troops.⁶⁰ Kerensky was then forced to ask for help from the Soviet,⁶¹ giving them more power and credibility in the eyes of the people. The Provisional Government, after having been in power for only a few months, was disintegrating.

How? By what means?

⁵⁴ Paléologue, p. 405.

⁵⁵ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 351.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁵⁷ Harold Williams (accessed September 5 2011), "Kerensky Tackles Bolshevik Peril", *The New York Times*, September 21, 1917, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9B02E2DA103AE433A25752C2A96F9C946696D6CF&scp=4&sq=bolshevik&st=p>.

⁵⁸ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 414.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

Lenin's Triumphant Return

What the February revolution actually achieved was to agitate all classes of Russian society. People who, previously, had no interest in politics became extremely politically active.⁶² Lenin was aware of this fact and proclaimed that the February Revolution was only the first step in the communist revolution. In his "April Theses", which he presented upon arriving at a train station in Petrograd after having been in hiding in Switzerland, he states that:

*[T]he country is passing from the first stage of the revolution [...] to its second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants.*⁶³

The lower classes, being dissatisfied with the new government, were prone to believe him.

Lenin demanded that people continue to struggle toward a true socialist revolution and was especially vocal against those who wished to continue fighting in World War One.⁶⁴ He seemed to provide an answer to the uncertainty of the times and to people's demands by offering an attractive alternative to the Provisional Government, as outlined in his work, *The State and Revolution* (written in the summer of 1917). He cites Marx and Engels at length⁶⁵, and, in so doing, offered the lower classes a return to the vision of a worker's utopia that they longed for in 1917. By advocating the destruction of the bourgeois state, Lenin denounced and violently opposed the Provisional Government⁶⁶ that had caused the population such pain, especially by forcing Russians to remain in the war. He advertized and portrayed the

⁶² Sobolev, Guimpelson, Troukan, p. 30.

⁶³ Brooks, Chernyaviskiy, p. 50.

⁶⁴ Sobolev, Guimpelson, Troukan, p. 36.

⁶⁵ Vladimir Ilitch Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, in *Essential Works of Lenin* (New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 274.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Bolshevik party as a worker's party ridding Russia of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, in other words, of wealthy capitalists (see Document IV in appendix).

Lenin made the Bolshevik party even more attractive in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (published in 1916), by stating that a large-scale war would be engendered because the world was divided into various capitalist countries.⁶⁷ This seemed to correspond with what was happening at that time. The powerful capitalist countries (of which there were few) decided to go to war and pulled the whole world into the conflict because of colonization and treaties from the past. Therefore, the war could have been regarded as the result of a capitalist evil, shifting more and more people to the camp of the Bolsheviks.

It did not take long for a large amount of people to be seduced by Lenin's party. The Bolsheviks won majorities in the Petrograd Soviet on August 31st and in the Moscow Soviet on September 5th.⁶⁸ All that was left for Lenin and his Bolsheviks to do was to take over government buildings and be hailed (for a time) as the new saviours of Russia. This was a seemingly inevitable conclusion to tsarism and a bourgeois Provisional Government that forced the Russian population to take part in an extremely bloody and destructive war, complete with famine and shortages of basic necessities.

Conclusion

Could the Bolsheviks have maneuvered themselves into the position of supreme power in Russia without World War One or a comparable conflict? Several groups tried to rally people against the tsar in the nineteenth century but their

⁶⁷ Vladimir Ilitch Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in *Essential Works of Lenin* (New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 245.

⁶⁸ Lincoln, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, p. 427.

If the case
composition
has
indicated

What part of... provided
To whom?
How
many
Business
could be
read
has
written
1916/17

attempts failed because they could not obtain the collaboration of a sufficient number of people to overthrow the monarchy. It was only with a major (and unsuccessful) conflict abroad that a revolution finally took place, as seen by the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 and the ensuing ^{Revolution} Revolution of 1905, which was rapidly put down because the war was so short. But World War One was far longer and more devastating and the tsar's and the Provisional Government's responses to people's demands were unsatisfactory. They remained in a war so terrible that a radical Bolshevik revolution was made possible when the government lost the support of peasants, workers, soldiers and generals. The Bolsheviks rose to power in Russia in 1917 because of World War One, without which an insufficient amount of social unrest would have been present to spark a revolution.

