

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION 1917-1918

Documents and Materials

JAMES BUNYAN and H. H. FISHER

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"Can be described without qualification as the most valuable and illuminating single work in English on the immediate background of the Bolshevik seizure of power, and the subsequent course of the Revolution during the first six months of the Soviet regime."—Frederick L. Schuman, *The New Republic*.

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The Bolshevik Revolution

1917-1918

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DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

By

JAMES BUNYAN

and

H. H. FISHER

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE

THE MATERIALS of this book tell the story of how the Bolsheviks seized the power in Russia and kept it during the first six months of their rule. The story is told in the language of decrees, manifestos, and other public documents, in the words of participants and observers, and in the reports of the contemporary press. This volume follows chronologically the *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917*, published by the late Professor Frank A. Golder, and constitutes a part of a collection of materials on the Russian Revolution planned by him and made possible through his initiative. It has been necessary to revise his original plan, but in carrying out this revision, I have attempted to reach the objectives which Mr. Golder had in mind. If, therefore, this and the other volumes now in preparation contribute to the knowledge and understanding of one of the great historical movements of this age, the credit belongs to him. While this volume has been in preparation materials have been selected and translated which relate to civil war, intervention, and war communism in European Russia; the revolution, civil war, and intervention in Siberia and the Russian Far East; the origins of the Third International; the revolution and the Communist régime in Hungary. These volumes are being prepared for the press along with certain memoirs and monographs dealing with the background of the Revolution and aspects of its development.

A considerable number of the documents of the present volume were selected and translated by Mr. Golder. The others, with a few exceptions, have been translated by Mr. James Bunyan, upon whom also has fallen the burden of the major part of the research involved in the preparation of the book. The materials relating to this time are exceedingly voluminous, and while there are many which would inevitably be included in a collection relating to this period there are many others included here for reasons less obvious or compelling. We have not made our selections for the purpose of upholding any theory of history in general or of the Bolshevik revolution in particular, beyond the general notion that it is not the first revolution in human history and possibly not the last. Nor have we had in mind the specialist who has access to the sources which we have used. There are others, who, presumably, do not have access to these materials but who have more than a controversial interest in the events described. For them we have tried to make selections which show the conditions of the time, how the various parties and leaders viewed them, what they proposed to do, the action that was taken, and the results as they appeared at the time. Because of the length of most of the materials quoted it has not been

possible to give them in their entirety, but we hope that we have reproduced essential parts and have avoided any distortion of the meaning.

The Introduction, which relates to the March–October, 1917, period, is in no sense a history of those months but merely a résumé of the Bolshevik attitude toward the Provisional Government, the Soviets, the socialist parties, and the outstanding issues of the time. The editorial notes which accompany the documents of the following chapters are not interpretative. They are summaries of events described in the documents or of relevant materials which for one reason or another have not been included. Brief biographical notices are given in the Index. Wherever possible, citations are made to works in western European languages.

Mr. Bunyan and I desire to express our obligations to other members of the research staff of the Hoover War Library for the aid given by them in the preparation of this book, particularly to Dr. Merrill Spalding, Mrs. Xenia Joukoff, Mr. J. E. Wallace Sterling, and Miss Helene von Damm, whose contributions in labor and suggestions have been many and of the greatest value. Miss von Damm has also seen the book through the press and has prepared the index. We are also grateful to the administrative staff of the Library, especially to Miss Nina Almond, Librarian, Mr. Philip T. McLean, Reference Librarian, and Mr. Dmitry Krassovsky, bibliographer of the Slavic collections; and we are indebted to Professor William Hawley Davis, editor of the Stanford University Press, for his patience and helpfulness.

The International Publishers and the Appleton-Century Company have been kind enough to permit the inclusion in this volume of passages from the English edition of Lenin's *Works* and from Mr. Golder's *Documents of Russian History, 1914–1917*, for which I am greatly obliged.

H. H. FISHER June 1934

PREFACE TO THE SECOND PRINTING

The first printing of this volume was sold out in 1948. In view of the many requests for this publication, the Hoover Institution has accepted the suggestion of the Stanford University Press that the volume be reprinted. It must be emphasized, however, that this is not a new edition, but merely a reprint of the original edition, in which a few errata have been corrected and a few easily ascertained death dates added to the Index. We are aware that since 1934, when this volume was prepared for print, a number of new documents pertinent to the topics covered by this volume have become available. Unfortunately, it is not practicable to include them in this reprinting.

W. GLENN CAMPBELL March 1961

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INTRODUCTION

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

IN THE drab language of an official report written in the late autumn of 1916 an agent of the Petrograd Secret Police described for his superiors the material conditions and the state of mind of the Petrograd population and the activities of the revolutionary parties as they appeared to the police. The ordinary citizen, said the report, "doomed to semi-starvation" and without hope, had become peculiarly susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. The workers were in such deep despair that almost any signal might cause "elementary disorders." Moreover, "the suppression of workers' meetings, . . . the suppression of labor organizations, the persecution of active participants in the shop-hospital funds, the suspension of labor press organs, etc., force the working masses, guided in their actions and sympathies by the most class-conscious elements, to show an acutely hostile attitude toward the governmental authorities and to protest in every way against a continuation of this war." "End the war, since you don't know how to fight" had become a popular slogan. Questionnaires sent out by some of the less radical leaders in the labor movement, revealed that almost nine-tenths of the workers questioned were unable to maintain their pre-war standard of living despite wage increases of 100 to 300 per cent and only about one-fiftieth of the number considered their position tolerable. According to the authors of the questionnaire these conditions would inevitably lead to a general strike not later than January 1917, which would force the government to work for an immediate peace.

The Social-Democrats, the reporter for the police noted, were making the most of this situation. Among the many warring factions into which the socialist movement had split, there were two main groups: the defeatists, who were the most divided but the most popular; and the defensists, the supporters of a war of defense. Of the defeatists, the Bolsheviks were the most numerous and aggressive and as such had been the object of the solicitous attentions of the police in 1915 and 1916. Although the Bolsheviks had succeeded with considerable effort in re-establishing their organization after the raids and arrests, the police maintained, perhaps a shade too optimistically, that on the whole this party was leading a "pitiful existence, since their chief leaders are invariably arrested, while the masses of the people respond only weakly to the Social-Democratic propaganda and it is only hunger and the high cost of living that may drive them toward an open demonstration."¹

In February the anticipated strikes began. Early in March, "hunger and the high cost of living" drove crowds of workers, men and women, into the streets in demonstrations which became, when the soldiers joined the demonstrators, a revolution. The Imperial régime fell and the task of establishing a new government was undertaken by the Provisional Committee of the State Duma in consultation with another improvised institution of very different origin and complexion—the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

On March 12,² members of the State Duma met informally and authorized the Council of Elders to appoint a Provisional Committee. This committee of twelve members included representatives of the parties making up the Progressive bloc and of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionist³ deputies in the Duma. The party of the Right—the

¹ "Politicheskoe polozhenie Rossii nakanune Fevral'skoi revoliutsii v zhandarm'skom osveshchenii," in *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, XVII (1926), 1–35.

