

The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution



EDITED BY
HAROLD SHUKMAN



The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution

Edited by
Harold Shukman

 **BLACKWELL**
Reference

Copyright © Basil Blackwell Ltd 1988, 1994
Editorial organization © Harold Shukman 1988, 1994

First published 1988
This paperback edition, revised and updated 1994

Blackwell Publishers
108 Cowley Road
Oxford, OX4 1JF, UK

238 Main Street
Cambridge
Massachusetts 02142, USA

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Except in the United States of America, this book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

The Blackwell encyclopedia of the Russian revolution / edited by
Harold Shukman.

450 p.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-631-19525-4 (pbk).

1. Soviet Union—History—Revolution, 1917–1921—Encyclopedias.

I. Shukman, Harold.

DK265.B54 1995

947.084'1'03—dc20

94-11241

CIP

Typeset in 9 on 11 pt Plantin Light
by Columns of Reading
Printed and Bound in Great Britain by
Hartnolls Limited, Bodmin, Cornwall.

The Blackwell Encyclopedia
of the
Russian Revolution



Preface

Before addressing the historical background of this paperback edition of the Encyclopedia, we wish to note with deep regret the deaths of two of our authors. On 2 June, 1988, only a few weeks before the publication of the Encyclopedia, Robert McNeal was killed in an automobile accident in Massachusetts. On 1 August, 1990, Michael Glenny died suddenly in Moscow.

Since the publication of this book in the summer of 1988, the perception of the events to which it was devoted has undergone a significant change. If in 1988 the Russian Revolution could still be viewed as having launched the process that resulted in the creation of the world's second super-power, by 1994 that creation is no more. In the years between 1988 and now, the Soviet state engendered by the Revolution entered a period of terminal decline, diseased by corruption, a flawed ideology, an irrational economic policy and unsustainable strategic goals. In the years immediately following this book's publication, moreover, the forces that had led to the virtual dismemberment of the territory of the former Russian Empire during the Civil War of 1918–21, and that had remained latent throughout the seventy years of Communist rule, erupted with such energy by the end of the 1980s that they succeeded in completely undoing the work of Soviet reunification. The Soviet Union has disintegrated and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has evaporated, which means in effect that, for all those interested in studying the Russian Revolution, from which both drew their legitimacy, to engage now in its description and analysis is no longer to question the origins of an existing political entity. The Russian Revolution has at last passed into history.

Russian historians were relatively slow to respond to the liberal policies that were a dominant feature of the last years of the Soviet regime, the Gorbachev era, the period of *glasnost* – openness – perhaps best paraphrased as the time for telling the truth. So much Soviet writing about the Revolution had been saturated by the ideological demands of the Stalin period, and because of the purges of the 1930s by the 'depopulation' of modern Russian history, that the process of reassessment was bound to take some time. Indeed, in 1988, liberally-minded historians were complaining to each other that the job of recovering the Soviet past was being done by playwrights and novelists. What they had in mind were the (unstaged) plays of Mikhail Shatrov about the February Revolution and the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, which were imagined dramatized debates between the chief *dramatis personae*, and Anatoly Rybakov's *Children of the Arbat*, a fictionalized account of the background to the purges of the 1930s.

The 'repopulation' of the field, however, was addressed relatively soon. Beginning with Bukharin in January 1988, by the middle of that year all of the purged Bolsheviks had been posthumously rehabilitated: since Trotsky, the chief (though absent) defendant at the purge trials, had technically not been purged and processed by Stalin's 'judicial' machinery, he could not be judicially rehabilitated; he has, however, been the subject of at least two studies published in Russia, a two-volume biography by Dmitri Volkogonov and a short but pointed sketch by Vitaly Startsev. In addition, in 1989 a two-volume collection appeared, entitled

Rediscovered Names (*Vozvrashchennye imena*), which included articles on such figures as Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and Rakovsky, based chiefly on memoirs and reminiscences, but also with some original archival material. In 1993 the Great Russian Encyclopedia publishing house – formerly Soviet Encyclopedia – published *Russian Political Activists of 1917* (*Politicheskie deyateli Rossii 1917*), a biographical dictionary covering personalities from a wide range of parties and groups, and also handling such touchy subjects as Lenin and Trotsky with laudably balanced judgment. The root-and-branch reassessment of Lenin, however, has had to wait for another two-volume work by Volkogonov, based on the Lenin archives, due out in Russia in the summer and in the West in the autumn of 1994.

