

Bolshevik Revolution: A Study in Casual-Retrospective Analysis of the Graduations from Tsarist Legacies towards Socialist Inception

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Abstract

State authoritarianism in Soviet Union conceived and studied as a unique phenomenon labeled with the communist doctrine. While locating and making conceptions regarding this particular and prevalent trend on the side of Politburo and Kremlin, a range of general perception deals with it as an essential and eccentric policy adopted by soviet bureaucracy to make it exclusionary. Therefore, that design of extending the socialist doctrines to meet ultimate objective i.e. Communism, that precedent was not only adopted, rather it graduated with socialist transformation in more dynamic character. This study, however aims to trace the huge precedents in respect of soviet authoritarianism, which led to its monolithic formations with the inception of Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, followed by the formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. In this attempt, the monolithic-traditions of imperial Russia presented as an assistant-prelude to the later socialist developments in post-socialist revolution.

Key Words: Tsar. Communisms, Socialism, Authoritarianism. Monolithic.

Russian History and Socialist Revolution

The construction of comprehensive understanding about the very long-term background of the Russian Revolution requires a study of Multi aspect Russian history. There has always been a controversy between Russian and non Russian (western) scholars about whether the Macro changes in Russian History were due to external factors or these are the internal factors that influence the shaping process of Russian socio-political changes either on Macro level of urban society or micro layers of rural and agricultural society.¹ But non-Russian historian emphasis upon the external factors the shape the course of Russian history.² However, as always is the case with revolution the internal factors are always given primacy over external factors. Otherwise the analysis of revolution may come under strong spell of conspiracy theories. Hence therefore it would be more appropriate to analyze the causes of outbreak of Bolshevik revolution in long term historical perspective.

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¹ David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991) p.2.

² Ibid.,

Russian imperial history

The recorded history of Russian dates back to the 850 A.D. At that time Russian was inhabited by Slavic Tribe. The hypothesis of this research paper is very much owed to the long span history of Russian empire design. Because almost surely it can be stated that Russia is the only country in the world recorded history with most imperial static formations. Russian empire is the only empire on the surface of world history, which revived her for four times. There had been four empire structures on the soil of Russia in consecutive order.

1. First Empire was Kieran empire.c.850-1240.³
2. Second empire was the Muscovite empire.c.1400-1605.⁴
3. Thirds was Great Romanov Empire.c.1613 - 1917.⁵
4. Last one was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.c.1922-1991.⁶

From 15th to 18th century Russian Tsars, Ivan IV,⁷ Peter the Great⁸ and Nicholas I⁹ derived autocratic power which resembled with oriental despotism and Russian autocracy did not have the character of western monarchy of contemporary period.¹⁰The medieval Russian was just like a semi-Asiatic-despotic government. Perhaps geographical location had yielded her to be strange from west and brought it closer to central Asian-socio-political culture. But with 18th century Peter the Great and Catherin had tried their utmost to westernize their empire. Peter introduced many reforms in his country under the influence of

³ Philip, Longworth, *Russia's Empires: The Rise and Fall of the Russian Empires From Prehistory to Putin* (London, 2005) Pp.1.2.

⁴ Ibid.,

⁵ Ibid.,

⁶ Ibid.,

⁷ "Ivan IV Vasilyevich 1530-1584 was the Grand Duke of Muscovy from 1533 to 1547 and was the first ruler of Russia to assume the title of tsar (or czar). His long reign saw the conquest of Tartary and Siberia and subsequent transformation of Russia into a multiethnic and multiconfessional state. This tsar retains his place in the Russian tradition simply as Ivan Grozny which is traditionally translated into English as Ivan the Terrible"

Ivan IV Vasilyevich <http://en.wikipedia.org> . Assessed on 22 august 2007 at 7: pm.

⁸ "Peter the Great or Pyotr Alexeyevich Romanov (1672 -1725) ruled Russia from 1682 until his death, jointly ruling before 1696 with his weak and sickly half-brother, Ivan V. Peter carried out a policy of "Westernization" and expansion that transformed the Tsardom of Russia into the Russian Empire, a major European power".