² This and all other dates in this book are according to the Western calendar.

³ The Progressive bloc, which had constituted the principal opposition to the government in the last months of the old régime and which was most active in the

most conservative group—was not represented, nor were the Bolsheviks, whose deputies had been arrested and sent to Siberia in 1914. The Provisional Committee appointed commissars to the central government departments and then proceeded with the formation of a government, using as a basis of discussion lists which had been prepared several months before and circulated in the State Duma and various public bodies. The ten men chosen with Prince G. E. Lvov

organization of the first Provisional Government, included the deputies of two parties organized in 1905; the Union of the 17th of October (Octobrists) and the Constitutional Democrats ("Cadets"), with representatives of other Duma groups; Nationalists; Center; and Progressists. The Octobrists based their program on the Imperial Manifesto of October 17/30, 1905, by which, as is well known, Nicholas II promised a duma with legislative power and a share in the supervision of administration. The Cadets, also known as the Party of People's Freedom, stood at the extreme left of the bourgeois groups and advocated more extensive reforms than those granted in 1905, including wider powers to the State Duma, a responsible government, and the allotment to the peasants of state, monastery, and private lands, with compensation to the owners.

Of the parties and groups represented in the Soviets and the workers', soldiers', and peasants' congresses mentioned below, the Socialist-Revolutionist Party had been formed about the beginning of the present century by the union of groups of participants in the populist revolutionary movement of the preceding years. The party was by no means united on the issues of 1917 nor with respect to the Provisional Government, in which members with Right and Center tendencies participated. S.R.'s of the Left Wing opposed the government and, as will appear later, co-operated with the Bolsheviks in November.

In 1905, members of the then Right Wing of the S.R. Party had broken away and formed the Populist-Socialist Party, which in 1917 also supported the Provisional Government. The Labor group (Trudoviks) had been organized in 1906 in the First State Duma, mainly of peasant deputies. In March 1917 this group joined the Populist-Socialists to form a Labor-Populist-Socialist Party.

The Menshevik and Bolshevik wings of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party received their names at the time of the famous party split at the Second Congress of the party in 1903. Efforts during the following years to establish unity among Russian Marxists failed, and the movement was in a turmoil of struggle between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks and minor factional groups. In 1913 the Bolshevik deputies in the State Duma definitely broke with the Mensheviks, and during the war took a defeatist position with illegal, revolutionary tactics. As will appear, the Mensheviks supported the Provisional Government, as did the small Right-Wing group of Plekhanov. The Left-Wing groups of Menshevik-Internationalists and the United Social-Democratic Internationalists, still further to the left, opposed the Provisional Government as constructed, but did not support the Bolshevik revolutionary program. Still another group standing between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks were the Mezhrainontsy, who supported the program of the latter and formally united with them in August 1917. In this group were many who later held high places in the Soviet Government, among them, Trotsky, Joffe, Uritsky, Riazanov, Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky, and Karakhan.

as Prime Minister to constitute the First Provisional Government represented in general the same political tendencies as the Provisional Committee. A. F. Kerensky of the Socialist-Revolutionists became Minister of Justice, but N. S. Chkheidze, a Menshevik, declined to serve as Minister of Labor. The Provisional Government thus established succeeded nominally to the power of the Emperor, who had abdicated, to that of the Council of Ministers, which had been dismissed, to that of the State Council (the second legislative chamber), which took but little part in later events, and to that of the State Duma, which did not meet again but continued a shadowy existence, its members meeting informally to hear reports of individual ministers.⁴

The first steps in the organization of the Petrograd Soviet had been taken by members of the workers' section of the Central War Industries Committee, who were just released from jail and who with representatives of trade unions and co-operatives decided to form a Provisional Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in the tradition of 1905. This Committee issued a call for the election of deputies to the Soviet on the basis of one for each company of troops and one for each thousand workers. On the evening of March 12 such deputies as had been hastily and informally elected, along with a number of Socialists who participated by invitation, met in the Taurida Palace under the chairmanship of Chkheidze. Here the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was organized with Chkheidze as President, Kerensky and M. I. Skobelev, a Menshevik, Vice-Presidents. This meeting also elected an Executive Committee of eleven. The Soviet subsequently

⁴English translations of materials relating to the March Revolution and the organization and policies of the Provisional Government and the Soviets are given in F. A. Golder, *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917*, New York, 1927, chaps. 18-45. In the English edition of Lenin's works, *The Revolution of 1917*, 2 vols., New York, 1929, and *Toward the Seizure of Power*, 2 vols., New York, 1932, cover the same period and contain besides Lenin's writings much other information on the events of this time. For a discussion of sources for the study of this period, see Michael Karpovich's "The Russian Revolution of 1917," in *The Journal of Modern History*, II, No. 2, June 1930, 258-80.

declined to take part in the Provisional Government—an exception being made in the case of Kerensky—but voted to support the government in so far as it followed the Soviet program.

During the next few weeks Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies sprang up throughout the country. Like their Petrograd prototype, they included representatives of workers, soldiers, and the various socialist parties. In order to co-ordinate their work, some four hundred representatives of these provincial Soviets held a conference in Petrograd, April 11–16. This conference, among other things, organized an All-Russian Central Executive Committee by adding to the Petrograd Executive Committee sixteen representatives from the provinces.

Those Bolshevik leaders who were on the scene took an active part in the organization of the Petrograd Soviet. They were, however, in a minority to the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists and, furthermore, they disagreed among themselves as to the attitude to be taken toward the Provisional Government and its program. Some of the party favored outright opposition to the government, but when in a meeting of the Soviet on March 15 they stated their position and moved the formation of a government by the Soviet they received only nineteen votes, with many party members voting against the motion.*

The party minority which favored outright opposition to the Provisional Government during these days was out of touch with and hence without the support of Lenin, who with Zinoviev, Sokolnikov, Bukharin, and others was abroad. Lenin in the meantime had expressed very strong opinions as to the tactics to be pursued by his party. To members of the party in Stockholm who were leaving for Russia, he telegraphed: "Our tactics consist in an absolute mistrust of the new government, in refusing to support it. Kerensky is especially suspicious. The arming of the proletariat would

* A. G. Shliapnikov, *Semnadtsatyi god*, 2 vols., Moscow, 1923–1925, I, 240.

be our only guaranty. . . .” In his “Letters from Afar” and in various other communications Lenin elaborated on his opposition to the Provisional Government, “the clerk of the billion-dollar ‘firms’ England and France,” as incapable of making a democratic peace. He insisted that the Soviets be regarded as “organs of insurrection, as organs of revolutionary power”; that the existing state machinery must be destroyed and replaced; that the power must be transferred from the government of landowners and capitalists to a government of the workers and poorest peasants on the model of the Soviets. “We must tell the workers,” he wrote in another letter, “that it is their duty to overthrow not only Wilhelm, but the English and Italian kings as well . . . it is their duty to overthrow the bourgeois governments, and we must begin with Russia, because otherwise we shall never attain peace.”