The opening up of the modern history archives in Russia has been something of an intermittent process. The archives of the Communist Party in various locations and various parts have been renamed: the Central Party Archives are now called the Russian Centre for the Preservation and Study of Contemporary Historical Documentation, or RTsKhIDNI, in its Russian acronym; while the former Central Committee archives are now known as the Russian Centre for the Preservation of Contemporary Documentation, or RTsKhSD. One of the richest and most varied repositories, the former Central Archives of the October Revolution (TsGAOR) has been merged with the Central State Archives of the Russian Federation and is called by the latter name (TsGARF). The former Special Archive, consisting of the national archive collections of the countries of Western Europe occupied by the Germans in the Second World War, and including, for instance, French security reports on the activities of Russian revolutionaries in Paris before and during the First World War, is now called the Centre for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections. Finally, one of the treasure-houses of Party history, the archives of the Moscow Party Organization, which contains, *inter alia*, the personal dossiers of the largest and most active membership group in the former Soviet Union, is now known as the Scientific and Informational Centre for the Political History of the City of Moscow.

In August 1991, virtually in its first act after the failed coup against its authority, the Russian government brought all these repositories under the single authority of the State Archive Service, or Russian Archive Commission (Rosarkhiv). In view of the inevitable disruption caused by such vigorous reorganization and changes of personnel, it is still too early to expect an abundant or systematic archival publication programme. Nevertheless, much valuable material is now appearing in various new journals devoted to the publication of extracts from the archives, most notably *Istoricheskii arkhiv* and *Istochnik*, and a new series of miscellanies called 'Unknown Russia' (*Neizvestnaya Rossiya*). It is the aim of all of these publications to spread their range of interest as wide as possible, with the result that they are bringing to light documents relating to the entire span of Russian history, from the medieval period to the end of the Soviet era. Well-established history journals which have survived from the previous regime reflect a similar trend. 'Questions of the history of the CPSU' (*Voprosy istorii KPSS*), which used to be published under the auspices of the Party Central Committee, in October 1991 was obscurely renamed 'The Centaur' (*Kentavr*) – perhaps to reflect the blatantly obvious fact that the Party was no longer a single, unambiguous species – and is now physically a very much reduced version of its predecessor. It can, however, be relied on to publish new material on the history of the Party of interest to scholars.

In the West, where Russian scholarship has been devoted to the analysis and interpretation of original sources, rather than the reproduction of the raw material, there have been numerous valuable additions to the library of the Russian Revolution. While it is not feasible here to produce an exhaustive inventory, nor practical to add to the Further Reading lists within the body of the Encyclopedia, the following works represent a core of up-to-date research to which any reader wishing to deepen his or her knowledge of the subject is recommended to turn:

Acton, E.: *Rethinking the Russian Revolution*. London: Edward Arnold, 1990; Connaughton, R.:

The Republic of the Ushakovka: Admiral Kolchak and the Allied Intervention in Siberia, 1918–1920. London: Routledge, 1990; Dabom, J.: *Russia: Revolution and Counter-revolution, 1917–1924.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; Elwood, R.C.: *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Freeze, G.L.: *From Supplication to Revolution: A Documentary History of Imperial Russia.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; Galili y Garcia, Z.: *The Menshevik Leaders in the Russian Revolution: Social Realities and Political Strategies.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989; Kemp-Welch, A., ed.: *The Ideas of Nikolai Bukharin.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; Koenker, D. and Rosenberg, W.: *Strikes and Revolution in Russia, 1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989; Lincoln, W. Bruce: *Red Victory: A History of the Russian Civil War.* London: Sphere Books, 1990; McAuley, M.: *Bread and Justice: State and Society in Petrograd, 1917–1922.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; Melancon, M.: *The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Anti-war Movement, 1914–1917.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990; O'Connor, T.E.: *The Engineer of Revolution: L.B. Krasin and the Bolsheviks.* Oxford: Westview, 1992; Pipes, R.E.: *The Russian Revolution, 1899–1919.* London: Harvill Press, 1990, and its sequel, *Russia Under the New Régime*, published in 1994; Service, R.: *Lenin: A Political Life.* vol. 2, London: Macmillan, 1991; Stites, R.: *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Visions and the Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989; Volkogonov, D.A.: *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy.* Transl. and ed. Shukman, H. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991; Volkogonov, D.A.: *Lenin: His Life and Legacy.* Transl. and ed. Shukman, H. London: HarperCollins, 1994.