But
Dunne,
etc.?

What would be interesting to study in the future would be to see whether this trend could be established from other revolutions. Must a country be in turmoil (in a destructive war, for example) for a revolution to occur, or can revolutions in certain countries take place in a time of overall tranquility? Though in nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia, the answer was no, in other countries, could a large number of people unite against a government that was unsatisfactory in its policies at a time of peace? Perhaps a deeper understanding of these questions could help us assure that radical groups do not take advantage of a time of distress in a nation and would lead us to a better comprehension of the human condition.

Conclusion essentially reflects argument in EE & relevant to RQ. $H = \frac{2}{2}$

Basically a survey of the Russian Rev of 1917 - mainly description of how it - there are gaps and generalization in the

PTO

Evolution of ¹⁵ key issues should have been undertaken given the nature of some of the - some 1.5/4/stand

Appendix

Should come after listing

Document I: Table of Strikes in Russia⁶⁹

Year	Number in thousands of participants in political strikes
1910	4
1911	8
1912	550
1913	502
1914 (first half)	1,059
1915	156
1916	310
1917 (January-February)	575

⁶⁹ Trotsky, p. 56.

Document II: Abdication of Nicholas II ⁷⁰

In the days of the great struggle against the foreign enemies, who for nearly three years have tried to enslave our fatherland, the Lord God has been pleased to send down on Russia a new heavy trial. Internal popular disturbances threaten to have a disastrous effect on the future conduct of this persistent war. The destiny of Russia, the honor of our heroic army, the welfare of the people and the whole future of our dear fatherland demand that the war should be brought to a victorious conclusion whatever the cost. The cruel enemy is making his last efforts, and already the hour approaches when our glorious army together with our gallant allies will crush him. In these decisive days in the life of Russia, We thought it Our duty of conscience to facilitate for Our people the closest union possible and a consolidation of all national forces for the speedy attainment of victory. In agreement with the Imperial Duma We have thought it well to renounce the Throne of the Russian Empire and to lay down the supreme power. As We do not wish to part from Our beloved son, We transmit the succession to Our brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, and give Him Our blessing to mount the Throne of the Russian Empire. We direct Our brother to conduct the affairs of state in full and inviolable union with the representatives of the people in the legislative bodies on those principles which will be established by them, and on which He will take an inviolable oath.

In the name of Our dearly beloved homeland, We call on Our faithful sons of the fatherland to fulfill their sacred duty to the fatherland, to obey the tsar in the heavy moment of national trials, and to help Him, together with the representatives of the people, to guide the Russian Empire on the road to victory, welfare, and glory. May the Lord God help Russia!

⁷⁰ Nicholas II of Russia, (accessed December 19, 2011), "The Abdication of Nicholas II", http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Abdication_of_Nicholas_II.

Document III: Renunciation of Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich ⁷¹

A heavy burden has been laid on me by my brother's will in transferring to me the imperial throne of All Russia at a time of unprecedented war and unrest among the people.

Inspired by the thought common to the whole nation, that the well-being of our homeland comes above all, I have taken the hard decision to accept supreme power only in the event that it shall be the will of our great people, who in nationwide voting must elect their representatives to a Constituent Assembly, establish a new form of government and new fundamental laws for the Russian State.

Therefore, calling on God's blessing, I ask all citizens of the Russian State to obey the provisional government which has been formed and been invested with complete power on the initiative of the State Duma, until a Constituent Assembly, to be convened in the shortest possible time on the basis of general, direct, equal, secret ballot, expresses the will of the people in its decision on a form of government.

⁷¹ Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich, (accessed December 19, 2011), "Manifesto", <http://www.histdoc.net/history/abdic.html>.