When Lenin arrived in Petrograd on April 16 after his famous journey in a sealed train across Germany, he received a varied welcome. Many greeted him as a distinguished revolutionist whose words were worth listening to. Others, and this included some of the members of his own party, also welcomed him as a distinguished revolutionist but one who, unfortunately, had been so long abroad that he did not quite grasp the realities of the situation. To others he was now, as in the past, a disturbing element in the revolutionary movement, a narrow sectarian determined to continue his disruptive factionalism and break down the united revolutionary front. To still others who breathed a different political atmosphere he was an obscure agitator, an enemy of society, a madman whose ideas were so extreme that they could never gain any considerable following. Lenin lost no time after his arrival, defining his position in what were subsequently published and known as the “April

* V. Karpinsky, “Vladimir Ilich za granitsej v 1914–1917 g.g.,” *Zapiski Instituta Lenina*, 3 vols. [Moscow], 1927, II, 91–93.

* This and other quotations from Lenin in this Introduction are from the volumes in the English edition of his *Works* referred to in note 4 above.

Theses." In this document he denounced the continuation of the war for the defense of the revolution or for any other reason so long as the Provisional Government remained in power, and advocated opposition and exposure of the real origins of this government, which he believed had been promoted by the Entente to insure Russia's continued participation in the war. He offered a program including the establishment of a Soviet rather than a parliamentary republic; the abolition of the existing police, army, and bureaucracy; the confiscation of all private lands; the immediate merger of all banks under Soviet control; the establishment of Soviet control of production and distribution of goods; the changing of the name of the party from Social-Democratic to Communist; and, lastly, the rebuilding of the Socialist International along revolutionary lines.

The April Theses evoked a hostile response both outside and inside the party. Plekhanov wrote an article "On Lenin's Theses and Why Deliriums Are Occasionally Interesting." The Bolshevik Petrograd Committee voted against Lenin's stand and the Moscow Committee followed suit. In *Pravda* (April 21) Kamenev observed that the theses were merely the personal opinion of Comrade Lenin and in opposition to the resolutions of the Central Committee and the party conference, which resolutions, he added, "remain our platform, which we'll defend both against the demoralizing influence of 'Revolutionary defensism' and against Comrade Lenin's criticism." Within a few weeks, however, sentiment within the party began to change, for events demonstrated the popularity of certain of Lenin's theses, particularly those on the war.

An opportunity to reveal the unpopularity of those who advocated a continuation of the war was offered when Miliukov, the Foreign Minister, issued on May 1 a note to the Allies affirming Russia's determination to continue the struggle until a decisive victory had been achieved. This declaration for a decisive victory aroused great popular opposition, and crowds of soldiers and civilians joined in demonstrations of protest. The Bolsheviks had not instigated the demonstra-

tion, but once it had started they helped on the good work by urging soldiers and workers into the streets. "We advocated peaceful demonstrations," said Lenin later, "but several comrades from the Petrograd Committee issued an entirely different slogan ['Down with the Provisional Government']. We decided against that slogan but had no time to prevent its use. . . . All we wanted was a peaceful reconnoitering of the enemy's forces; we did not want to give battle." But battle was narrowly averted. Miliukov's supporters organized a counter demonstration, loyal troops were brought out, and finally the Soviet intervened to prevent civil strife by prohibiting street meetings and demonstrations for two days. On May 5, the Bolshevik Central Committee passed a resolution indorsing this order of the Soviet, condemning the slogan "Down with the Provisional Government" as premature, and declaring that the party would come out for "the transfer of power into the hands of the proletarians and semi-proletarians, only when the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopt our policy and are willing to take that power into their own hands."

Despite his advocacy of this assumption of power by the Soviets, Lenin does not appear to have taken much part in the activities of that institution. The mild and flexible Kamenev continued to be the Bolshevik spokesman in the Central Executive Committee, while Lenin threw himself into party affairs, developing its organization and striving to swing the majority to his program. In this he succeeded, and when the All-Russian Bolshevik Party Conference met in Petrograd, May 7-12, a majority of the 151 delegates representing 80,000 members voted resolutions in line with Lenin's position expressed in the April Theses and elsewhere. The Conference further declared it the duty of the party to develop the Soviets and bring them to adopt the "proletarian line," and to organize and arm the workers for the next stage of the revolution—the passing of state power to the Soviets or other organs expressing the will of the people.

In the meantime opposition in the Petrograd Soviet and elsewhere against the military and foreign policies of the Provisional Government produced the first of many government crises. Guchkov and Miliukov resigned and the Soviet took the important decision of approving the participation of Socialists in the formation of a new ministry. On May 18 the second Provisional Government, a bourgeois-socialist coalition, was formed. In this government Prince Lvov remained Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior; Kerensky succeeded Guchkov as Minister of War; and I. G. Tsereteli, a Menshevik, became Minister of Post and Telegraph, Skobelev Minister of Labor, and V. M. Chernov, a Socialist-Revolutionist, Minister of Agriculture.

During the period of the second Provisional Government, from the middle of May to the middle of July, four All-Russian congresses met in Petrograd. The votes of the delegates to these congresses undoubtedly reflected the general attitude of peasants, workers, and soldiers to the programs offered by the principal socialist parties. From May 17 to June 2 the first All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies was in session at People's House. Of the 1,115 delegates 537 were Socialist-Revolutionists, 465 non-partisan, and 103 Social-Democrats, including Mensheviks and Bolsheviks and smaller groups. The Socialist-Revolutionists controlled the Congress, elected N. D. Avxentiev chairman, and secured a majority of seats in the Executive Committee of thirty which was elected by the Congress and which was still in office during the November uprising. Although the deputies brought in no less than 242 recommendations concerning land, there was no dissent to the general resolution that the land should be turned over to the people, and only a few delegates, mostly Bolsheviks, opposed the Socialist-Revolutionist plan for the socialization of the soil to be put into effect after the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. In opposition to the Bolshevik program the Congress warned peasants against illegal seizures of the land, voted complete support of the Provisional Government, approved the war of defense until a peace

without annexations and indemnities could be secured, and sanctioned the offensive then being prepared. With the same decisiveness with which it had approved the Socialist-Revolutionist resolutions, the Congress voted down Lenin's resolution on the agrarian question which proposed the immediate confiscation and seizure of church and private lands and the transfer of state power to the Soviets.

On the day following the adjournment of the Congress of Peasants' Deputies another congress met which revealed the popularity of the Bolshevik program among the workers. Since the overthrow of the Imperial régime there had been a tremendous growth of labor organizations; trade unions increased in number and membership; but even more remarkable was the spread of the factory-shop committees elected by the workers and other employees in a given industry without reference to crafts or categories. These committees had been sanctioned March 24 by the Petrograd Soviet in agreement with the Association of Factory Owners and Industrialists and later legalized by the Provisional Government. Naturally they were more responsive to the demands of unskilled labor than were the regularly organized craft unions. The Bolsheviks from the beginning had been active in this movement and they controlled the organization bureau which summoned the first conference of factory-shop committees on June 12-16. The conference, by 290 out of 421 votes, adopted a resolution drafted by Lenin which, along with the familiar demands for the transfer of power, the arming of the workers, exchange of products, etc., advocated the establishment of workers' control over the production and distribution of goods and over financial and banking operations; the transfer of the greater portion of the profits, income, and property of banking, financial, commercial, and industrial magnates to the hands of the people; and the introduction of universal labor duty. A resolution introduced by B. V. Avilov for state control of industry—according to the program of the Mensheviks and S.R.'s—was defeated.