The purpose of this Encyclopedia is to describe and analyse the events of 1917 in Russia, as well as their background and origin, and to show how they affected the political, economic, social and ethnic structures of the old empire and gave rise to the new order. The Encyclopedia does not attempt to cover Russian society in its totality; it includes studies of revolutionary organizations, but not those of parties and bodies whose programmes and tactics were based on negotiation, reconciliation and evolution, rather than revolution. The period of reform beginning in the 1860s is taken as a starting point, and the coverage terminates roughly with the end of the Civil War in 1921, by which time the Bolsheviks had eliminated any serious threat from their internal political enemies. The multi-national character of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union emerged with unprecedented (and unsurpassed) force during the events of 1917–21, and this is acknowledged in the wide-ranging treatment of revolution in the borderlands.

Depth can be added to the evolution of ideas and institutions, as well as the playing out of events, by the study of the lives of individual figures. A series of biographies has been included in the Encyclopedia, covering characters from all parties, as well as a number of leading figures of the old regime and the non-revolutionary parties (such as Nicholas II, Gapon, Guchkov, Lvov, Rasputin, Stolypin, Witte) whose activities compel their inclusion in a work devoted to the Revolution.

The Encyclopedia is designed as a source of reference for students and teachers of modern Russian history and politics and for the general reader wishing to extend and deepen an interest in this central event of twentieth-century history. Because an alphabetical arrangement of entries would lead to unnecessary duplication of material and possible confusion, the Encyclopedia has been arranged in an approximate chronological sequence, and the scheme of entries is clearly set out in the more than usually detailed contents list.

Each entry is intended to be complete in itself, but where it might be helpful to consult other entries, cross-references are printed in small capitals in the text. There is a general index at the end of the volume through which the reader can trace all references to a specific individual or topic. Most entries are followed by suggestions for further reading. Changes in this edition include the correction of typographical errors and the addition of a number of entries in the Biographical Section.

Preface

I owe thanks to the past and present staff of Basil Blackwell who have been involved in the conception, formation and production of this book: Janet Godden, Jo Hadley, Elizabeth Lake, Ann McCall, René Olivieri, Alyn Shipton and, above all, Carol Le Duc, whose alertness and commitment eliminated many of the flaws a less diligent editor might have let slip through. To Mary Hunt I am grateful for keying all the material in the hardback edition, and to Halina Boniszewska I am indebted for her help and the care with which this paperback edition has been prepared. My greatest debt of gratitude is to my contributors. Some responded to my invitation by recruiting additional authors, some made valuable suggestions for the content of the book, some contributed illustrations and, most important, all of them simplified my work by their professional approach, none more so than Felix Patrikeeff, who spotted gaps and expertly filled them with enviable despatch. The value of this book rests on the intrinsic quality of my contributors' expertise, which I have done my best to enhance.

Harold Shukman
March 1994

Acknowledgements

The illustrations in this book are reproduced by courtesy of the following: Richard Abraham, London, figures 2, 7, 14, 15 and 50; BBC Hulton Picture Library, London, figure 53; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, figure 55; Bodleian Library, Oxford, figure 44; Bulgarian National Library, Sofia, figure 74; Madame Colette Chambelland, Paris, figures 34, 35, 49, 56 and 58; Francis Conte, Paris, figure 68; from *Crapouillet* (1937), figure 3; Culver Pictures, figure 11; Dennis Dobson, London, figure 39; Michael Futrell, British Columbia, figure 71; Peter Gattrell, Manchester, figures 12 and 13; Sidney Harcave, New York, figures 10, 64, 73 and 79; Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, figures 4 and 26; Houghton Library, Harvard, figures 24 and 69; Richard G. Hovannisian, UCLA, figures 54, and 75 (photographs, Bodleian Library); Imperial War Museum, London, figure 18; International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, figures 45, 47, 48, 60, 61, 65, 77 and 80; David King, London, figures 5, 16, 17, 21, 22, 46 and 66; Boris Koreneff, Polytechnik, Australia, figure 38; George Leggett, London, figures 52, 63 and 76; from *Ace of Spies* (1967) by Robin Bruce Lockhart, figure 70; Robert McNeal, Massachusetts, figure 28; John Milner, Newcastle, figure 42; John Murray, London, figures 1 and 36; Museum of Modern Art, New York, figure 43; Barbara Norton, Pennsylvania, figure 57; Oxford University Press, figure 37; Oriental Research Partners, Cambridge, Massachusetts, figure 62; Pasternak Trust, Oxford, figure 27; Central Archive, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, Warsaw, figures 8 and 9 (photographs, Richard Abraham); Harold Shukman, Oxford, figure 6; Sotamuseo, Helsinki, figures 32 and 33; Süddeutscher Verlag, Munich, figure 25; Richard Taylor, Swansea, figures 19, 20, 40, 41 and 59; Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, figures 31 and 72; Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, New York, figures 29, 30, 51 and 78; Roger Viollet, Paris, figure 67; Wide World, London, figure 23.