Peter the Great <http://en.wikipedia.org>. Assessed on 22 august 2007 at 7: pm.

⁹ Nicholas I (Nikolai I Pavlovich 1796 -1855) was the Emperor of Russia from 1825 until 1855, known as one of the most reactionary of the Russian monarchs. He was also King of Poland. He was born in Gatchina to Emperor Paul I and Empress Maria Feodorovna. He was a younger brother to Alexander I of Russia and Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich of Russia. Nicholas I <http://en.wikipedia.org> .Assessed on 22 august 2007 at 7: pm.

¹⁰ David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991) p.11.

European Tradition. In 1703 he established the city of Petersburg on genuine western parameters. In fact, his policies facilitate the interaction or amalgamation of western culture with Russian. Thus, in such a way the Greater Russian Empire was established on new socio-political lines imported from west.

Religious influence was also one of the major historical factors which helped Muscovite empire to adopt authoritarian shape when Ottoman Turks occupied Constantinople in 1453 this major event fostered the subsequent concept of Russian's Moscow as the third Rome. New spiritual status of Moscow imparted centrality of orthodox Christendom with over centralized ingredients of static authorities. This centralization of Russian political and economic and social institution under the Auspices of Orthodox Church had resulted in more restricted rigid and centrally dominated Russian spheres of life. This was a major transformative phase in Russian history as it laid bases for monolithic nature of medieval style. This monolithic nature was further reinforced by Byzantine cultural and political traditions.¹¹

This formation remained intact in its most rigid form until 17th century when Russian state under Tsar shattered this Orthodox Church's central status and created all centralization towards Tsarist authority. This transformation identified with secularization of Russian State. Authoritarian control shifted from Orthodox Church to Tsarist hands. This transformation has been acknowledged in such a way that so many problems were produced through this transformation because to this period policy of westernization carried out by Peter the Great had implanted a contradictory gap among Russian. So many structural flaws were imbibed through this policy of westernization. According to westernization project nobility and upper strata of urban society were focused. All reforms with their impact remained within a closed circle and Russian state with more autocratic character get further distinction from its masses. In Tsarist era Russian Empire was the only state in the world which officially proclaimed itself as autocracy.¹² At that time Russian empire had great resemblance with traditional authoritarian states of medieval Asia. It was typical example of traditional authoritarianism. Theoretically and practically all powers were vested in the person of Tsar. Center oriented policies deprived Tsarist Static to accomplish with requirement of over stretched boundaries of Russia. Tsar himself lived remote from the people his will could not be questioned and his policies were mainly concerned with the high politics rather than grass root level. So, this sort of authoritarian attitude widened the gulf between Tsar's central structure and the Masses spheres. The only contact between peasant and government was possible through two government officials

¹¹ Ibid., p19

¹² Dared P.Hammer, *USSR: The Politics of Oligarchy* (London, 1986) p.15.16.

one was the Tax collector and second was Army recruiter.¹³ Third influential change occurred in the early 19th century during the reign of Paul I when Prussian style discipline was tried to impose in Russian state. At that time the Soviet monarchy was erected upon serfdom and autocracy. Rulers and their appointed Ministers reasserted their authorities over nobility and serfdom. Then Alexander I (1801-1825) restricted further serfdom but he avoided fundamental changes in political and social fabric. This autocratic set up confronted with the severe challenges of popular revolts during the period of Tsar Alexander I but the regime struck to the dictatorial dispensation. Fragmented empire with over centralized autocratic static did not seem to comprehend reconciliation.¹⁴