On June 16 another congress met which enjoyed greater

prestige and had a wider representation than the meetings which had preceded it. The first All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opened with 882 deputies having full voting rights. Of these 285 were Socialist-Revolutionists, 248 Mensheviks, and 105 Bolsheviks.* The Socialist-Revolutionist and Menshevik majorities carried a series of resolutions which touched the most serious problems of the moment but which offered less radical solutions than those of the Bolsheviks. On the questions of the composition of the government and the war the Congress approved the principle of participation of Socialists in the government in coalition with the bourgeois parties. It voted against a separate peace but urged that an attempt be made to persuade the Allies to accept the Soviet peace program and that, until the war was ended, the Russian army should be kept in combat condition.

Before its adjournment the First Congress of Soviets elected a new Central Executive Committee composed of 104 Mensheviks, 99 S.R.'s, 35 Bolsheviks, and 18 others. This C.E.C. remained in office until the November Revolution.

In the course of his speech before the Congress on the Provisional Government, Lenin, replying to a remark by Tsereteli, declared, "No party has a right to refuse power, and our party does not refuse it. Our party is ready at any moment to take all power into its hands." There was applause and laughter, and Lenin added, "You may laugh, but if the Citizen-Minister [Tsereteli] confronts us with this question . . . he will receive the proper reply."

He accused the socialist parties supporting the government of being democratic in words only, of allowing the war to go on in the interests of the capitalists, who should be

* Of the 1,090 delegates attending the Congress, 268 had a consultative voice. Of the total, 777 definitely expressed their political views. In addition to the three major parties there were: Internationalists, 32; Socialists, not members of any party group, 73; United Social-Democrats, 10; S.R. sympathizers, 20; Menshevik sympathizers, 8; Bund (Jewish S.D.'s), 10; Plekhanov's group, "Edinstvo," 3; Populist-Socialists, 3; Trudoviks, 5; on the platform of the S.R. and S.D. parties, 2; Anarcho-Communist, 1. (*Pervyi Vserossiiskii S'ezd Sovetov R.S.D.*, 2 vols., Moscow, 1930-1931, I, xxvii.)

put in jail instead of into the cabinet. "When we seize power," he said, "we shall curb the capitalists, then the war will be entirely *different* from the one now waged,—for the nature of a war is determined by the class that conducts it, and not by what is written on scraps of paper." In another speech at this Congress Lenin denied that his party favored a separate peace with Germany, but he also denounced "a separate peace with English and French imperialists. . . . We must break with them forthwith, for this is a predatory alliance." As showing the only way out, Lenin quoted a letter from a peasant: "We must press the bourgeoisie harder, let it burst in all the seams. Then the war will be ended. But if we do not press the bourgeoisie hard enough, things will be bad."

A few days later, while the Congress was still in session, the Bolsheviks announced a demonstration on June 23 under the slogans "Down with the Capitalist Ministers" and "All Power to the Soviets." The announcement caused no little consternation in the Presidium of the Congress. Chkhaidze urged action by the Congress to prevent bloodshed, and other speakers, seeing a connection between the demonstration and some of Lenin's statements in the Congress, charged the Bolsheviks with conspiring to overthrow the government. The Congress forbade all street demonstrations for three days, and, as in May, the Bolshevik Central Committee accepted this decision. On the 26th, *Pravda* denied the charge of conspiracy in an article on "The Truth about the Demonstration." The majority of the Congress did not press the issue, nor did the opponents of the Bolsheviks believe that *Pravda's* explanation was by any means the whole truth. On July 1, however, the Bolsheviks had the opportunity to display their slogans in a demonstration held under the auspices of the Soviet Congress.

Writing of these events some years later, and using information gathered in 1920, Sukhanov charges that the "smoke was not without fire" and that "Lenin's group was not going directly toward the seizure of power, but it was

ready to take the power under favorable circumstances and was taking measures to bring about those circumstances." He alleges further that plans had been worked out to bring about the arrest of the ministers, whereupon the Bolshevik Central Committee would have been declared the government. "But," Sukhanov adds, "the plot was uncovered and the demonstration called off."⁹ Trotsky ridicules Sukhanov's charges and explains that, although preparations for the demonstration were made secretly and some of the rasher spirits talked of the possibility of seizing the railroad stations, arsenals, banks, and post and telegraph offices, the real purpose was to put pressure on the Soviets to get rid of the capitalist ministers and not to set up a Bolshevik government.¹⁰

The Bolshevik program suffered another defeat, though by a narrower margin, in the Third All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions which met in Petrograd July 4-11.¹¹ Of the 220 delegates, representing 1,475,000 members of the trade unions, 120 were Mensheviks, S.R.'s, and their sympathizers; 80 supported the Bolsheviks, whose resolutions against conciliation or co-operation with the bourgeoisie, for immediate liquidation of the war by a mass struggle against the ruling classes, and for workers' control of industry were defeated. The Menshevik-S.R. majority passed their resolutions on centralization and state control of industry and elected a majority of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions (16 Mensheviks, 3 S.R.'s, and 16 Bolsheviks) and of its Executive Committee (5 Mensheviks and 4 Bolsheviks), of which V. Grinevich, a Menshevik, was chairman.

The Bolsheviks had no reason to feel downhearted despite the rejection of their resolutions by all but one of the

⁹ N. Sukhanov, *Zapiski o revoliutsii*, 7 vols., Berlin, Petrograd, Moscow, 1922-1923, IV, 317-22.

¹⁰ L. Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, 3 vols., New York, 1932, I, 438, 479-81.

¹¹ The first and second conferences were held in 1905 and 1906.

congresses of the various elements of the revolutionary democracy. In four months their organization had been greatly strengthened; their numbers had increased; their slogans, especially those on peace, increased more and more their popularity among the masses; and, as a party, they were more united in their aims than their principal socialist rivals. The Bolsheviks had their greatest strength in the industrial centers, but by July they had a considerable and growing following among the soldiers, as was shown in an All-Russian Conference of Bolshevik Military Organizations, June 29–July 7, in which there were 107 delegates representing 26,000 members. Meanwhile the Provisional Government, resting on a coalition of by no means friendly elements, had lost much of the wide popularity which had attended its formation.

The government had accomplished many things, but many things remained undone and these in the circumstances were vital for the retention of popular support. The government had restored the constitutional rights of Finland and had recognized the independence of Poland. It had promised to call a Constituent Assembly and had made plans for the elections. It had issued decrees providing for freedom of speech and assembly and inviolability of person; had set up the Central Land Committee, which had prepared agrarian reforms to be consummated by the Constituent Assembly; had proposed a law on local self-government on the basis of universal suffrage; had authorized workers' councils in industries; had introduced the eight-hour day; had given soldiers the rights of citizens; and had laid down the principle of transforming the Empire into a federation of free peoples. But these and other measures were not enough. The Finns and other nationalities demanded more self-government than had been conceded. The workers wanted a larger degree of control of industries. The peasants wanted immediate legalization of the seizure of the landowners' lands. Conditions of living grew worse instead of better; food and other necessities were scarce and expensive; and life for the masses of

the people of the cities became steadily more difficult. Above all the Provisional Government had not brought peace.