Part 1 illustration: Street demonstration in Petrograd, 23 February 1917.

Part 2 illustration: Contemporary photomontage of the Bolshevik leaders of the Revolution (among whom Joseph Stalin does not appear).

Both by courtesy of David King, London.

The editor and publisher would also like to thank Martin Gilbert, London, for producing the map which appears as endpapers at the back of the book.

Every effort has been made by the publishers to trace the copyright-holder of all illustrations in this publication. However if copyright has been infringed, we will be pleased, on being satisfied as to the owner's title, to make proper acknowledgement in future editions.

Contributors

Richard Abraham **RA**
London

Edward Acton **EDJLDA**
University of Liverpool

John Biggart **JB**
University of East Anglia

Edward Braun **EB**
University of Bristol

William E. Butler **WEB**
University College London

Francis Conte **FC**
Sorbonne, Paris

Nadia Diuk **ND**
Washington DC

Linda Edmondson **LE**
University of Birmingham

R. Carter Elwood **RCE**
Carleton University, Ottawa

John Erickson **JE**
University of Edinburgh

Michael Futrell **MHF**
University of British Columbia

Peter Gatrell **PWG**
University of Manchester

Israel Getzler **IG**
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Graeme Gill **GJG**
University of Sydney

Michael Glenny **MVG**
Colchester

Sidney Harcave **SH**
State University of New York at Binghamton

Stephen F. Jones **SFJ**
*School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University of London*

John Keep **JLHK**
University of Toronto

Peter Kenez **PK**
University of California, Santa Cruz

David Kirby **DGK**
*School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University of London*

Baruch Knei-Paz **BK**
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Lionel Kochan **LK**
University of Warwick

George Leggett **GHL**
London

David Longley **DAL**
University of Aberdeen

Evan Mawdsley **EM**
University of Glasgow

Martin McCauley **MMcC**
*School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University of London*

Robert McNeal **RHMcN**
University of Massachusetts

John Milner **JM**
University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Barbara T. Norton **BTN**
Widener University, Pennsylvania

Alec Nove **AN**
University of Glasgow

Madhavan K. Palat **MKP**
Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Felix Patrikeeff **FP**
Oxford

Contributors

Michael Perrins **MP**
University of Lancaster

D. Pospelovsky **DP**
University of Western Ontario

Azade-Ayse Rorlich **A-AR**
University of Southern California

Nurit Schleifman **NS**
Tel Aviv University

Gerald Seaman **GS**
University of Auckland

Robert Service **RS**
*School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University of London*

Harold Shukman **HS**
University of Oxford

Lewis Siegelbaum **LS**
Michigan State University

S. A. Smith **SAS**
University of Essex

Richard Taylor **RT**
University College of Swansea

Henry J. Tobias **HJT**
University of Oklahoma

Nicolas Walter **NW**
London

Howard White **HJW**
*London School of Economics and Political
Science*

Alan Wood **AW**
University of Lancaster

Editorial Notes

Topography

The map bound as end-papers to this volume shows the entire area of the Russian Empire and Soviet Republic as it was between the 1860s and about 1921 – the period embraced by the Encyclopedia. Main cities and towns mentioned in the text are shown, as are the Trans-Siberian Railway and its branches, the main rivers and ethnic and borderland territories.

