

Index of Names

Note – Bolsheviks appear with ethnicity/nationality in parentheses. No specific mentions are made of Grigorii Evdokimov (Russian), Georgi Safarov (Jewish/Armenian), I. A. Tuntul (Chuvash/Mordvinian), Daniil Sulimov (Russian), Abdullo Rakhimbaev (Tadjik), Mikhail Frunze (Rumanian/Moldovian), Timofie Krivov (Chuvash/Russian), Vasilii Schmidt (German) and Petre Zalutskii (Polish).

- Andreev, Andrei (Russian), 235, 238, 239,
 241, 244, 249
 Antonov-Ovseenko, Vladimir, 151
- Badaev, Alexei (Russian), 235, 238, 239, 241,
 242, 261
 Beloborodov, Aleksandr (Russian), 239, 241,
 244, 256
 Berzins, Jan (Latvian), 161, 162, 163, 168–74,
 183–4
 Bosh, Evgeniia, 124
 Brooks, Jeffrey, 233
 Bubnov, Andrei (Russian), 235, 249, 250, 253
 Bukharin, Nikolai (Russian), 236, 250,
 251, 255
- Chubar', Vlas (Ukrainian), 131, 134–41, 150
 Chudov, Mikhail (Russian), 238, 239, 242
 Conquest, Robert, 206
 Cummings, A.J., 112
- Danishevskii, Karl (Latvian), 168–74, 181
 Deutscher, Isaac, 76, 77–8, 112–3
 Dmowski, Roman, 108–9
 Dzhaparidze, Prokofii (Georgian), 189–90,
 201, 204–12, 215, 216, 221, 278
 Dzierżyński, Feliks (Polish), 3, 88–9, 90, 91,
 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102–12, 114–5,
 116–7, 118, 119, 120, 121–2, 143, 146,
 147, 150, 151
- Ezergailis, Andrew, 166, 184
- Gellner, Ernest, 24–5, 27, 230, 266, 273–4
 Goldstone, Jack, 7, 51
 Gould, Roger, 8, 268
 Gusev, Sergei (Jewish), 60, 69, 79–84, 87, 88
- Haimson, Leopold, 52
 Hall, John A., 40, 266
- Iakovleva, Varvara (Russian), 235, 249,
 250, 255
 Ioffe, Adolf (Jewish), 60, 72, 74–6, 78, 87
- Jogiches, Leo, 118
 Jones, Stephen, 208
- Kaganovich, Lazar (Jewish), 60, 70–9, 82, 87,
 88, 145
 Kalinin, Mikhail (Russian), 235, 238, 239,
 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 248, 249
 Kamenev, Lev (Jewish), 60, 79–84, 87, 88, 89
 Kapsukas, Vintasas (Lithuanian), 90, 91, 92,
 93, 95, 96–102, 104, 105, 106, 120–1, 122,
 143, 146, 147, 278
 Kautsky, Karl, 143
 Kirov, Sergei (Russian), 235, 237, 246, 249,
 250, 252, 256, 259
 Kiselev, Aleksandr (Belarusian), 90, 92, 242
 Koenker, Diane, 244