While the Mensheviks, the S.R.'s, and the other parties which participated in the government shared the responsibility for what it had been unable to accomplish, the Bolsheviks did not. On the contrary they gave expression to the discontent of all the discontented groups and canalized that discontent against the government and the Socialist parties which supported it.

In mid-July, discontent, national issues, and party conflict brought on the most serious crisis that the government had yet experienced. At this time the Ukrainians' demand for a greater degree of autonomy was bringing to a head the long-standing differences between the Cadets and the Socialists in the Provisional Government. There was disaffection among the Petrograd troops, with the older reservists demanding immediate demobilization and units of the garrison in a ferment over rumors that they were to be sent to the front. On the night of July 15-16 the Cadet ministers resigned on the Ukrainian issue. Early in the morning of July 16 soldiers of the First Machine Gun Regiment, in which the Bolsheviks had great influence, began preparations for an armed demonstration against the Provisional Government. Delegates from the regiment came to the Bolshevik headquarters in the Kshesinskaia house to ask the party to lead the movement. The party officials refused on the ground that the attempt was premature. But preparations for the demonstration went on. In the evening the machine gunners and the Moscow and the Grenadier Regiments paraded under full equipment before the party headquarters carrying the banners which had been carried in the demonstration of July 1 with the Bolshevik slogans, "All Power to the Soviets" and "Down with the Capitalist Ministers."

Detachments of soldiers made casual and unsuccessful attempts to arrest some of the ministers, and crowds of soldiers and workers gathered near the Taurida Palace where the Central Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers'

and Peasants' Deputies were in joint session. During the night the Bolshevik Central Committee reversed the earlier decision and decided unanimously to call upon the soldiers and the people to take arms and join a peaceful demonstration. The workers' section of the Petrograd Soviet, in which the Bolsheviks had a majority, voted to take the power from the Provisional Government and appointed a committee of fifteen to direct this movement.

On the 17th, Lenin, who had been out of the city, returned. Great numbers of soldiers, workers, and sailors thronged the streets, and processions marched to Kshesinskaia's house to be greeted by Bolshevik leaders and then to the Taurida Palace to impress their demands on the Soviet. Sailors from Kronstadt occupied Peter and Paul Fortress. Here and there clashes occurred between the demonstrators and government troops and a number of people were killed.¹² Bolshevik speakers encouraged the demonstrators to demand "All power to the Soviets!" but the Menshevik and S.R. members of the Executive Committees refused to be moved and told the soldiers and workers to go back to their barracks and their factories and leave their affairs in the hands of the Soviet. This produced a situation which Lunacharsky later described in these words: "We are bound to admit that the party knew no way out of the difficulty. It was compelled to demand of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists, through a demonstration, something they were organically unable to decide upon, and, meeting with the refusal the party had expected, it did not know how to

¹² The July demonstrations appeared quite differently to different persons. To the Bolsheviks they were a "spontaneous movement of protest . . . guided into organized channels" by the Military Organizations of the party (S. E. Rabinovich, *Vserossiiskaia voennaia konferentsiia bolshevikov 1917 goda*, Moscow, 1931, p. 87). But L. B. Krassin, who had been a Bolshevik and was later to accept high office in the Soviet Government, but at this time was the manager of an industrial establishment, saw the events in a different light. In a letter written at the time he wrote, "The so-called 'masses,' principally soldiers and a number of hooligans, loafed aimlessly about the streets for two days, firing at each other, often out of sheer fright, running away at the slightest alarm or fresh rumor, and without the slightest idea of what it was all about" (Lubov Krassin, *Leonid Krassin: His Life and Work*, London [1929], p. 50).

proceed further; it left the demonstrators around the Taurida Palace without a plan and gave the opposition time to organize its forces, while ours were breaking up, and consequently we went down to a temporary defeat with eyes quite open."¹³

On the 18th one of the newspapers carried the accusation that Lenin's actions and incidentally the demonstrations were directed by the German General Staff. Regiments that had been neutral shifted to the support of the Soviet, and pro-Bolshevik units edged back to neutrality. Toward evening, government troops and cadets from military schools occupied without difficulty strategic points in the city. Raids were made against the Bolsheviks, their newspaper offices were closed, and a number of their leaders were arrested. Warrants for the arrest of others were issued, but Lenin and Zinoviev escaped and went into hiding. Kamenev was arrested, and later Trotsky.

In connection with this affair Sukhanov again alleges, and the Bolsheviks deny, that there was a conspiracy to arrest the government and the Soviet Central Executive Committee, proclaim a new government composed of the most popular Bolsheviks, issue decrees on peace and land, and thus gain the support of the masses in the capital and the provinces. The plan failed, according to this version, when the troops on whom the Bolsheviks were relying went over to the Central Executive Committee.¹⁴ It would perhaps be correct to say that on this occasion, as in June and May, the party Central Committee had formally sanctioned only a peaceful demonstration but some members of the party had hoped and worked to use the demonstrations to overthrow the government. The failure of the Bolsheviks to achieve the objectives proclaimed by their slogans and the

¹³ Golder, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

¹⁴ As the source of his information, Sukhanov names Lunacharsky, who, with Lenin and Trotsky, was allegedly actively involved in the conspiracy. Lunacharsky said that he had been misunderstood by Sukhanov, and Trotsky denied the whole story and added that of all people Lunacharsky was the least capable of entering a triumvirate for such a purpose. Sukhanov, *op. cit.*, IV, 511-15.

charges of German subordination checked temporarily the expanding influence of the party. But the July Days had their uses. Trotsky subscribes to Miliukov's statement that the events had shown the Bolsheviks "with what elements they had to deal, how to organize these elements, and finally what resistance could be put up by the government, the Soviet and the military units. . . . It was evident that when the time came for repeating the experiment, they would carry it out more systematically and consciously."¹⁵

During these disturbances the cabinet crisis remained unsolved. On July 20 Prince Lvov resigned and Kerensky became Prime Minister, retaining the portfolios of war and the navy. Great difficulty was experienced in selecting a new government, and while the inter-party negotiations were carried on, Chernov, Tereshchenko, Kerensky, and Nekrasov offered their resignations. Finally, on August 6, a new coalition ministry, the Third Provisional Government, was announced. Chernov, Tereshchenko, and Kerensky remained in office, the last-named as Prime Minister. The other portfolios were taken by S.R.'s, Mensheviks, Populist-Socialists, and Cadets.