Marxism/Social Democracy

The terms Marxist and Social Democrat appear to some extent interchangeably in the text. The tsarist regime banned political organizations but not political philosophies. Thus, Marxists and those inclined towards Marxism were found among various groups. However, Social Democrats were the *organized* Marxists who composed the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. Its Russian initials, RSDRP, are used throughout the Encyclopedia.

St Petersburg, Petrograd, Leningrad

The capital of the Russian Empire bore the name Sankt Peterburg, in its German form, until the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, when it was Russified to become Petrograd, which it remained until Lenin's death in 1924. It then became and remained Leningrad until April 1993, when it reverted to its original name of St Petersburg.

Transliteration

It is impossible to transliterate Russian accurately, except by means of diacritical marks which require their own glossary. As long as there is no difficulty in recognizing Trotsky or Alexander, there seems little merit in insisting on Trotskii, Trotskiy or Trockij, and Aleksandr. Similarly, Peter has been used rather than Pyotr, Fedor rather than Fyodor. Such symbols as ' for the soft-sign have been dropped – we have become accustomed to seeing *glasnost* without it. However, in Further Reading and any bibliographical references, whole endings and soft-signs appear, as do any other apparatuses necessary to ensure the proper identification of a work.

In the presentation of Ukrainian names, their accepted appearance in Western usage has been adopted.

Dates

At the end of the sixteenth century most of Europe adopted the Gregorian or New Style Calendar, while the Russians retained the Julian or Old Style Calendar. By the nineteenth century Old Style dates lagged twelve days behind New Style; by the twentieth century the difference was thirteen days. For some time around the turn of the century, it became the custom (in Russian newspapers and private correspondence, for instance) to use both styles. Finally, on 14 February 1918, the Soviet government decreed that 1 February 1918, Old Style, was to become 14 February 1918,

New Style, and henceforth all dates were in conformity with the Gregorian calendar. The revolution itself, however, continued to be celebrated as the 'October Revolution'. In ambiguous cases, we have shown whether a date is Old Style, (OS), or New Style (NS).

Pseudonyms

Persecution by the tsarist police made pseudonyms commonplace among professional revolutionaries. As writers and underground organizers, both leading and minor activists changed their identities frequently, until their reputation in the movement (usually through journalistic activity) necessitated their establishing a single fixed label. (Curiously, with rare exceptions, women revolutionaries seem to have retained their real names throughout.) Following the Revolution, members of the Soviet government continued to use their old underground names: thus its head was Lenin, who added his pseudonym when signing decrees – V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin); the first president of the Comintern was Zinoviev, not Radomyslsky; the Red Army was organized by Trotsky, not Bronstein; and the eventual successor to Lenin was Stalin, not Dzhugashvili.

Since Jews (more than other minorities) were numerous in the Russian revolutionary movement, a pseudonym offered the added advantage of ethnic anonymity, and Jews therefore probably represent a disproportionate number among those with aliases.

Throughout the Encyclopedia, personalities are referred to by their most commonly-known names. Their other names, whether real or adopted, are given in the biographical entries and included in the Index as cross-references.

Historical facts about Russia's revolutionary past have been greatly enriched in the last two years or so by a flood of new and occasionally sensational writing, more in the Soviet popular, rather than academic, press. The Encyclopedia has attempted to reflect this; some previously obscure dates of death and (posthumous) rehabilitation are now known, such as those of Bukharin revealed in February 1988. However, where dates remain unknown, this is clearly stated, and where they are dubious, the given dates are accompanied by a question mark.