- Kollontai, Aleksandra (Ukrainian/Finnish), 124, 255, 262
- Kolotilov, Nikolai (Russian), 238, 239, 243, 248
- Komarov, Nikolai (Russian), 238, 239, 242, 243
- Korotkov, Ivan (Russian), 239
- Kosior, Stanislaw (Polish), 90, 92, 134, 145
- Kreindler, Isabelle, 259
- Krestinsky, Nikolai (Ukrainian), 124, 130, 140, 144, 146–52, 153
- Kubiak, Nikolai (Russian), 238, 239
- Kuibyshev, Valerian (Russian), 236, 250, 256, 260, 278
- Kutuzov, Ivan (Russian), 235, 239, 240, 242, 249
- Kviring, Emmanuil (German), 124, 145
- Lane, David, 15, 239
- Lashevich, Mikhail (Jewish), 60
- Lebed', Dmitri (Ukrainian), 131, 134–41, 150, 153
- Lenin, Vladimir (Russian), 3, 9, 11, 14, 59, 68, 75, 76, 81, 84, 88, 89, 108, 110, 111, 119, 120, 133, 142, 150, 151–2, 155, 166, 167, 179–80, 182–3, 184, 188, 212, 216, 217–8, 220, 223, 235, 250, 251, 253–4, 256, 258, 259–60, 269, 270
- Lepse, Ivan (Latvian), 155, 158, 174–9, 183
- Lobov, Semen (Russian), 238, 239
- Lomov, Georgii (Russian), 235, 250, 251, 253, 256, 258
- Luxemburg, Rosa, 108, 110, 117, 118, 119
- MacDaniel, Tim, 5
- Mann, Michael, 7, 9, 13, 15, 266, 273
- Manuilsky, Dmitri (Ukrainian), 124, 130, 140, 142, 146–52, 153
- Martov, Iulii, 79
- Mawdsley, Evan, 9, 15, 17
- Miasnikov, Aleksandr (Armenian), 221–2, 226
- Mikhailov, Vasili (Russian), 235, 238, 242
- Mikoian, Anastas (Armenian), 214, 215, 218–21, 222, 223–4, 278
- Miliutin, Vladimir (Russian), 235, 249, 250, 252, 253
- Molotov, Viacheslav (Russian), 64, 89, 146–7, 235, 249, 250, 252, 253–4, 256, 259, 261
- Morozov, Lev (Jewish), 60
- Mosse, Werner, 15
- Muranov, Matvei (Ukrainian), 124, 136
- Narimanov, Nariman (Azerbaijani Turk), 193, 197–204, 208, 209, 212, 218, 220
- Nathans, Benjamin, 79, 88
- Nogin, Viktor (Russian), 235, 239, 248
- Orakhelashvili, Ivan (Georgian), 204, 206–12
- Ordzhonikidze, Grigorii (Georgian), 204–5, 206–12, 216, 224, 237, 278
- Osinskii, Valerian (Russian), 235, 237, 250, 251, 255
- Petrovsky, Grigori (Ukrainian), 131, 134–41, 150, 153
- Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan, 259
- Piatakov, Georgi (Ukrainian), 124, 145, 235, 236, 249, 250, 253, 256, 260
- Piatnitsky, Iosip (Jewish), 60, 66–70, 73, 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 92, 105–6, 147
- Piłsudski, Józef, 68, 103, 109
- Pipes, Richard, 15, 64
- Popper, Karl, 78
- Preobrazhenskii, Evgenii (Russian), 236, 250, 253, 254, 256, 258
- Radek, Karl (Jewish), 90–1, 102–3, 105, 111, 112–20, 121–2, 237, 278
- Rakovskii, Khristian (Rumanian), 151–2
- Reisner, Oliver, 209
- Rieber, Alfred, 205, 226, 274
- Rigby, T.H., 15
- Roth, Joseph, 246
- Rudzutaks, Jan (Latvian), 155, 158, 174–9, 183
- Rumiantsev, Ivan (Russian), 239, 243, 248
- Rykov, Alexei (Russian), 235, 237, 239, 256, 258, 259
- Ryskulov, Turar (Kazakh), 278
- Sapronov, Timofei (Russian), 235, 239, 241, 244, 246, 248
- Schapiro, Leonard, 15
- Serebriakov, Leonid (Russian), 235, 237, 238, 248, 256
- Sergeev, Fedora (Russian), 124, 235, 239, 240, 248
- Service, Robert, 59
- Shaumian, Stepan (Armenian), 166, 212, 214–5, 215–8, 223–4
- Shliapnikov, Aleksandr (Russian/Old Believer), 3, 262, 264
- Skocpol, Theda, 5
- Skrypnyk, Nikolai (Ukrainian), 124, 127, 130, 131, 140–6, 151–2, 278
- Slezkine, Yuri, 53, 59, 65, 228, 265
- Smilga, Ivar (Latvian), 155, 158, 162, 163, 179–84, 237, 278

Index of Names

305

- Smirnov, Aleksandr (Russian), 235, 237, 239, 241, 242
 Smirnov, Ivan (Russian), 235, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243
 Smith, Steve, 262
 Sokolnikov, Grigorii (Jewish), 60, 79–84, 87, 279
 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 59, 63–4
 Stalin, Iosef (Georgian), 3, 9, 14, 70, 72, 82, 90, 112, 120, 134, 146, 169, 183, 203, 204, 205–6, 208, 211, 212–3, 218, 224, 225, 226, 246, 254, 262, 272
 Stasova, Elena (Russian), 235, 249, 250, 255
 Steinberg, Mark, 237, 244, 247
 Stuchka, Petr (Latvian), 144, 155, 158, 162–8, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 183, 184, 278
 Suny, Ronald Grigor, 229, 266
 Sverdlov, Iakov (Jewish), 60, 79–4, 87, 88, 89
 Szporluk, Roman, 229
- Thompson, E.P., 5
 de Tocqueville, Alexis, 26, 35, 40, 62
 Tomskii, Mikhail (Russian), 235, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 249
 Trotsky, Lev (Jewish), 60, 70–1, 72, 73, 74–9, 82, 84, 86–7, 89, 120, 150
- Tsiurupa, Alexandr (Ukrainian), 130, 131–3, 134, 278
- Uglanov, Nikolai (Russian), 235, 239, 240, 241
 Ukhanov, Konstantin (Russian), 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 248, 256
 Uritsky, Mikhail (Jewish), 60, 70–4, 76, 78, 87, 144
- van Ree, Erik, 205
 Vladimirkii, Mikhail (Russian), 236, 250, 252, 256, 259
 Voroshilov, Klimenti (Russian), 137, 235, 237, 239, 240, 241, 249
- Weber, Max, 11, 143
 Wistrich, Robert, 59
 Witte, Sergei, 64–5, 88, 229
- Yaroslavsky, Emilian (Jewish), 60, 79, 81–4, 278
- Zelensky, Isaak (Jewish), 60, 79, 81–2, 84
 Zinoviev, Grigorii (Jewish), 60, 72, 74–8, 89, 120

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01422-0 - The Bolsheviks and the Russian Empire

Liliana Riga

Index

[More information](#)