19th Century Development

All the development of 19th Century Russian provide an intelligible background to comprehend the course to red revolution of 1917. The comprehension of these developments will be intrusive to construct an analytical assessment of this episode. Russian defeat in Crimean war ¹⁵was perhaps the most significant event which revealed incompatibility of that traditional Russian structure based on serfdom with highly developed and developing Western European continent. Massive industrialization designs urged Russian Tsarist monarchy to realize the need of urgent reform in serfdom. The first significant feature of this era was the emancipation of serfs. The emancipation Act of 1861 granted private peasant serf their freedom from serfdom. However, this emancipation did not end their exploitation. Emancipation act affected primarily the serfs of nobility and their majority disapproved the reform. Land lords deprived peasants of the best fertile land so peasants were forced to rent land from land lords on hard and inappropriate terms. Their old lords once again recovered their former power over their old slave (Serf) with the full support of Tsar Alexander's government. Despite of its limitation and shortcomings the emancipation Act changed and helped to transform the Russian empire from feudal country to comparatively modern. This reform opened a new chapter in the history of Russian as it leveled initial grounds for capitalism by enhancing industrialization.

¹³ Ibid.,p.16

¹⁴ Ibid.,p.16

¹⁵ "The Crimean War (1853-1856) was fought between Imperial Russia on one side and an alliance of France, the United Kingdom, the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Ottoman Empire on the other. Most of the conflict took place on the Crimean Peninsula, with additional actions occurring in western Turkey, the Baltic Sea region, and in the Russian Far East." The Crimean War is sometimes considered to be the first "modern" conflict and "introduced technical changes which affected the future course of warfare."

The Crimean War <http://en.wikipedia.org>. Assessed on 22 august 2007 at 7: pm.

Advent of capitalism in Russia

Industrialization arrived Russia in the last decade of the 19th century. Development in the field of mining, manufacturing and railway tracks construction started. But all these progress was owed much to the foreign intervention in the form capital investment. By the end of 19th century capitalism had reached its peak. In Russia capital developed into imperialism with numerous disastrous and distinctive features. Country was ruled by the representative of Tsarists oligarchy and feudal landowners. Russia became the hub of all kind of oppressive colonial, feudalistic and capitalistic influences. Most of this capital investment came from government sources or from foreign sources. Russian industry was concentrated in few hands. The highly concentrated industry was facilitated by the development efforts of banks and multi stock companies. Western imported and influenced industrialization had brought with itself all the harmful features, which a capitalist mechanism imbibed. All such harmful effect put horrendous impact on already exploited workers severely.

In Russia the process of industrialization and emancipation of serfdom started almost at the same time with minor interval of time. Because of the semi reciprocity an appropriate number of peasants made their way towards industrialized area to set out for prosperous future. This mobilization had increased the number of industrial workers but their dream did not materialize as they had to become the victim of harmful side of industrialization with low wages and low quality of life and poor accommodation.¹⁶ Industrial process was concentrated in little hand. It was either under the auspices of state-run institution or in the hands of tiny capitalist class with broad share of foreign capital investment. Most of the banks were under the control of European bank. More than 40% capital of investment was conducted by foreign bank. All the characteristics of this industrialization transition of Russia resulted into the sheer exploitation of workers. Workers could not escape this exploitation and massive scale of exploitation became prevalent in Russia lower strata. This phenomenon made the picture more hostile at the very end of 19th century. In many ways the labor condition of Russian workers was in fragility as that of English working class of early 19th century. England. Proletariats were aware of their exploitation and soon started thinking about how to get their rights and even how to get rid of this exploitive system.

The second phase of brutal exploitation was started with the very beginning of 20th century when western world was plunged into economic crises as capitalism had always face crises after certain saturation or any other particular reasons so it happened in Russian also the influx of western invested capital

¹⁶ Geoffery Stern, *The Atlas of Communism* (New York, 1990) p.40.41.

started to diminish sharply.¹⁷ This crises resulted into another crises of wide spread poverty among masses as their income wages became low their purchasing power also on the lowest ebb. All this aggravated the crises and middle class fall victim to this critical economic crisis. There were a few medium industries in Russian almost all such industries closed due to shortage of investment etc. This situation resulted into another more repressive financial crisis because only the largest enterprises were able to survive the financial crisis.¹⁸

During this period big industries converted into capital monopolies. All these few monopolies were under the strict control either of Tsarist state or foreign capitalist hands. Taking advantages during the crisis foreign banks bought the shares of Russian indigenous industries and banks and became the owners of these enterprises. This act made the situation further hostile and increased the dependence of Russian capitalist on western capitalism. During all this crisis period then number of workers started to decline. More than half factory workers were discharged during the period of three years. Unemployment increased and condition of labor worsened up to hyper level. Society became financially messy and hastened the need the political awakening of the working class of Russia.

