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## RUSSIA

## By NICHOLAS MAKEEV \& VALENTINE O'HARA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE RIGHT HON. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.


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## INTRODUCTION

There is no greater event in modern history than the Russian Revolution, whether it be considered in relation to the vast extent of the ternitory which it has affected, or the nature and quality of the changes which it has introduced, or the mass suffering of which it has been the parent, or the influence which it has exerted, and contmues to exert, in international relations. The break with Confucius in China may prove to be equally far-reaching in its consequences; but we know far too little about China to be sure. The nearest parallel, and most helpful guide to the understanding of recent events in Russia, is the French Revolution; a movement which now, thanks to the efflux of time and the labour of historians, can be judged with comparative accuracy

The French Revolution was an attack on privilege; the Bolshevik Revolution an attack on property. The one was the work of the bourgeoisie; the other of a knot of Communist sectaries working on the passions of a defeated army, and an ill-pard factory population. That revolution would occur in France, and in Russia, was a matter confidently foretold by many who visited the two countries under their ancient monarchies, but, whle the particular course of the French revolution was unforeseen, the peculiarity of the Russian revolution lhes in the fact that Lenin the communist had long predicted the nature of his opportunity, and had the plan of a Communist State ready formed in his brain.

Each revolution was formidable by reason of the fact that it was the triumph of a doctrine; but whereas the intellectual preparation for the French Revolution was the work of a great school of writers using the French tongue, the Bolshevik creed was made in Germany. The doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is the distinctive feature of the Russian creed, was derived from the writings of Karl Marx,
a German Jew. It was exotic, not a natıve Russian product, and its chentele was largely to be found among the persecuted Russian co-religionists of its author.

Both in Russia and in France the peasants, profiting by the general confusion, serzed the lands of the nobles and gentry of the neighbourhood, and as no French government has dared to upset the land settlement of the revolution, so no Russian government will venture to annul the vast transfer of property which has been effected in the tme of trouble. Indeed the principal security of the Bolsheviki will be found to consist not in the popularity of their communst doctrme, but in. the wide duffusion of private property among the peasants which is associated with their réglme.

Each revolution was antı-religious in character, and resulted in a scheme of lay schools supported by the public purse. In each case ambitious educational ideals, compounded of enlightenment and folly, were accompanied by a temporary paralysis of real education. There is, however, this profound difference between the French and the Russian revolutionary state. The French system is based upon the equality of all; -the Russian upon the tyranny of a class. It is sufficient to observe that the son of the peasant and the artisan has a preferential claim to education in a Russian University.

Both revolutions were profoundly influenced by foreign wars. It was the failure of the Tsarist government to conduct war efficiently which gave the Bolsheviki their opportunity, just as it was forelgn invasion which led to the execution of Louis XVI and the establishment of the Terror. In each case the revolutionary government was helped by the activities of foreign powers allying themselves with parties in the revolutionary state. There was, however, one important dufference between the two cases. The Powers, who fought the French revolution, wished to restore the Bourbons. The - Entente, in the recent war, accepted the Russian revolution;
but they entered into a war upon the Bolsheviki when it was clear that they were set upon a peace with the Germans.

Each revolution was doctrmaire and propagandist. Robespierre and Lenin had a cause in which they saw a promise for the redemption of humanity. The creed of France was Liberty, Fraternity, Equallity; the creed of Russia, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The French revolutionary government almost immediately reverted to the ancient French tradition of administrative centralization. Even so the Russian communists govern with the secret police of the Tsarist regime. In foreign policy, however, there is a difference. Revolutionary France swung back at once to the doctrine of the Rhine frontier which was the diplomatic tradition of ancient France, and so became unvolved in a war of conquest. The Bolsheviki, on the contrary, continue to pursue a policy of cosmopolitan conspiracy; and trust to doctrine rather than to guns to extend therr rule.

The schism between revolutionary France and Europe lasted for more than twenty years, but though the doctrinal cleft between communist Moscow and the individualist societies of Western Europe is profound, Germany has already made a pact with the Bolshevist state.

The main outlines of French society to-day were traced by the thinkers of the French revolution. Civil marriage, secular schools, equality before the law, the abolition of privilege in finance, religious toleration, parliamentary government, all these conquests of the revolutionary spirit have been triumphantly maintained. In Russia large concessions have already been made to the principle of capitalism. The doctrine of Lenin has lost much of its vigour under the ineluctable pressure of events; but though Communism will fail, both at home and abroad, the old régrme in Russia has gone once for all, and there is no power in the world which can restore it.