Subject Index

- Anarchists, 134, 139, 141, 150, 203, 253, 259
 Armenians. *See* Caucasian Bolsheviks
 Assimilation: and Bolshevism/universalism
 appeal, 18, 22–3, 58–9, 85–6, 87, 88–9,
 121–2, 123–4, 133, 138, 141, 153–4, 197,
 200, 204, 267, 269–70, 273; experiences
 of, 8, 19–20, 27, 55–6, 58–9, 62, 66, 70–9,
 86–7, 90, 112–20, 121–2, 123–4, 128–9,
 198, 200, 231–5, 256–7, 260, 265, 267–8;
 measurement of, 13, 26–8, 32, 38, 47; and
 social mobility/integration, 35, 37, 45, 61–2,
 84, 88–9, 113–4, 123–4, 127–9, 133, 197,
 237, 257, 262, 270; *See also* education;
 imperial strategies; Russification
 Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ), 78
 Azerbaijani Turks. *See* Caucasian Bolsheviks
- Black Hundreds (URP), 49–50, 81, 140, 143,
 149, 233, 243, 250
- Bolshevism: and class conflict, 4–5, 52, 120,
 137, 140, 152–3, 179, 187, 224, 237–8,
 245, 260; as conservative/status protecting
 ideology, 22–3, 52–3, 56–7, 91, 103, 112,
 156, 186, 206, 225–6, 263, 273–4; ethnic/
 class composition of, 4–5, 9–10, 15–18, 24,
 271–3, 278–9; geopolitical appeal of, 4,
 16, 20, 22–3, 56, 91, 125, 172, 184–5, 186,
 196–7, 206, 214–5, 221, 223–4, 225, 265,
 273; as “good imperial ideal,” 22–3, 56,
 156, 181, 184–5, 198, 214, 225, 228, 263,
 273; and marginality, 8, 19–23, 31–2, 35,
 51–4, 55, 56, 58–9, 66, 86, 89, 96, 103, 112,
 114–5, 121–2, 124–5, 146, 154, 155–6, 184,
 265–6, 267–8, 269, 270, 273–5; Russified/
 Russian-inflected composition of, 3–4,
 63–4, 89, 90, 105, 119–20, 122, 124–5,
 134–41, 143, 148, 150, 153–4, 168–72,
 173, 184–5, 203–4, 205–6, 212–4, 223–4,
 227; and socioethnic exclusions, 4–5, 14,
 19, 20–1, 22–3, 28, 48–9, 53–4, 55, 56, 58,
 101, 107, 124–5, 153, 187, 225, 235, 253,
 265, 267–8, 269–7, 271; as socioethnically
 organized, 3–4, 7–8, 20, 22, 50, 52–4, 265,
 269, 270–2; universalist/rossiiskii appeal
 of, 4–5, 7, 8, 14, 19–23, 24, 31, 52, 55, 56,
 57, 58–60, 78, 85–9, 90–2, 96, 103, 106,
 112, 121–2, 125, 153–4, 156, 181, 184–5,
 186, 198, 203–4, 205, 206, 225, 226, 229,
 258, 263–4, 265–6, 269–70, 271, 272, 273,
 274–5; *See also* individual ethnic/nationality
 groups
- Bremen Left Radicals, 118–9
 Bund, 47, 64, 66–7, 79, 81, 82–4, 88–9, 98,
 99, 100, 105, 107, 108–9, 111, 139, 155,
 166, 176–7, 216–7
- Capitalism/capitalists, 5, 8, 10–11, 17, 26,
 41–5, 50–2, 60–1, 63, 65–6, 69, 71–2, 78,
 80, 131, 133–40, 181, 187, 189, 191, 193,
 195–6, 199, 203, 206, 213, 221, 227, 235,
 238, 242, 250, 263, 271; *See also* class
- Caucasian Bolsheviks: Armenian assimilation/
 Russification, 191, 214–5, 217, 223–4;
 Armenian middle classes, 219, 221–2;
 bureaucratic inclusion/exclusion of, 186,
 187, 189–90, 193–7, 214, 225, 226;
 capitalist relations, 193, 195–6; colonialist
 exclusions, 186, 226; dissimulatory
 Russification of, 187, 188–9, 190–3, 215,
 219–20, 222–3, 223–4, 226; divide and rule,
 193, 213; Dzhaparidze’s petty gentry origins,
 209; Dzhaparidze’s russified education, 209,
 212–3; Dzhaparidze’s russified radicalism,
 209–10, 211; ethnopolitical radicalization