Document IV : Bolshevik Propaganda Poster

Lenin. The New Brush That Sweeps Clean. ⁷²



**Тов. Ленин ОЧИЩАЕТ
ЗЕМЛЮ ОТ НЕЧИСТИ.**

⁷² Soviet Propaganda Posters, (accessed December 19, 2011), "Lenin. The new brush that sweeps clean." <http://sovietposters.blogspot.com/2010/04/lenin-new-brush-that-sweeps-clean.html>.

Handwritten notes in green ink: "Handwritten 1914-1917" and "Appendices".

Bibliography

- ✓ ALEXANDROVICH, Grand Duke Mikhail (accessed December 19, 2011), "Manifesto", translated from Russian, <http://www.histdoc.net/history/abdic.html>.
- ✓ BROOKS, Jeffrey, CHERNYAVISKIY, Georgiy, *Lenin and the Making of the Soviet State*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- ✓ D'ENCAUSSE, Hélène Carrière, *Lénine, la révolution et le pouvoir*, Paris, Flammarion, 1979.
- ✓ LENIN, Vladimir Ilitch, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (originally published in 1916) in *Essential Works of Lenin*, translated from Russian, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1987.
- ✓ LENIN, Vladimir Ilitch, *The State and Revolution*, (originally published in 1917) in *Essential Works of Lenin*, translated from Russian, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1987.
- ✓ LINCOLN, W. Bruce, *Passage Through Armageddon: the Russians in War and Revolution, 1914-1918*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1986.
- ✓ LINCOLN, W. Bruce, *Red Victory: a History of the Russian Civil War*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1989.
- ✓ MAZOUR, Anatole Gregory, *The First Russian Revolution, 1825*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1937.
- ✓ MIKHAILOVITCH, Grand-duc Nicolas, *La fin du tsarisme: lettres inédites à Frédéric Masson*, Paris, Payot, 1968.
- ✓ NICHOLAS II of Russia, (accessed December 19, 2011), "The Abdication of Nicholas II", translated from Russian, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Abdication_of_Nicholas_II.
- ✓ PALÉOLOGUE, Maurice, *Le crépuscule des tsars: journal 1914-1917*, Paris, Mercure de France, 2007.
- ✓ RADZINDKY, Edvard, *Alexander II: The Last Great Tsar*, New York, Free Press, 2005.

✓ TROTSKY, Leon, *History of the Russian Revolution*, (originally published in 1930) translated from Russian by Max Eastman, New York, Pathfinder, 1999.

✓ SOBOLEV, P., GUIMPELSON, E., TROUKAN, G., *Histoire de la révolution d'octobre*, (originally published in 1962), translated from Russian by Marc-Antoine Parra, Moscow, Les Éditions du Progrès, 1977.

✓ SOVIET Propaganda Posters, (accessed December 19, 2011), "Lenin. The new brush that sweeps clean." <http://sovietposters.blogspot.com/2010/04/lenin-new-brush-that-sweeps-clean.html>.

✓ WILLIAMS, Harold (accessed September 5 2011), "Kerensky Tackles Bolshevik Peril", *The New York Times*, September 21, 1917, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9B02E2DA103AE433A25752C2A96F9C946696D6CF&scp=4&sq=bolshevik&st=p>.

Good range of sources & well-linked, with all required details: a division into categories could have been helpful, however.
References, except in 1 respect, provided: well & all sources linked, duly cited in EE too (in Appendix).
Formal presentation excellent, generally, transparent.

C = $\frac{3}{4}$ Some appropriate & good sources selected & used clearly in EE. Regrettably, perhaps, that only a few recent secondary sources found (viz: from post-USSR & last 10 years). Satisfactory planning too.

D = $\frac{3}{4}$ General solid level of relevant K + U displayed + good indications of awareness of part of an academic context.

E = $\frac{3}{4}$ A relevant & effective coherent argument developed overall, with mostly sufficient support for claims (if not entirely).

F = $\frac{3}{4}$ Analytical & evaluative skills demonstrated to a very good extent.

G = $\frac{4}{4}$ Very good.

I = $\frac{3}{4}$ Overall, formal presentation very good (nearly excellent!).

R = $\frac{3}{4}$ A very good, nearly well-agreed answer to RQ provided, including some elements of in-depth K + U.