## Russia

To the understanding of this vast and complex Russian movement, this volume makes an important contribution. Since Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace published his famous book in 1887, I doubt whether any more substantial treatise on Russian affarrs has been published in the English language. Of the authors, one is a Russian and the other a British subject long resident in the old Russian empre. Each has suffered imprisonment ; M. Makeev at the hands of the Tsarist Government, Mr. O'Hara at the hands of the Bolsheviki.
M. Makeev became a member of the Social Revolutionary party in 1904. Later he took part in the Co-operative movement and in the activities of Local Government. Early in IgI7 he became a member of the board of the all-Russian Union of Zemstvos, of which he was elected president in succession to Prince Lvov, and in October of the same year he became a member of the Constituent Assembly for Vladimir. He left Russia in 19Ig. His collaborator, Mr. O'Hara, has also a long and varied experience of Russian affairs, gained in business and as a member of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Petrograd, and as taking part, at the invitation of the Foreign Office, in the British political mission to the Baltic States in 1919

The attempt of the two authors to tell the truth about Russia, and to enable an accurate judgment to be formed as to the essential factors in the historical growth and political condition of this vast country is obvious upon every page. And since the reader is here invited neither to condemn nor to extenuate, but simply to understand, this volume should be read when thousands of polemical treatises on Russia, the fruits of anger, horror, prejudice, and spite, have passed into oblivion.

September, 1925.

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| IX c-X c . | The Slavs with the help of Norsemen successfully repel attacks of wild tribes. The Norsemen supported by the tradıng towns and centres extend their prinćpalities, that of Kiev being the most important The Slavs advance to shores of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov. The nver trading route from Novgorod to Kiev established Slav settlements in durection of countries |
| $\begin{aligned} & 987-989 \\ & \text { XI c. } \end{aligned}$ | Arabian civilization. Close relations with Byzantuum Adoption of Chnstranity and of Greek alphabet. The Slavs spread over territory between the rivers Oka and Volga where a number of principalities and towns arise. In the first half of this century the Kiev State clears the south of nomadic tribes. In the second half of the century renewed meursions of other wald tribes. |
| about 1054 | Furst collection of Russtan laws (Russkaya Pravda). Free-lance, roving retainers of princes (Boyars), settle down as landed propnetars. |
| XII c | Settlement of north-east Russia proceeds. A new centre is formed at Suzdal avalling Kiev and Novgorod un mportance Change in ioutes of world trade from Eastern to Western Europe, Dechne of the Kiev State. |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1147 \\ & 1169 \end{aligned}$ | Furst mention of Moscow Struggle for supremacy among the Russian princes Capiure of Kzev by Prance Andrei of Suzdal-Vladimur. Slav penetration eastwards. Development of the " folk-mate" instatutions (Veche). Legendary poetry and church literature floursh Rise of Moscow. |
| XIII c. | Dechne of Byzantium adversely affects trade along the Novgorod and Kiev route. Territory around Kiev becomes devastated and from the tume of the first Tartar |
| about 1224 | invasion, when the hordes of Jenghiz Khan defeated the Russians at the battle of Kalka until the 15 th century Kiev drops out of Russian history. Other centres in North east of Russia assume growing importance, |

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## 1700

1709
1721

1795
$\mathbf{8 0 0}$

Swedes has to be overcome Russtans beaten by the Swedes at Narva-begnnnug of " northern war." Peter recreates army. Defeat of Swedes at Poltava. Landing of Russian troops , in Sweden. Stockholm district ravaged. By Treaty of Nystadt Swedes cede Livoma, Estona, part of Finland ( $W$ yborg), Ingria and Karela to Russia Harbours of Reval and Riga now Russian In 1711 he had proclaimed humself " Emperor of all Russia." Azov restored to Turks. Persian expedition. Expansion to Caspian Sea. Advance to Khiva Fevenish reforming zeal. Old Boyar Duma transformed into Senate with ill-defined functions, legislative, administrative, executive, judicial, military Pohce bureaucratic system developed. Division of Russia into mine administrative districts under governors with extensive powers By establishment of Holy Synod, under a lay Procurator Church definitely subordinated to State Efforts to introduce durect individual taxation falling especially on peasantry. Planting of factories Furst lay schools Increase of mfluence of nobles under successors of Peter the Great (Catherine I, 1725-1727: Peter II, 17271730; Anne 1730-1740; Ivan VI, 1740-1741; Eluzabeth, 1741-176I ; Peter III, 1761-1762). They acquire many privileges : educational advantages, freedom from obligatory mulitary service, etc. Extension of serfdom by reason of grants of state lands to the nobility in return for services. General decline in position of peasantry owing to heavy taxation, recruiting and prohibition to leave village Abolition of the system of local customs duthes withan the Empire makes for economic unity. Catherine II the Great State colomzation progresses south and south-east to shores of sea of Azov Colonzation of New Russia and North Cancasus. Forward foreign policy: Furst Turkish War ended by the peace of Kuchuk which gave Russia access to the Mediterranean Cnmea part of Russian Empire.
Second Turkish War ended by peace of Jassy.
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Home policy strengthening of the unfluence of the nobility New administrative division of Empire (forty governments and about three hundred new towns). New departmental organization Nobility given considerable share in provincial government. It controls police and
$1773-4$
$1796-1801$