- of, 186, 187, 189, 193, 196–7, 214–5, 217, 222, 223–4, 226; and geopolitical empire, 187–8, 191, 214–5, 224, 225, 226; Georgian gentry socialism, 186, 190, 204–5, 207; Georgian social structure, 206; and imperial strategies, 187, 189–93, 193–7, 199–200, 213–4, 223–4, 226; marginality/ composition of Bolshevism, 186–7, 225–6; Menshevism vs. Bolshevism, 204–5, 207, 212–4, 226; Miasnikov's education, 222; Miasnikov's imperial army, 223; Miasnikov's nationalist radicalism, 221, 222, 226; Miasnikov's non-Caucasian radicalism, 223, 224; Miasnikov's socioethnic origins, 221–2; Mikoian and imperial army, 215, 220, 221, 224; Mikoian's education, 219–20, 220–1; Mikoian's multiethnic alliances, 215, 221, 223; Mikoian's nationalist (Dashnak) activism, 218, 220, 226; Mikoian's rossiiskii empire, 220–1, 223–4; Mikoian's socioethnic origins, 218–9; Muslim reformism, 199–200, 202; Narimanov and Russification, 198, 199–201, 204; Narimanov's cultural radicalization, 199–200, 202–3, 204; Narimanov's rossiiskii socialism, 198, 200–1, 203–4; Narimanov's socioethnic origins/education, 197–8; and nationalist-socialist politics, 186, 201–4, 208–9, 212–3, 214–5, 216, 219–20, 222, 223–4, 225–6; Orakhelashvili's petty gentry origins, 209; Orakhelashvili's imperial experiences, 212; Ordzhonikidze's imperial experiences, 212; Ordzhonikidze's russified education, 207, 212–13; Ordzhonikidze's russified radicalism, 207–8, 210, 211–23; Ordzhonikidze's petty gentry origins, 206, 207; radicalization of Muslim intelligentsia, 192–3, 198–9, 199–200; religious policies, 188, 189, 191–3, 194, 199–200; Shaumian's early radicalism, 215–6; Shaumian's geopolitical empire, 217–8, 224; Shaumian's multiethnic alliances, 215, 216–8; Shaumian's Russified education, 215, 216, 224; Stalin's nationalism, 205, 226; Stalin's Russification, 205–6; Stalin's socioethnic origins, 205–6; Stalin's understanding of empire, 212; and universalist/rossiiskii politics, 186, 197, 213–4, 214–5, 223–4, 225–6
- Class: and class conflict, 4, 7, 19, 24, 51–2, 116, 120, 137, 140, 158, 177, 179, 181, 187, 191–3, 224, 237–8, 245, 260, 266; definitions/measurements of, 10–12, 278–9, 280–1; *See also* Bolshevism; estates/*sosloviia*; capitalism; imperial strategies; *meshchanstvo*; middle classes/intelligentsia; nobility/*dvorianstvo*; peasantry; working classes
- Dashnaktsutiun (Dashnaks), 69, 186, 215, 216–8, 220–1, 222–3, 224, 226
- Education: and cultural assimilation, 18–9, 26, 28, 32–5, 47, 56, 58, 62, 94, 148, 156, 159, 161–3, 169–71, 185, 187, 194, 197–9, 204, 209, 212–3, 214, 216, 257–9, 266, 267, 269; primary/parish/seminary, 19, 33–4, 97, 104, 134, 143, 159, 163, 174–5, 197, 205, 207, 214, 219–20, 221–2, 236, 240–1, 247, 261; and radicalization, 8, 20, 63–5, 66, 89, 103, 174, 222–3, 236; and Russian nation-building, 230, 240–1, 261; secondary (*gimnazii/Realschulen*), 11, 18–9, 25–6, 32–3, 34–5, 61, 62, 63, 68, 72–3, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 93, 94, 97, 103–5, 114–6, 134, 143, 145, 146–7, 148, 161, 163, 170, 181, 199, 200–1, 209, 212–3, 215–6, 219–20, 222, 235–6, 240, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256; and social mobility, 26, 31, 39, 58, 62, 79, 84, 159–60, 163, 251–2; university, 18–19, 25–6, 32–3, 35, 62–4, 73, 75, 79, 80, 83, 84, 88, 93, 94, 97, 103, 113–4, 147, 148, 149, 158, 163–4, 169–70, 199, 200, 202, 209, 211, 212–3, 216, 221, 223, 235–6, 239–40, 250, 251–2, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 267–8; *See also* assimilation; imperial strategies; Russification
- Elective affinity, 106, 115, 121, 146, 155–6, 181, 201, 204, 208–9, 213, 225, 260, 266, 273–4
- Ethnicity: and Census, 12–13, 36–7; as identity marker, 3–4, 14, 37–8; *See* ethnopolitics; imperial strategies; *inorodtsy*
- Ethnopolitics, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 35, 43, 46, 48, 55, 58, 65–6, 85–6, 88, 89, 90, 96, 102–3, 106–7, 108–9, 112, 116, 117, 119, 120, 123–4, 126, 138, 140, 148, 150–4, 159, 162, 184, 186–7, 189, 193, 195–6, 213–5, 217, 222, 223–4, 226, 250, 251, 260, 266–8
- Estates/*sosloviia*, 6, 8, 10–13, 15, 16–7, 18, 20, 25, 27–8, 29, 31–2, 35–9, 41, 42, 44–5, 46, 47–8, 53, 57, 60, 72, 128, 131, 147, 157–8, 165, 187, 190, 193–7, 213, 233, 235–6, 239–40, 247, 251, 254, 255–6, 261, 272, 278–9, 280–1, 299; *See also* class; *inorodtsy*; *meshchanstvo*; nobility/*dvorianstvo*; peasantry