This socio-economic restlessness could prove dangerous for the static authority. Instead of dealing with this restlessness by compensation Tsarist authorities dealt all this with brutal measures. This oppression set the workers to think about the causes of their hard conditions and they began to understand that the worst enemy of their prosperity and most responsible authority of all this was autocratic government set up. Revolutionary social democrats had taken the vanguard of all this restlessness. There newspaper *Iskra* played a very momentous role in awakening the people and made them understand of their exploitation carried out by Tsarist government with joint efforts of foreign capital powers. This newspaper exposed the irresponsibility and crimes of Tsarist autocracies rule. A cursory look at Russian History suggests presence of a very centralized authority.¹⁹ Post-Crimean war era witnessed great changes in Russian society amid the inspirational impact of revolutionary Europe, there Sprouted liberal and radical movements. Another factor which further led towards these changes was Russian march towards industrialization with the passage of time these liberal and revolutionary movements began to challenge the Tsarist autocracy.

This opposition movement against regime was represented by two major groups the liberals and the radicals. Liberals attempted to reform and improve the state and society through peaceful means. On the other hand the later adopted the violent course by responding the repression and authoritarianism of the Tsarist

¹⁷ A.M.Pankratova, *A History of Soviet Union* (Moscow, 1948) p.15-19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.19.20

¹⁹ David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991) p.53

regime through the acts of violence. They even planned to overthrow the Tsarist regime. They also tried to win over the sympathy of the peasantry. Despite these efforts the radicals failed to mobilize the masses on large scale. In 1860 a vigorous campaign was carried out with the aim of persuading and stimulating the peasants to rise against the feudal lords and autocratic government. But the peasantry failed to activate itself enough and largely remained indifferent to the movement.²⁰ During 1860's all movements and program of revolts against Tsarist state were unsuccessful because of various factors i.e. lack of cohesion, organizational deficiencies, disunity within their ranks and even the lack of powerful ideology. They could not get necessary public support as to pose serious challenge to Tsarist regime neither they could mobilize peasantry into any revolt venture.

Among these movements which sprang amid the cataclysmic changes taking place in Russian society the most conspicuous one was Nihilism.²¹ Nihilism was extremely hostile about autocratic system of government. Nihilism in the following years produced the tendency of using terror as political tool. Russian radicals were much inspired by this ideology and its usage became more frequent towards the end of 19th century. In the absence of any organized and mass popular movement against the authoritative government the most articulate opposition to the autocratic regime came from the *intelligentsia*.

The word intelligentsia was in popular parlance in Russia denoted a very intelligent person who was enemy of Tsarists state. Intelligentsia belonged to the disgruntled section of the nobility with liberal and socialists' tendencies. People with moderate political views became increasingly vocal towards the need of complete revamping of Russian political system and in their opinion, it was not possible without dismantling autocracy. The scheme of liberalization further evoked severe responses from both leftist and rightist. On the other hand, the later were totally against the autocracy and also against the parliamentary form of government because they considered it as a protector of the interests of bourgeoisie democrats and landlords.²²

Socio political situation became much intense towards the end of 19th century. In 1881 Alexander II²³ was murdered. This assassination had very

²⁰ Konstantine tarnvsky, *Illustrated History of USSR* (Moscow, 1982) p.53.54

²¹ "The Nihilist movement was a 1860s Russian cultural movement which rejected existing authorities and values. It is derived from the Latin word "nihil", which means "nothing". After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the Nihilists were known throughout Europe as proponents of the use of violence as a tool for political change".