In addition to promising to call the Constituent Assembly on September 30, to introduce local self-government, and to improve the conditions of labor and national economy, the new government announced its determination to continue the struggle against the foreign enemy and to safeguard the new state order from all monarchist and counter-revolutionary attempts. But in dealing with the party held responsible for the recent disorders the government acted less vigorously than many of its supporters desired. Its punitive measures did not seriously cripple the Bolsheviks' organizations, but only harassed them. Lenin and his friends did not lessen their efforts or abandon their plans to destroy the government; they merely acted a little more discreetly. A few days after the demonstrations Lenin wrote that there was no longer any hope of a peaceful development of the revolution;

¹⁵ Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, II, 84.

it was now a question of victory of a military dictatorship or victory of an armed uprising of the workers. But in order to have the article published in the legal press he substituted in his manuscript the words "decisive struggle" for "armed uprising."¹⁸

The Sixth Congress of the party, which met semi-legally in Petrograd, August 8-16, adopted Lenin's interpretation of the July Days as a victory for counter-revolution signalized by the surrender of the Mensheviks and S.R.'s to the bourgeoisie and the military, and by the persecution of the only party representing the real interests of the revolutionary proletariat. The resolutions stopped short of a definite commitment for an armed rising against the government and the Soviet majority. This, however, was implicit in the statement that since the painless transfer of power to the Soviets and the peaceful development of the revolution were no longer possible, the only correct slogan now was the complete liquidation of the dictatorship of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. This could be accomplished only by the revolutionary workers with the aid of the poorest peasants. The task of these classes was to strain every effort to take state power into their own hands.

The Congress, which was attended by 175 delegates representing 112 organizations with a membership of 177,000, reflected the growth of the party since the May conference. It also showed a far greater degree of unity within the ranks than on the earlier occasion. A new Central Committee was elected, which remained in direction of party affairs until after the November overthrow. This committee included Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Nogin, Kollontai, Stalin, Sverdlov, Rykov, Bukharin, Artem (F. A. Sergeev), Joffe, Uritsky, Miliutin, and Lomov. Of these, Trotsky, Joffe, and Uritsky were members of the Mezhs-

¹⁸ According to the editors of Lenin's *Works*, in this article on "The Political Situation" written on July 23, Lenin raised for the first time since March the question of an armed uprising. *Toward the Seizure of Power*, I, 37, and note 18, p. 284.

raiontsy, who formally united with the Bolsheviks at this time.

In an attempt to restore discipline in the front and in the rear and to rally support for the government against external and internal enemies Kerensky called a state conference which met in the Bolshoi Theater at Moscow, August 25-28. The Bolsheviks loudly denounced the conference and expressed their opposition by organizing a one-day strike in Moscow on the day of the opening session. The conference accomplished little except to reveal the wide gulf which separated those like Generals Kornilov and Kaledin, who stood for the re-establishment of iron discipline and the suppression of all sorts of committees and Soviets, and of the moderate socialist leaders like Chkheidze and Tsereteli, who were exposed to a cross fire from both right and left.

Conversations begun behind the scenes while the conference was in session were continued after the adjournment at army headquarters between Kornilov, then the Commander-in-Chief, and representatives of Kerensky regarding the use of troops to support the government in case of a Bolshevik uprising. Kerensky interpreted Kornilov's conditions, which were presented through an intermediary, as amounting to the proclamation of a Kornilov dictatorship. He thereupon dismissed Kornilov from office and called upon the people to defend the government against the counter-revolutionists. The Soviets took an active part in preparations for defense, organizing military revolutionary committees to fight against counter-revolution, in which the Bolsheviks took active part. The arming of workmen was authorized on September 10, and the organization of the Red Guards was thus encouraged. The Kornilov movement collapsed by September 12, and the generals implicated were under arrest two days later.

Naturally the Bolsheviks profited greatly by these events. The Kornilov affair appeared as a fulfilment of their prophecies. Meanwhile the land question was still acute, and in the provinces the Bolsheviks were gaining headway as their

slogans of immediate peace and immediate expropriation of the land were brought to the villages by soldiers returning from the front, where the conditions of service and the propaganda of the Bolshevik Military Organizations were steadily making converts to Lenin's program. The Constituent Assembly had been postponed, living conditions were worse, and above all the war still dragged on. Elections in September to the city Dumas and the shift of opinion in the Soviets and the soldiers' and sailors' committees reflected the decline in influence of the moderate parties. Particularly significant were the Bolshevik victories in the Soviets of the two capitals and certain other large towns.

The Kornilov affair made it necessary to reorganize the government. Disagreement as to whether or not the Cadets, some of whom had been compromised by the recent events, should be included in the new government prolonged the crisis, and on September 14 it was announced that pending the settlement of the cabinet question a Directory of Five (Kerensky, Tereshchenko, Verkhovsky, Verderevsky, and Nikitin) was responsible for the government of the state. On the same day Kerensky proclaimed Russia a republic. Two days later the Executive Committees of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and of the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies issued a call for a Democratic Congress, which met in the Alexandrinsky Theater on September 27. At once the Conference, in which the Bolsheviks were a hostile minority, became entangled in the question whether or not to include bourgeois representatives in the government. By 766 to 688 the Conference voted for a coalition. Then it voted 595 to 493 to exclude the Cadets, the only bourgeois party of any importance. Thereupon many of the delegates changed their votes and a motion against coalition was carried by 813 to 183. The Conference then recessed to permit the party leaders to untangle the situation by negotiation. On October 3 a compromise motion was passed, 829 to 106, favoring coalition but omitting reference to the Cadets. After five days of negotiation the new cabinet, the third

coalition, and the fourth and last Provisional Government, again headed by Kerensky, was announced. It contained three Socialist-Revolutionists (of the Right), three Mensheviks, four Cadets, four socialists not affiliated with any of the larger groups, and two non-party men. Meanwhile the Bolsheviks, who had opposed coalition in any form, had withdrawn from the Conference after demanding the adoption of a program including, among other things, turning over the land to the peasant committees, workers' control of industry, denunciation of secret treaties, an immediate peace offer, self-determination for the nationalities of Russia, and arming of the workers and organization of a Red Guard.

Before it disbanded, the Democratic Conference agreed to set up a Provisional Council of the Russian Republic to be composed of 555 delegates of the groups represented in the Democratic Conference and to serve as a preliminary parliament pending the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. The Provisional Council, also called the Pre-Parliament, held its first meeting in the Mariinsky Palace on October 20 and remained in session until dispersed by the events of November 7.

CHRONOLOGY

1917

- Feb. 13 Strikes in a number of Petrograd factories.
- 18 General Khabalov, Commander of Petrograd Military District, invested with special powers to maintain order.
- 23 M. V. Rodzianko, President of the State Duma, urges the Tsar to appoint a new ministry having "the confidence of the people."
- 27 The Duma resumes sessions. Spread of strikes.
- March 3 Strike in Putilov factories.
- 8 Demonstrating workers march toward the center of capital. First clashes with the police.
- 10 Petrograd workers declare general strike. Troops guard streets. All schools closed. Papers cease to appear. Shooting in many parts of the city. First elections to Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Duma passes resolution demanding freedom of speech and press. Tsar decrees dismissal of the State Duma.
- 11 Strikes break out in Moscow.
- 12 Mutinous troops occupy the arsenal and Peter and Paul Fortress. Golitsyn resigns as president of Council of Ministers. Provisional Committee of State Duma announces that it has taken into its own hands the restoration of state and public order. Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies formed. Ministers and high state officials arrested.
- 13 Provisional Committee of Duma appoints special commissars in charge of the ministries. A Revolutionary Committee takes over authority in Moscow. Moscow Soviet formed.
- 14 First Provisional Government formed. Provisional Executive Committee of State Duma recognized officially by French and English ambassadors. Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies issues "Order No. 1."
- 15 Nicholas II abdicates in favor of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich. Tsar appoints Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich Supreme Commander-in-Chief and Prince Lvov president of the Council of Ministers. Ukrainian National Rada formed at Kiev.
- 18 Michael Alexandrovich declines to become head of state.
- 19 General amnesty declared. Autonomy of Finland proclaimed. Executive Committee of the Soviet appoints its own commissars to all army units. End of general strike.