Subject Index

309

- Geopolitics. *See* Bolshevism; imperial strategies; Russian Empire
- Georgians. *See* Caucasian Bolsheviks
- German Social Democratic Party (SPD), 70, 75, 78, 105, 118, 143
- Hnchak* (Armenian socialist/nationalist party), 216
- Hümmet* (Muslim Social Democrats), 201–4, 211, 217, 221
- Imperial strategies: 28–48, 55–7, 60–6, 92–6, 125–31, 156–62, 187–97, 229–35; as assimilatory/homogenizing, 28, 32–5, 39, 41, 53, 56, 93, 95, 97, 126–7, 200; and bureaucratic incorporation, 26, 28–9, 29–32, 39, 41, 44–6, 49, 51, 53–4, 56, 58, 87, 92–3, 94–5, 103, 123–4, 125–8, 129–30, 133, 148, 153, 160, 162, 187, 188, 190, 193, 194–7, 198, 199, 206, 213, 226, 230, 250, 251, 266–7; as divide and rule, 28, 39–40, 44–6, 56, 91, 93–6, 126–7, 129–31, 187, 189–90, 192, 193, 213; and education, 28, 32–5, 39, 56, 79, 84, 92–4, 97, 161–2, 174, 185, 187, 189, 192, 219; as exclusionary/dissimilatory: *see* Russification; as nationalities policies, 6, 12, 25, 28–9, 35, 38, 42, 44–5, 47, 48, 93, 95, 233; and geopolitics, 5–6, 39–40, 43, 52, 63, 95–6, 187–9, 230, 232, 263, 272; and identity regimes/social control, 14, 28, 32, 33, 35–9, 40, 42–3, 46, 55–6, 66, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91–2, 95–6, 121, 156, 162, 180–1, 183–4, 193, 229, 231–4, 266, 272; and marginalized middle classes/intelligentsias, 21, 24, 28, 30–2, 34–5, 39, 40, 41, 44–6, 102, 265–6, 267–8, 269, 274; and religion, 13, 30–1, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38–9, 40, 41, 46–8, 53, 57, 62–3, 74, 95–7, 126–7, 161, 186–7, 189, 192–3, 200, 219–20, 226, 234, 240–1, 259–60, 261, 268; and routes to radicalism, 20, 24, 39, 41, 48–52, 55–7, 59, 121–2, 124, 141–2, 150, 165, 174, 186, 187, 213–4, 223–4, 226, 228–9, 274–5; and social mobility, 10, 13, 15, 17–21, 25–8, 32, 35, 37–40, 42–3, 45–6, 48–52, 55–6, 58, 61–4, 66, 74, 86, 90–1, 92, 102–4, 125, 129, 132, 159–60, 163, 169–70, 179–80, 190, 196–7, 208–9, 226, 236, 237, 239, 240–1, 255–6, 266–8, 269; and socioethnic exclusions, 28–48, 50, 58, 86, 89, 91–2, 93, 102, 103, 121, 124, 125–6, 153, 179, 183–4, 185, 187, 189, 193, 199, 214, 226, 265, 274–5; as status particularistic, 28, 37, 40–3, 56–7, 91–6, 97, 124, 129–31, 153, 187, 189, 190–3, 213, 226; urban-rural dimensions, 25, 26, 34, 40, 41, 43–4, 45, 50, 103, 148, 158, 185, 187, 188–9, 207, 223–4, 267; *See also* assimilation; class; education; individual ethnic/nationality groups; Russification
- Inorodtsy*, 13, 38, 48, 58, 86, 278–9, 280–1; *See also* ethnicity; estates/*sosloviia*
- Jews/Jewish Bolsheviks: and anti-Semitism, 3, 5, 7, 30, 31, 43, 50, 58–9, 60, 61, 62–3, 65, 66–7, 69, 70, 71–2, 74, 77, 78, 79–81, 82, 86–7, 88–9, 105, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 126, 135, 138–9, 140, 141, 148, 149, 152–3, 175, 206, 232, 243, 249, 250, 253–4, 262, 271, 274; and assimilation/Russification, 58–60, 62, 63–5, 65–6, 66–7, 69, 70, 72–3, 78–9, 84, 85, 86–8, 89; and Bolshevism's appeal, 59, 70, 71, 74, 86, 88–9; and education, 58, 61, 62, 64; ethnic exclusions/ethnopolitics of, 50, 58–60, 61, 65–6, 69, 71, 73, 79, 80, 86, 87–8, 89, 267–8; Gusev's early radicalism, 80–1, 217; Gusev's Jewishness, 79–81, 84, 87, 88; Gusev's middle class exclusions, 80; Gusev's socioethnic origins, 80–1; and identity regimes/social control, 58, 84, 87, 89; and imperial strategies, 42–3, 60–6, 74, 79, 84, 85, 86–7, 89; Ioffe's radicalism, 75–6; Ioffe's Jewishness, 75–6, 78, 87; Ioffe's socioethnic origins, 74–5; Kaganovich's anti-nationalism, 71; Kaganovich's Jewishness/assimilation, 77, 78, 87, 88; Kaganovich's radicalism, 71–2; Kaganovich's socioethnic origins, 70–1; Kamenev's Bundist radicalism, 83; Kamenev's experiences of exclusion, 84; Kamenev's Jewishness, 83, 84, 88; Kamenev's socioethnic origins, 81, 82; liberal politics of, 60, 85–6; and Lithuanian Jewish radicalism, 66–70; marginality of, 58–9, 64, 66, 68, 78–9, 86; and nationalist/socialist mobilizations, 68–70, 73–4, 85; and numerous *clausus*, 62–3, 76, 80; and Pale of Settlement, 25, 31, 46, 56, 59, 65, 66–7, 75, 79, 82, 123, 126, 129, 139, 146, 158–9, 231, 232; Piatnitsky and multiethnicity, 67, 69–70, 217; Piatnitsky's Bundist radicalism, 67–70; Piatnitsky's Jewishness, 69–70, 87, 88, 89; Piatnitsky's socioethnic origins, 66–7; and pogroms, 50, 60, 64, 65, 69, 71, 72, 80–1, 85, 86–7, 138, 139–40, 141, 153, 233, 249, 253, 254; and Russian Jewish radicalism, 79–84; social mobility of, 61–3; social origins/class