The Nihilist movement <http://en.wikipedia.org> .Assessed on 22 august 2007 at 7: pm.

²² Ibid., p.16

²³ Alexander (1818-1881) was the Emperor of the Russian Empire and Tsar of Russia from 3 March 1855 until his assassination in 1881. He was also the Grand Duke of Finland and King of

disastrous consequences for Russian society. All political movements and organizations were ruthlessly suppressed. Alexander II was succeeded by Alexander III who ruled with proclamation with faith in the power and right of autocracy. The state repression that followed Tsarist assassination resulted into the cleansing up of Revolutionary populism. This further intensified the ideological vacuum, which was increasingly realized by different sections of the Russian society. Peasant and Industrial workers were worried about uncertainty of situation they longed for a new ideology. Radical youth of 1880 were in dire need of new Radical Ideology, which could satisfy their revolutionary urges. They found their required Ideology into Marxism. Intellectuals inspired by Marxism now became convinced that Success of their ideology could not be achieved unless it indoctrinated into the industrial working class along with peasantry because the radical movement of 1860's and the 70's were got failed only due to the lack of support from these elements. Social democratic movement thus emerged as a genuine Marxist party in the late 19th century. The social democratic program called for socialist revolution, overthrow of the Tsarist monarchy, eradication of capitalism dictatorship of proletariat and creation of democratic republic with constitution, which would guarantee the sovereignty of the people.

Social democratic held their Congress in London in 1903. In this Congress, social democratic party faced a split over the question of party centralized control membership procedure. One group within the party supported the idea that party should be expanded so as to allow entering in its ranks. This group favored a loose organization of working class. On the other hand, another group led by Lenin vehemently opposed this idea Lenin contended that those individuals who were dedicated to party cause and have some experience of organization had the right to be member of party. Thus, Social democratic party was split into two groups. The majority section supported Lenin began to call it Bolsheviks and the other group led by Martyr was labeled as Mensheviks (minority).²⁴

Mensheviks adopted their new strategy of evolutionary struggle against Tsarist government and favored the replacements of czarist government by bourgeoisie democratic dispensation. Menshevik considered this step as transitional necessary to go ahead towards real socialist government. The Bolshevik adopted different and revolutionary plan of Action they were staunch enemy of bourgeoisie and wanted to establish a proletariat dictatorial government after overthrowing the monarchy. Last Russian Tsar Nicholas II became emperor in 1894. He was also begun to rule Russia with absolute powers. He demanded that revolutionary movement be suppressed by ruthless measures. Caucasus,

Poland until 1867 when it was annexed into the Russian Empire. In 1881 Alexander assassinated. Alexander <http://en.wikipedia.org>. Assessed on 22 August 2007 at 7: pm.

²⁴ Basil Dmytry, *USSR: A Concise History* (New York, 1990) p.28.29

Armenia and other colonies were filled with liberation sentiments but had to become a victim of Russian imperial subjugation. Peoples of central Asia too were subjected of ruthless exploitation by Russian empire. The internal police fiasco and external expression created a stagnant mess for Tsarist regime. Opposition from curbing of home opposition and maintenance of imperialism at outside resulted into an over stretched central government which was about to be shattered as further. Historic culmination was about to complete in near future.²⁵

At the turn of the 19th century Russian liberals acquired not only a press but also acquired more cohesive political program. They revealed the voice for democratize the polity but regime refused to permit such democratic freedom. The liberal was gaining enough ground for their credibility. The decade of 1905-1914 witnessed a sharp rise in political activity in Russian. The weakness of autocratic regime became evident the ban on all political parties

The workers strike became more frequent, disturbance occurred by the stagnation of agriculture, impoverishment of the peasantry all such become the features of Russian society in the first decade of 20th century. The first monumental shock to Tsarists regime at that period was the defeat in the war with Japan in 1904. Defeat inflicted upon Russian a series of crises. Government had to give some relaxation, but this political relaxation aimed at reconciliation was not enough to calm down the hot atmosphere.