Contents

Preface	vii	The Revolutionary Movement	57
Acknowledgements	xi	Populism	57
List of Contributors	xiii	Black Repartition	60
Editorial Notes	xv	Marxism in Russia	60
		The Liberation of Labour Group	62
		Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class	63
PART 1	1	Economism	63
Introduction	3	The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDRP)	64
Historical Interpretations of the Revolution	7	The Union of Russian Social Democrats Abroad	67
Russian Society and Institutions before and after 1917	12	The Bolshevik Party: 1905–April 1917	68
The Peasants and Revolution: 1900–1921	13	The Social Democratic Duma Fraction	72
The All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies	17	Arrest and Trial of Bolshevik Duma Deputies	73
The Peasant Assembly	17	The Scandinavian Connection	74
The Peasant Commune	17	Revolutionierungspolitik and Alexander Helphand (Parvus)	77
The Workers: February–October 1917	19	The Mensheviks	80
The Factory Committees: February– October 1917	21	The Mezhrayonka	83
Workers' Control: February–October 1917	22	The Socialist Revolutionaries: 1902–1922	84
Trade Unions: February–October 1917	23	The Maximalists	89
Workers' Militias and Red Guards in 1917	24	Non-Party Democratic Coalitions	90
Workers and the Bolshevik State: October 1917–March 1921	25	Anarchism	93
The Demise of Workers' Control in Industry	28	The Bund	96
The Militarization of Labour and the Role of Trade Unions	29	Polish Marxism: 1880–1919	99
The Womens' Movement before 1917	30		
Women in 1917 and after	34	The Road to Revolution	104
Women Soldiers: 1917–1921	36	The 1905 Revolution	104
The Russian Orthodox Church	37	Black Hundreds	109
The 'Living Church' or Renovationist Schism	40	The Religious-Philosophical Movement	110
The Imperial Army in War and Revolution	41	The First World War and the Revolution	110
The Milyutin Reforms	46	Government of Public Confidence	114
The Russian Navy	48	The Vandervelde Telegram	114
The Okhrana	49	The War Industries Committees	115
Agents Provocateurs	51	The Economy and the War	117
The Zubatov Movement	53	The Special Council for State Defence	122
		The Vankov Organization: 1915–1918	122

Contents

1917 and After: Political Developments	123	The Cossaks	202
The February Revolution	123	The Jews in the Revolution: 1907–1921	207
The Provisional Government	124	Zionism	211
Local Power in 1917	132	Jewish Religion after the Revolution	213
The Soviets	134	The Jews in the Ukraine	214
The October Revolution	136	The Jews in Independent Lithuania	215
The Constituent Assembly	140	The Ukraine before 1917	216
The Civil War: 1917–1921	141	The Ukraine: Revolution and Civil War	220
Armed Forces of South Russia (AFSR)	146	The Baltic before 1917	225
Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly (Komuch)	146	The Baltic: Revolution and Civil War	228
The North-Western Army	147	Transcaucasia before 1917	232
The Provisional All-Russian Government	147	Transcaucasia: Revolution and Civil War	235
The Volunteer Army	147	Central Asia before 1917	239
The Jäger Movement	147	Central Asia: Revolution and Civil War	241
The Latvian Riflemen	148	The Alash Orda	245
War Communism	148	The Basmachi	246
Bolshevik Oppositions	150	The Crimean and the Volga Tatars before 1917	247
Propaganda	152	The Crimea and Middle Volga: Revolution and Civil War	249
The Kronstadt Revolt: 1921	157	The Central Muslim Commissariat	253
The Emigration	160	Siberia before 1917	253
Post-October Institutions	164	Revolution in Siberia	259
Lenin's Government: 1917–1922 (Sovnarkom)	164	Krasnoyarsk	263
Committee Memberships of the RSDRP(b)	167	The Atamans: Annenkov, Semenov, Ungern-Sternberg	263
Commissars and Commissariats of Sovnarkom under Lenin	169	Northern China before 1917	264
Defence Council	169	Northern China: Revolution and Civil War	266
State General Planning Commission (Gosplan)	172	The Chinese Eastern Railway	267
Military Revolutionary Committee (MRC)	173	Harbin	268
Commissariat of Worker-Peasant Inspection (Rabkrin)	173	The Cultural Impact of the Revolution	269
Supreme Council of the National Economy (VSNKh)	173	Cultural Revolution	269
Party-State Institutions	173	Proletkult (The Russian Proletarian Cultural-Educational Association)	270
Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: 1917–1924	178	Writers and the Revolution – Blok, Gorky, Mayakovsky	272
The Vecheka	181	Cinema	276
The Red Army	185	Theatre	280
The Red Navy	187	The Moscow State Jewish Theatre (Goset)	283
The Soviet Legal System	188	Art	284
Constitution of the RSFSR: 1918	192	Music	288
Spreading the Revolution	194	Soviet Ballet	293
The Idea of World Revolution	194	PART 2	295
Permanent Revolution	198	Biographies A – Z	297
The Spread of Bolshevism to the Interior: 1917–1918	200	Index	407

PART I