- structure, of 60–1, 65; Sokolnikov's early radicalism, 79; Sokolnikov's Jewishness, 79, 84, 87; Sokolnikov's socioethnic origins, 79; Sverdlov's Russification/Jewishness, 82, 84, 87, 88, 89; Sverdlov's socioethnic origins, 81; Sverdlov's SR radicalism, 82; Trotsky's Jewishness/assimilation, 76–9, 87, 89; Trotsky's radicalism, 75, 78–9; Trotsky's socioethnic origins, 74–5, 76, 78; and Ukrainian Jewish radicalism, 70–9; universalist/rossiiskii politics of, 58–60, 66, 70, 71, 78, 86, 88–9; Uritsky's Jewishness, 72, 78, 87; Uritsky's middle class exclusions, 72–3, 74; Uritsky's radicalism in Kiev, 72–3; Uritsky's socioethnic origins, 72; Yaroslavsky's experiences of exclusion, 81–2; Yaroslavsky's Jewishness/Russification, 83, 84; Yaroslavsky's non-Bolshevik radicalism, 82–3, 84; Yaroslavsky's socioethnic origins, 81, 82; Zelensky's radicalism, 81–2; Zelensky's socioethnic origins, 81; Zinoviev's radicalism, 75, 78–9; Zinoviev's Jewishness, 78, 89; Zinoviev's socioethnic origins, 74–5
- Kadets (Constitutional Democrats), 10, 21, 45, 49, 50, 143–4, 149, 201, 218, 224, 250, 274
- Latvian social democracy, 163–4, 168, 177
- Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party (LADWP, Bolsheviks), 165–6, 169
- Latvians/Latvian Bolsheviks: and assimilation/Russification, 156, 161–2, 171, 185; and attraction of Russian culture, 155–6, 159–60, 174, 179, 184–5; Baltic German dominance of, 158–60, 163, 164–5, 168, 184; Berzins and rural middle class, 168–70; Berzins as russified teacher, 170–1; Berzins's internationalism, 172–4; Berzins's Russification/radicalism, 162–3, 164, 169–70; and civic associationalism, 157, 160–1, 162, 179, 185; Danishevskii's internationalism, 172–4; Danishevskii's middle class context, 168–70; and imperial strategies, 156–62, 171; Lepse's working class radicalism, 174–5, 177–9; and multiethnic mobilizations, 156, 175–7; and nationalist/socialist mobilizations, 159–60, 161, 165; and repression/social control of, 156, 162, 180–1, 185; Rudzutaks's working class radicalism, 174–5, 177–9; Smilga and Tsarist repression, 180–1; Smilga's geopolitical vision, 182–4, 183; Smilga's radicalism, 181–4; Smilga's socioethnic context, 179–80; and socioethnic context, 155, 156, 184, 185; Stuchka's geopolitical commitments, 167–8; Stuchka's 1860s radicalism, 163–4; Stuchka's socialist radicalism, 165–7; Stuchka's socioethnic context/education, 163–4; and universalist/imperial ideal, 156–6, 179, 183–4, 184–5
- Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP), 69, 98–100, 143
- Lithuanians/Lithuanian Bolsheviks: and appeal of universalist/rossiiskii politics, 90–1, 102, 121, 122; assimilation/Russification of, 93–6, 97; and dissimulatory Russification, 91, 92, 97, 121; education of, 96–7; and ethnic exclusions/ethnopolitics, 90, 91, 93–4, 102; and imperial strategies, 92–6, 121–2; Kapsukas's cultural marginality, 96, 101–2, 120–1, 122, 146; Kapsukas's exclusion from LSDP, 99–101; Kapsukas's internationalism, 101–2; Kapsukas's LSDP radicalism, 98–9, 122; Kapsukas's nationalist radicalism, 90, 96, 97–9, 120–1, 122; Kapsukas's religious education, 96–7, 121; Kapsukas's Russian socialism, 100–2, 122, 146; Kapsukas's socioethnic origins, 93, 96–7; and marginality, 92, 96, 102, 121; and nationalist/socialist mobilizations, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 101–2, 122; and Polonization, 93–4, 97; religious exclusions of, 94, 95, 97; social origins/class structure of, 92–4, 97; *See also* imperial strategies; Russian state/Empire
- Mensheviks, 10, 15, 21, 49, 50, 60, 64, 69, 74, 76, 81, 83, 109, 136, 139, 144–5, 150, 155, 166, 169, 177, 186, 203, 204, 207, 210, 211, 212–4, 217, 221, 224, 225, 226, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 270, 274
- Meshchanstvo*, 10–11, 15, 17, 31, 44, 60, 81, 251, 278–9, 281; *See also* class; middle classes/intelligentsia; working class
- Mezhraionka*, 151
- Middle classes/intelligentsia, 4, 5, 10–11, 17, 20, 21–2, 24, 26–7, 30–2, 34, 35, 40, 44–5, 48–9, 50, 52, 58, 63, 64–5, 67, 71, 74, 76, 85–6, 97–8, 100, 103, 105, 106, 107, 112, 113, 123, 125, 128, 138, 148, 151, 153, 155, 164, 168–74, 185, 187, 189, 191–3, 195, 197, 199–200, 201, 202, 208, 214, 224, 226, 227–8, 235–6, 237, 247, 249–56, 257, 260, 261–2, 266, 269, 273, 278–9, 280–1; *See also* class; imperial strategies; *meshchanstvo*