In January 22, 1905 a peaceful procession of thousands of workers was get fired by tsarist authorities. This event is known as *Bloody Sunday*²⁶. *Bloody Sunday* had an electrifying effect on all over the Russia against the atrocities of autocratic government. Peasant rose in many parts of the Russia. The ensuing chaos soon reached in empire's colonies Poland, Finland, Ukraine, Caucasus region and central Asian states also agitated against the local Russia governing Authorities.

To deal with this mounting nationwide pressure government resorted to towards reconciliation and issues. In October 1905 soviet of worker's deputies were established these soviets were under the leadership of Menshevik policy. These soviets gained popularity among masses and began to demand a constitutional assembly with democratic setup and soon there sprouted a network of these soviets all over the empire. Under the pressure of Mensheviks demands

²⁵ Geoffrey Stern, *The Atlas of Communism*, p.59

²⁶ Bloody Sunday was an incident on 22 January 1905 in St. Petersburg, Russia, where unarmed, peaceful demonstrators marching to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II were gunned down by the Imperial Guard Bloody Sunday was an event with grave consequences for the Tsarist regime, as the blatant disregard for ordinary people shown by the massacre undermined support for the state. Despite the consequences of this action, the Tsar was never fully blamed because he was not in the city at the time of protest. Bloody Sunday <http://en.wikipedia.org>. Assessed on 22 august 2007 at 7: pm.

Tsar Nicholas II issue a manifesto, which granted people freedom of speech and some other political incentives.

It was a period of constitutional experiment and the most important development of this period were the initiatives on the part of Tsarist regime towards the transformation of absolute Tsarist Monarchy into constitutional system. However, these constitution arrangements could not satisfy the desire of Russian Public. The reform measures only proved to be halfhearted for instance the Duma was dominated by constitutional democrats. This party gradually became representative body of professional middle class which was confined largely to urban areas and had no roots among the Peasant and working class. Russian Society on of eve of 1914 had been undergoing a transition with numerous inequities and dominated by nobility which enjoyed a stake in legislative Assembly.²⁷

The Revolution of 1905 of constitutional reform had failed but it came to be seen as a great rehearsal for October revolution of 1917. The Socio political condition of Russia was deteriorating and financial condition was on continuous decline.

First World War and overthrow of Romanov Monarchy

The outbreak of First world war had interrupted the political, economic, and Social Transformation of Russian Empire By 1914 Russia gripped with so much industrial unrest and socio- Political dissatisfaction that it seemed that autocracy might not survive this catastrophic war. The inability of Russian allied forces to provide resources to Russia forced Russia to rely heavily on its own power and inadequately developed resource to continue the war. This self-dependency precipitated the domestic crisis. It had disastrous effects on agricultural and Industrial production, breakdown of communication and transportation network, severe shortage of food and other routine commodities were enough reasons to enhance hostility. The entire social and economic fiber of Russian Society was on the brink of collapse. While Tsar himself was on war front at home Tsarina under the supervision of Rasputin dissipated the governmental procedure. In this grim situation when Tsar returned Petrograd, he was stopped by revolutionaries and was forced to abdicate throne. Imperial family was arrested and thus the three hundred years of Romanov rule came to an end with following persecution of family. Tsarist regime failed to supply Leadership in rapidly declining empire. The crisis of leadership created a central vacuum which was eventually filled by revolutionaries.