1790
7799
XIX c. (First Half) 180r, 1803

1807
1807-12

18×2-15 1815

1828
$\check{289}$
judicial admunstration. Economic revival. End of system of granting monopolies to individuals The wealthy serf-owning nobility start many factories. About one-hundred-and-sixty-one of these in 1796. The bourgeois elements, merchants, etc, assert themselves. Abuses of serfdom. Sale of serf labour. Pugachev Resing. State power starts policing itself. Rights of the nobility greatly curtailed under Paul I. Growing centralization. Under Catherne the Great a remarkable revival in cultural life. Western influences, French phulosophy. Formation of Russian as a literary language. Liberal movement among the nobility. Formation of the Intelligentsia. Freemasonry. Religious movements : Schism and sects Strong feelings of Intelligentsia re serfdom, police system, etc. Novikov, Radishtsev (Journey to Moscow).
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Incorporation of Georgza and Mingrehia. Foreign pohcy of the Empire dictated not so much by Russian national interests as by the polntical sympathes and antrpathes of autocratic rulers, by their desire to save " legitimate order " in Europe, to defend the old system against the new, and especially to prevent " the poison of the French Revolution " from penetrating into Russia. Anglo-Russian Alliance broken off on conclusion under Alexander I (1801-1825) of the Treaty of Talst when Russia was exposed to the so-called Continertal Blockade of Napoleon During this penod Russia annexes Finland ( 1809 ) as far as the river Torneo granting her full admunstrative and political autonomy. Annexation of Bessarabia (1812), Imereta (1810) and part of Trans-Caucasia (1813). The National War against France. Russian Army in Pars (1814) Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alhance. Further partition of Poland. The Russian Empire at the summit of its power in Europe. Nicholas I ( $1825-1855$ ) wages war with Turkey (1826-1828) and with Persia. Peace Treaties of Turkmanchas with Persia (Russia acquising Frivan and Nakhichevan distncts), and of Adramople with Tarkey (Russia extending her terntory to the north of the Danube; to the Caucasian shore of the Black Sea, and in Transcaucasia), Serbia, Moldavia and Vallachia guaranteed autonomy. By the support of Russia, France and England, Greece becomes an
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Alexander I puts an end to grant of serfs to nobilty. Ukaze re free peasantry gave landowners nght to liberate serfs. Four new universities founded, a number of secondary schools and primary schools Autocratic reaction against principles of the French Revolution. Influence of Arakcheve (1814-1825). The ideal of Napoleonic France appeals to many higher officials Speransk's Liberalism. The progressive Intelligentsia under the mfluence of French Revolutionary ideals. Secret societies: the Order of Russian Kinghts, Union of Salvation, Union of Welfare which spht up into Southern Soczety and Northern Socrety.
Outbreak of the Dekabrast Revolt on accession of Nicholas I to throne.
1830-1

XIX c.
(SecondHalf)
1864
1868, 1873
1864, 1876

## Conquest of the Caucasus

Bokhara and Khiva become dependent States.
Acquasition of Turkestan and the Fergan region Franco. German War gives Alexander II (1855-188r) opportumity of retreving situation in the Black Sea (London Convention).
Franco-Russian alhance replaced in 1863 by the Prussa'Russian entente durected against Austria and less openly against France. Secret defenstve alliance with Prussta. Balkan War for the liberation of the Slav peoples from