Subject Index

311

- Müsavat* (Muslim Democratic Party), 198, 202, 217
- Narodnaia volia* (Peoples' Will), 19, 80, 256
- Nationalist movements/mobilizations, 21, 34, 35, 39, 43–4, 45, 48, 51, 52–3, 59, 67–9, 71, 85, 90–1, 95–6, 97–8, 101–2, 104, 106–7, 109, 114, 116, 117, 122, 123–5, 128–9, 130, 141, 144, 148–9, 153, 156, 158, 159–61, 162, 164, 166, 167–8, 173–4, 186, 187, 190, 198, 202, 204, 205, 209, 212, 216, 217, 220, 225–6, 238, 243, 250, 253, 258, 260, 266–7, 270–1, 274
- Nationalist/socialist movements' competition, 39, 44, 50, 68, 69, 73, 91, 96, 97–8, 99–100, 102, 103, 105–7, 108–9, 111–2, 114, 115–6, 117–8, 120, 122, 123–4, 126, 128–9, 141, 143–4, 145, 148, 149–50, 153, 156, 158–61, 164–6, 167–8, 173–4, 179, 186–7, 202, 208–9, 211, 212, 214–5, 216, 221, 226, 252, 258, 266–7; *See also* individual ethnic/nationality groups
- New Current (*Jaunā strāva*), 164
- Nobility/*dvorianstvo*, 11, 17–8, 26, 28, 29–32, 38, 41, 42, 43–6, 60, 88, 92–6, 103, 106, 125, 127–8, 129–30, 132, 138–9, 148, 153, 157, 187, 189–93, 194, 195, 196, 207–9, 227–8, 231, 234–5, 235–6, 251–2, 257, 278–9, 280–1; *See also* class; estates/*sosloviia*
- Octobrists, 49–50, 250–4
- Okhrana, 11, 14, 19, 27, 35, 36–7, 72, 73, 74, 109, 118, 142, 143, 170, 171, 172, 239
- Peasantry, 10, 28, 34–5, 39–40, 41, 42, 43–4, 61–2, 94–5, 96, 100, 115–6, 125, 126–7, 128, 129–30, 133, 138, 150, 156–7, 161, 189, 191, 192, 204, 207, 208–9, 229, 230–1, 235, 245, 258, 263, 274, 278–9, 280–1; *See also* class; estates/*sosloviia*
- Poale Zionism*, 81
- Poles/ Polish Bolsheviks: and assimilation/ Russification, 90, 93–6, 106, 120; and Austrian Empire's Polish strategies, 113–4; and dissimilatory Russification, 91, 92, 112, 121; Dzierżyński and repression, 102–4; Dzierżyński's assimilation/Russification, 90, 105, 106, 111–12; Dzierżyński's attraction to Bolshevism, 111–12, 121; Dzierżyński's education, 104–5, 116; Dzierżyński's ethnopolitical marginality, 106–7, 115–6, 121, 184; Dzierżyński's imprisonment/ exile, 107, 109, 111; Dzierżyński's internationalism, 104, 107, 108–10, 111–12, 121; Dzierżyński's Jewish influences, 105–6, 107, 108; Dzierżyński's nationalist radicalism, 90, 104, 106, 111–12, 115, 120, 121; Dzierżyński's social origins, 93, 103–4, 112, 115–6; Dzierżyński's socialist/nationalist radicalism, 104, 105–6, 108–12, 217; and education, 92–3; and elective affinities with socialism, 115–6, 121–2; and ethnic exclusions/ethnopolitics, 90, 91, 93–4, 103–4, 112, 115–6, 120; geopolitical concerns of, 95–6, 112; identity regimes/control of, 91–2, 121; imperial strategies toward, 92–6, 103–4, 121–2; and internationalism, 91, 96; and nationalist/ socialist mobilizations, 90, 91, 94, 96, 105–6, 108–12, 114–6; and Polonization, 45, 93, 94, 97–8, 102, 105, 106, 109–10, 113–6, 120; Radek and Bolshevik universalism, 119–20, 121; Radek's assimilationism, 113–6, 121–2; Radek's education, 114, 115, 116; Radek's ethnopolitical exclusion, 115–6, 117–8, 119, 121, 184; Radek's experiences of anti-Semitism, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121; Radek's Galician socioethnic origins, 113, 115–6; Radek's German socialist activism, 117–20; Radek's Germanization, 113–4; Radek's internationalism, 112–3, 116–20, 121; Radek's Jewishness, 112–3; Radek's nationalist radicalism, 90, 113–6, 120, 121; Radek's nationalist/socialist radicalism, 115, 116; Radek's Polonization, 90, 112, 113–4; and religious exclusions, 94, 95; social mobility of, 90–1, 92, 120–1; social origins/ class structure of, 92–4; and universalist/ rossiiskii politics, 90–1, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 121; *See also* imperial strategies; Russian state/Empire; *szlachta*
- Polish National Democratic Party (*Endecja*), 108, 149
- Polish Peasant Party (in Austria), 114
- Polish Social Democratic Party (PPSD in Austria), 115
- Polish Socialist Party (PPS), 68, 73–4, 99
- Polonization. *See* Poles/Polish Bolsheviks; Lithuanians/Lithuanian Bolsheviks
- Radical Democratic Party (Ukrainian), 149
- Religion: and Muslims/Islam, 2, 6, 12–3, 28, 30–1, 34, 36, 38, 46–8, 50, 187, 188, 191–2, 193–4, 197–204, 206, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 231–3, 250, 256–60; and non-Christian minorities, 34, 36–7, 38–9, 46–8, 200, 256–60; and Old Believers/