- 20 Petrograd Committee of Bolsheviks appeals to Petrograd Soviet to introduce eight-hour day and to appeal to proletariat of the belligerent countries to support peace. Provisional Government decrees the arrest of Emperor and Empress.
- 21 Nicholas II arrested.
- 22 Provisional Government recognized *de jure* by United States.
- 24 Provisional Government recognized *de jure* by France, England, and Italy.
- 25 Provisional Government abolishes death penalty. All properties and income of Nicholas II transferred to State.
- 27 Petrograd Soviet appeals "to the people of the entire world" to conclude a democratic peace.
- 28 All properties of Imperial family nationalized. Strikes in Moscow for eight-hour day.
- 29 Provisional Government proclaims independence of Poland.
- April 2 Government proclaims equal rights for women.
- 7 Government orders establishment of a grain monopoly and local food-supply organs. Buriat congress at Irkutsk, with representatives of some other Eastern Siberian natives, deliberates on local nationality affairs and administration.
- 11 All-Russian Conference of Soviets in Petrograd.
- 16 V. I. Ulianov (Lenin) and other Bolsheviks reach Petrograd.
- 20 Publication of Lenin's theses against continuation of the war, against the Provisional Government, and for a Soviet republic.
- May 1 P. N. Miliukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, publishes note stating that Provisional Government would adhere to agreements with Allies.
- 3 Demonstrations in Petrograd and Moscow against Miliukov's note. Firing in streets. Siberian Regionalist Congress at Tomsk discusses regional administration for Siberia.
- 4 Provisional Government orders establishment of Central Land Committee to prepare land law for approval by Constituent Assembly.
- 6 Government approves statute organizing factory-shop committees.
- 7 All-Russian Conference of Bolshevik Party opens in Petrograd.
- 8 Executive Committee of Soviet schedules international Socialist Conference for Stockholm.
- 13 A. I. Guchkov, Minister of War and Navy, resigns.
- 15 Miliukov resigns.
- 16 Transactions in land prohibited by order of Provisional Government.
- 17 All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies established. L. D. Trotsky returns to Russia.

- 18 First Coalition Government formed.
- 19 Ukrainian Army Congress declares for Ukrainian autonomy.
- June 7 Resolution of All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies to transfer the land to the peasants without compensation.
- 12 Ukrainian Peasant Congress declares for federal republic and Ukrainian autonomy. First conference of factory-shop committees in Petrograd.
- 16 First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opens. Provisional Government proposes an Inter-Allied Conference to revise war aims and postpones question of Ukrainian autonomy until All-Russian Constituent Assembly.
- 17 Provisional Government decrees zemstvo self-government for Siberia and Far East.
- 24 Ukrainian Rada issues "First Universal" and proclaims Ukrainian autonomy.
- 27 Provisional Government sets October 13 as opening of Constituent Assembly.
- July 1 Russian offensive in Galicia begins.
- 4 All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions meets in Petrograd.
- 11 Defeats of Russian Army.
- 15 Provisional Government declares National Autonomy for Ukraine.
- 16 Cadet ministers resign in protest. Riots in Petrograd under Bolshevik slogans.
- 17 Riots and strikes continue.
- 18 Bolsheviks accused of being German agents.
- 19 Arrest of Bolshevik leaders ordered. Russian front broken through near Tarnopol. Finnish Seim proclaims the autonomy of Finland.
- 20 Prince Lvov resigns. Kerensky appointed Prime Minister.
- 21 At Orenburg, congress of Kirghiz declares for regional autonomy.
- 25 Provisional Government re-establishes death penalty at the front.
- Aug. 1 General Kornilov appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief.
- 6 Second Coalition Government formed with Kerensky as Prime Minister.
- 8 Sixth Congress of Bolshevik Party opens in Petrograd.
- 19 Moscow Conference of Factory-Shop Committees demands transfer of power to Soviets.
- 25-28 State Conference at Moscow.
- 29 All-Russian Church Sobor opens in Moscow.
- Sept. 3 Germans occupy Riga.
- 8-12 Kornilov affair.

- 9 Kornilov declared an enemy of people.
- 14 Russia declared republic. Directory of five formed.
- 27 All-Russian Democratic Conference opens in Petrograd.
- Oct. 4 Democratic Conference resolves to form Provisional Council of the Republic (Pre-Parliament).
- 6 Strike of railway workers. C.E.C. resolves to call All-Russian Congress of Soviets for November 3.
- 7 Third Coalition Government formed.
- 8 Trotsky elected chairman of Petrograd Soviet.
- 18 Provisional Government decides to transfer the capital to Moscow. Kuban Cossack Rada proclaims Kuban independent republic and member of Federation of Russian Nationalities. Congress of Moslems of Orenburg demands national cultural autonomy.
- 20 Pre-Parliament opens. Bolsheviks withdraw from it. Kuban Cossack Rada resolves to form union of the Southeast to include Kuban, Don, Terek, and Astrakhan Cossacks, and peoples of Northern Caucasus.
- 23 Central Committee of Bolshevik Party declares for armed uprising against Provisional Government.
- 24 Congress of Soviets of Northern Region opens in Petrograd.
- 25 Resolution of the Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet to form a "Military Revolutionary Committee."
- 30 C.E.C. postpones opening of Second Congress of Soviets to November 7.
- Nov. 3 Petrograd garrison acknowledges authority of Military Revolutionary Committee and advocates transfer of power to Soviets.
- 4 M.R. Committee orders Petrograd garrison to disregard orders of District Military Staff.
- 5 M.R. Committee appoints special commissars to different units of garrison.
- 6 Provisional Government proclaims Petrograd in state of insurrection and summons troops from front.
- 7 M.R. Committee declares Provisional Government deposed. Second Congress of Soviets opens at Smolny. General Kaledin assumes control over Don region. Moldavian Military Congress proclaims Bessarabian autonomy. Military Revolutionary Committee organized in Moscow.
- 8 Winter Palace captured by insurgent troops and members of government arrested. Anti-Bolshevik groups organize a "Committee to Save the Country and the Revolution." Kerensky, at Northern front, organizes expedition against Petrograd. Second Congress of Soviets proclaims assumption of power by Soviets and issues peace and land decrees. New Soviet Government formed. Revolutionary troops occupy Moscow Kremlin.