Failure of Provisional government and Bolshevik revolution

²⁷ Konstantin Tarnvsky, *Illustrated History of USSR*(Moscow,1982) p.65.66

The provisional setup founded in March 1917 by Moderates this government declared freedom of speech and various reform. When time came for the implementation of these reforms this government failed as it lacked the subsisting will and a definite ideology to go for accomplishing these ideals. This provisional government represented landed nobility and Industrial high class and very confined section of education middle class. This provisional government was in favor of liberal Bourgeoisie democracy by protecting privileged class as it was an urban Middle class leaning party so it lacked appropriate understanding about the condition of proletariat and peasantry. Lenin return to Russia and his presentation of April thesis proved to be the turning point. In April thesis, he demanded immediate end of war, dictatorship of proletariat, nationalization of lands. Long before that he was of the belief that prolonged period of capitalist development was essential as a transitional phase towards socialist State. But under new modern capitalist imperialism he propounded a new concept that proletariat could instigate the bourgeois democratic revolution and move direct to the socialist revolution. He returned from Switzerland and prepared the Bolsheviks in Petrograd to claim that all political powers should be vested in the Soviets.

In June provisional government propelled an action against German fronts. It was blunder set by provisional government. The Russian Soldiers were reluctant to advance and retreated in disarray. It was golden opportunity for Bolshevik to exploit and manipulate political situation in its favor. Bolshevik party was smaller party as compared to Menshevik and Social revolutionaries. However it was much better in its organization. Bolsheviks were gaining support amongst peasants and proletariat even in Military they had developed their clout. In July-August the Bolshevik party abruptly changed its strategy and adopted the course of preparing for Militant uprising against provisional government. In September, Lenin decided to seize power from provisional government. At the beginning of the October the Petrograd soviet formed a Military Revolutionary committee (MRC) headed by Trotsky. 25 October was the planned day by MRC to overthrow the provisional government headed by Alexander Kerensky. This was almost blood less revolution. Soon after the revolution a 33 council of people's commissions was elected under the leadership of Lenin, which was the governmental body destined to rule over Russia for the next few year. There was remarkably little resistance against the Bolshevik and Bolshevik gradually managed to get control of almost all Soviets.

Revolutionary course of events from February to October 1917 culminated into gigantic event of 20th century but what was its nature in true sense? Was this course inevitable due to determined historical suppression or was unexpected. The answer to this question has been may be found in two major approaches which explicate the true nature of this revolution. One group of Sovietologists emphasis the approaching collapse of Tsarist Autocracy and Russian ground was saturated with multi-faceted suppression. Social, Political and Economic events and issues

which created a climate in Russia were conducive enough for the overthrow of Tsarist regime and brought about the new order.²⁸ They are of the view that the underlying causes of the Russian Revolution are rooted deep in Russia's history. For centuries, autocratic and repressive czarist regimes ruled the country and most of the population lived under severe economic and social conditions. During the 19th century and early 20th century various movements aimed at overthrowing the oppressive government were staged at different times by students, workers, and peasants. They agreed that multiple causes with deep historical roots led to the inevitable catastrophe in Russia. Tsarist Centralized structure was incapable of solving the country's basic social political and financial problems. Poverty, oppression, rigid dictatorship, Lack of Human rights, impoverishments of masses were the historical features which brought about this collapse.

However there is another opinion according to which revolution of 1917 was not an inevitable outcome of historical factors. This opinion negated the pivotal of Historical determinant forces working the bringing about the revolution.²⁹ Instead they are of the view that revolutionary situation was not of that level to cause revolution they claim that workers and peasant remained largely isolated from revolutionary agenda and movement and revolutionaries movement was largely confined only to Urban Area. For the first time Russia was passing through an Industrial progress with prospects of near future prosperity. There were few signs of Empire in crisis. Peasantry was dispirited but loyal to tsar. The middle class was very small and above all though government was incompetent in policy making but strong in its powers of repression. The exponents of this view contend that Empire collapsed due to very immediate reason of World War I.

To assess the real nature of the factors which brought the collapse of Russian Tsarist Empire acknowledgment of Historical determinism is important, which made this revolution inevitable. First World War may be considered as an immediate reason but revolutions inspired by ideology are not essentially outcome of catastrophic events like war. Their true origin may be traced in the historical structural factors which are well entrenched in the socio political dynamics of a society. The Russian empire collapsed only to reincarnate itself into new empire: U.S.S.R.

²⁸ David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991) p.142.143.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.144.145