Feb 19, 1861
the Turkash yoke ended by Treaty of San Stefano independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumama, and part of Bulgaria, special terms for the Armenians under Turkish rule, Russia recerves Ardagan, Kars, Batum and Baiazet. In the Berhn Congress under Austrian and Enghsh pressure, and with connivance of Germany, the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano are modified to the disadvantage of Russia and of Slav unterests: the Bulgarian terntory is reduced by half, eastern Rumelia is given back to the mulitary and political control of Turkey; reduction of territones of Serbia and Montenegro which are separated by narrow corridors under Austrian control. Austria occupies Bosma and Herzegovina: Macedonia and a strip of land on the Ægean Sea given back to Turkey as also the fortress of Baazet, Russia not allowed to fortufy Batum
The ambiguous German policy and especially the aggressive tactics of William I and Bismark against France lead to stranned relations between Russia and Germany Secret Austro-Gerniän Alliance amed against Russia Anglo-Russian conflict of interests in Middle Asia Alexander III's (188r-1894) plan to keep Russia enturely out of European affairs.
Franco-Russian understanding in 1890 leads to a Mihtary Convention in 1893 and to the Franco-Russtan Alliance Home Affarrs . The Crimean War ( $1853-1856$ ) shows the complete faulure of the old system of rule and of serfdom " Better" says Alexander II" to abolish serfdom from above than to wait untul it abohshes itself from beneath " The Russtan Intelligentsta stand up for Abolition (cf the works of Radıshchev, Pushkin, Gogol, Nekrasov, Turgenev, Aksakov, Tolstoy, Herzen, Chernyshevska)
Mantfesto of Alexander II re Laberation of the Serfs. Under the influence of the reactionary nobility the land reforms are carried out unsatisfactornly Great discontent among the peasantry. The more radical groups of the Intelligentsia look forward to a revolution (Chernyshevsku, Dobrolnubov, Mikhailov) The liberal milueus of the nobility insust on judicial and admumstrative reforms, on the introduction of local government, and summoning of elected representatives of the whole State Discontent spreads to the universities and higher schools. Growth of Nuhulism (Pisarev) Polish Insurrecion arouses sympathy among Russian hberal and radical miliens.

|  | Dostaevski) Labour strikes in Petersburg (1870). |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1870 \\ & 1874 \end{aligned}$ | Statute of munzcupal admznzstratzon and introduction of obligatory military service for all in place of old recruiting system-measures already planned in 1864. |
| 1872-3 | Famme in the Samara government |
| 1873-5 | To the People movement of the Intellgentsia ( b . " Vurgin Soal" of Turgenev). Severe government repression. Conflict of public opinion with Government. Growth of revolutionary activitues. |
| 1878, 1879 | Land and Freedom and People's Will Terronsm |
| Mar. 1, 188x | Assassinatton of Alexander II. |
| 188I | Manufesto of Alexander III ( 1881 -1894) vs the unalterable character of the Autocracy No constitutional reforms to be expected <br> The reactionary influence of Pobiedonostsev, the Procurator of the Holy Synod. "Enforced Protection" -a system of martal law |
| 1883. 1885 | The Peasants' Bank and the Nobles' Bank establshed. |
| 1882 | First labour legislation introduced by the Minster of Funance, Bunge. National rights curtanled. <br> Justices of the peace in the vullages replaced by Govern- |
| 1889 | ment officials chosen from the nobulity, Zemskie Nachalnikz (district chiefs or heads) with enormous powers of junsdiction over local peasantry. The Poles deprived of right to be civil servants in Poland or in the western provinces. <br> The powers of jurnes curtalled |
| 1890 | Restrictions of Zemstvo self-government nights: Government control extended over Zemstvo activities |
| 1892 | Municipal affaiss subjected togreater government control |
| 1891 | Construction of the Trans-Szberian Ralhway started. Nicholas II (1894-1917) |
|  | Culture of the Perrod. |
| Literature | J Goncharov, J. Turgenev, N Nekrasov, Fedor Dostoevska, A Ostrovsku, M Saltykov, Lev Tolstoy. A Chekhov, Maxim Gorka, J Bumin |
| Art | Aivazovski, Repin, Surikov, Wasnetzov, Vrubel, Levitan, Serov. |
| Music | A Rubinstein, A Borodın, Chaikovska, Musorgski, Rumski-Korsakov, Glazunov. |
| Scrence | Mechnikov, Bekhterev, Sechenov, Pavlov, Mendeleev, Lebedev: also the explorers Semenov-Tianshansku, Przevalski, Kozlov, etc. |

## APPENDIX II

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