- 11 Anti-Bolshevik uprising of cadets of Petrograd military schools. Sovnarkom decrees eight-hour working day. Inter-party negotiations to form all-Socialist government under auspices of Vikzhel. Street fighting in Moscow.
- 12-13 Kerensky's forces defeated at Pulkovo and retreat to Gatchina.
- 15 General Alexeev arrives in Novocherkassk and begins organization of Volunteer Army. Sovnarkom issues decree on rights of peoples of Russia to self-determination. Bolshevik victories in Moscow.
- 20 Ukrainian Rada proclaims Ukrainian National Republic. Sovnarkom orders Dukhonin to open armistice negotiations.
- 21 Trotsky proposes general armistice to French Ambassador.
- 22 Lenin appoints Krylenko commander-in-chief and urges soldiers and sailors to negotiate with enemy. Russian secret diplomatic documents published by Bolsheviks.
- 23 Abolition of class distinctions and civil ranks.
- 23-28 Special Congress of Peasants' Deputies.
- 25-27 Elections for Constituent Assembly in Petrograd.
- 27 Central Powers agree to open peace negotiations. C.E.C. issues decree on Workers' Control. Agreement reached between Bolsheviks and Left Socialist-Revolutionists.
- 28 Estonian National Council appoints committee which provisionally assumes functions of local government. Regional Government of Transcaucasia formed.
- Dec. 1 Russian delegation leaves for Brest-Litovsk to negotiate armistice.
- 2 Moldavian National Council (Sfatul Tserii) proclaims Moldavian Democratic Republic part of Federal Russian Republic.
- 3 General Dukhonin murdered.
- 5 Agreement on suspension of hostilities signed at Brest-Litovsk.
- 9 Sovnarkom declares war against Cossack chiefs (Kaledin, Kornilov, Dutov, etc.). Second All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies opens.
- 10 Tartar National Assembly (Kurultai) appoints directory of five as government of Crimean Tartar Republic.
- 11 Moslem Congress in Turkestan proclaims territorial autonomy of Turkestan.
- 14 C.E.C. establishes Supreme Council of National Economy.
- 15 Armistice signed at Brest-Litovsk.
- 17 Sovnarkom sends ultimatum to Ukrainian Rada.
- 20 All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) formed and holds first meeting.

- 22 First session of peace conference at Brest-Litovsk. Representatives of Left Socialist-Revolutionists enter Sovnarkom. Occupation of Bessarabia by Rumanian troops.
- 23 Tartar National Assembly of Crimea appointed regional government.
- 25 First All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets at Kharkov elects a C.E.C. to take over power in Ukraine.
- 26 Kirghiz Congress declares autonomy of Kasak-Kirghiz and establishes government of Alash-Orda at Semipalatinsk.
- 27 Banks nationalized. Search of safe deposit boxes and confiscation of hoarded gold ordered.
- 31 Civil administration of Volunteer Army formed at Novocherkassk. Sovnarkom recognizes Finland's independence. White Russian congress dispersed by Bolsheviks.

1918

- Jan. 5 Representatives of Ukrainian Rada arrive at Brest-Litovsk to negotiate peace with Central Powers. Central Committee of All-Russian Zemstvo Union dissolved by Sovnarkom.
- 11 Sovnarkom orders discontinuance of interest and dividend payments and prohibits all transactions in bonds.
- 13 Bolsheviks arrest Rumanian Minister, Diamandi, and seize Rumanian gold in retaliation for Rumanian activities in Bessarabia.
- 14 Commander-in-Chief of Turkish Army proposes peace with "independent" government of the Caucasus.
- 16 C.E.C. declares all power in Russian Republic vested in Soviets and Soviet institutions.
- 18 Constituent Assembly opens. Bolsheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists of Left withdraw from Constituent Assembly. Demonstrations in Petrograd broken up by Bolshevik armed forces.
- 19 C.E.C. dissolves the Constituent Assembly.
- 20 First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions.
- 22 Rada declares Ukraine independent.
- 23 First session of Third Congress of Soviets. "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People" adopted. Cossack Military Revolutionary Committee formed to fight Kaledin.
- 26 Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies opens.
- 28 Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets passes resolution establishing Federal Constitution of Russian Republic. Sovnarkom decrees organization of Worker-Peasant Red Army.

- 29 Provisional revolutionary government formed in Finland and outbreak of civil war there. Soviet troops enter Kiev. Ukrainian Rada deposed. C.E.C. of Ukrainian Soviets and People's Secretariat of Kharkov proclaimed government of Ukraine.
- 31 "Fundamental Law of Land Socialization" adopted by Third Congress of Soviets. Third Congress of Soviets adjourns.
- Feb. 1 Patriarch anathematizes Bolsheviks.
- 5 Separation of church and state.
- 8 Czechoslovak Corps in Russia declared autonomous part of Czechoslovak forces in France. Merchant Marine nationalized by Sovnarkom.
- 9 Rada signs separate peace treaty with Germany.
- 10 At Tomsk "All-Siberian Peasant Congress" declares for Siberian Regional Duma. Russians break off negotiations at Brest-Litovsk with the "No peace no war" declaration. Annulment of state loans.
- 12 Death of Kaledin.
- 15 Sovnarkom creates Extraordinary Commission on Food and Transport.
- 16 Germans declare the armistice at an end at noon of February 18.
- 17 Rada appeals to the Germans for help to withstand invasion of Soviets.
- 18 Sovnarkom agrees to accept peace terms of German Government.
- 19 Decree on socialization of land published by C.E.C.
- 25 Bolsheviks occupy Novocherkassk, capital of Don region.
- 27 American and other foreign embassies leave Petrograd.
- March 3 Brest-Litovsk Treaty signed.
- 5 Allies land at Murmansk.
- 6-8 Seventh Congress of Bolshevik Party. Name of the party changed to Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik).
- 8 Seventh Bolshevik Party Congress passes Majority Resolution for peace.
- 12 Moscow becomes seat of central government.
- 14-16 Fourth Congress of Soviets.
- 15-16 Fourth Congress of Soviets ratifies Brest-Litovsk Treaty.
- 16 Kiev occupied by Germans.
- 26 Soviet-Czech agreement for evacuation of Czechoslovak legions concluded.
- April 2 Exchange of commodities for grain decreed by Sovnarkom.
- 5 Japanese and English forces landed at Vladivostok. Peace between Germany and Finland. Kharkov occupied by Germans.
- 6 Chicherin protests against Japanese intervention.

- 9 Union of Bessarabia and Rumania proclaimed.
- 10 Decree on Consumers' Co-operatives passed by Sovnarkom.
- 11 Anarchist clubs liquidated by Bolsheviks. Failure of Volunteer Army at Ekaterinodar.
- 13 Germans occupy Odessa.
- 15 Batum seized by Turks.
- 18 Chicherin protests against Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia.
- 20 German troops occupy Crimea.
- 22 Transcaucasian Republic declares independence. Foreign trade nationalized. Compulsory military training decreed by C.E.C.
- 23 Count Mirbach arrives in Moscow as German Ambassador.
- 29 Decree on Accounting and Control.

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- secretary to Legation, Prague, 1919-1922; on *Evening Standard*, London, 1928), 488, 534, 536-37; *British Agent*, 508 n., 535 n.
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