- Sectarians, 2, 232, 234, 235, 262, 264; and Orthodoxy, 6, 12–3, 25, 36–7, 41, 42, 46–8, 57, 128, 148, 189, 191, 192, 229, 233–5, 237, 241, 246–9, 254, 257, 259–60, 261; *See also* imperial strategies; Jews/Jewish Bolsheviks; Russian state/Empire; Russians/Russian Bolsheviks
- Ritterschaften*, 30, 157, 160, 171
- Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), 15, 68, 74, 75, 81, 83, 99, 101, 108, 110, 117, 129, 132, 139, 141, 143, 144, 149, 155, 166, 171, 172, 173, 177, 178, 201, 202, 203, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 226, 242, 253, 255, 256
- Russian socialism/social democracy, 19, 45, 49, 50, 69, 73, 75, 81, 83–4, 88, 91, 100, 108, 111, 117, 119, 123, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153–4, 156, 168, 173, 184, 202, 208, 211, 216, 220, 222, 223, 239, 242, 243, 251, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 261
- Russian state/empire: costs/burdens of maintaining, 20–1, 22–3, 24, 39, 43, 48–52, 59, 112, 121, 181, 185, 263–4, 265, 274–5; geopolitics of, 5–6, 16, 39, 91, 127, 153, 167–8, 186–7, 191, 193, 214–5, 217–8, 225–6, 228, 230; diversity/composition of, 5–8, 12–13, 25, 26–7, 156, 158, 161, 224–5, 280–1; as industrializing/modernizing, 4, 5, 7, 10–1, 20, 25–6, 28, 51–3, 63, 138, 139, 140–1, 153, 158, 196, 200, 202–3, 237, 238–9, 241, 265–6; and nation-building/Russianness, 6–7, 12–3, 20, 21–2, 24–7, 29–30, 32, 35, 38–9, 43, 47, 52–3, 57, 93, 95–6, 154, 158, 229–35, 238, 240, 247–9, 256–8, 261–3, 272–4; and socioethnic exclusions, 8, 12–3, 24–5, 32, 39, 50–1, 52–5, 66, 123–4, 129, 131, 141, 148, 187, 190, 197, 229, 267–8; as traditional/status particularistic, 24, 25–7, 38–40, 213, 265, 280–1; *See also* Bolshevism; imperial strategies
- Russians/Russian Bolsheviks: and assimilation/Russification, 229–31, 240–1, 261; Bukharin, 251–2; Bubnov, 253; and burdens of empire, 229, 235, 261; class radicalism/exclusions of, 227–8, 241–5, 263–4; education of, 236, 240–1, 250, 251–2, 257–8, 261; ethnic tolerance of, 227, 228, 235, 238, 259–60, 261, 264; and fragility of Russianness, 229, 231–4, 235, 246–7, 256, 261, 264; and gentry/nobility, 249–60; Iakovleva, 255; and identity regimes/ ascriptions, 231–4; and imperial strategies, 228, 229–35, 257–8; and intelligentsia radicalism, 228, 249–60; and interethnic marriages, 237, 249, 256–62, 269–70; and Kazan Tatars (Muslims), 256–7, 258–9, 260; Lenin, 252–2, 258, 259–60; Lomov, 251, 258; Miliutin, 252, 253; Molotov, 252, 253–4; and nation-building/nationalism, 228, 229–31, 232–4, 238, 246–7, 261, 263; non-Russian leadership of, 228, 261–2, 262–3; and non-Russian minorities, 231–2, 233, 256–7, 258–9, 260; and Orthodoxy, 229, 234–5, 241, 248–9, 254, 257, 261; Osinskii, 251; and peasantry, 229, 237–41, 245–6, 258; Piatakov, 253–4, 256; Preobrazhenskii, 252–3; russkie/rossiiskii identities of, 228, 231, 234, 246–9, 254–5, 260, 263–4; Rykov, 239–40, 258; socioethnic origins/composition of, 227, 235–7, 238–9, 249–50, 251; Stasova, 249, 255; and views of imperial diversity, 235, 247–9; and Volga-Urals radicalism, 234, 236, 239, 250–1, 256–60; Vladimirskii, 252–3; and working class radicalism, 238–9, 241–6
- Russification: as assimilation, 13, 16, 18–9, 32, 61–2, 67, 72–4, 78–9, 79–84, 87, 121, 124–5, 127–90, 137–8, 146–7, 153–4, 156, 161–2, 173, 184–5, 205–6, 209, 211, 212–4, 214–5, 223–4, 269; as assimilatory/homogenizing strategy, 4, 18–9, 28–9, 30–1, 32–5, 39, 42–3, 52, 56, 94–5, 104, 169, 171, 174, 189–97, 197–9, 226, 240–1, 257–8, 261, 266, 272; as dissimilatory/exclusionary strategy, 28–9, 30, 39–48, 55–8, 64, 65–6, 89, 91–2, 92–3, 95–6, 97, 103–4, 112, 121–2, 124–5, 126–7, 153–4, 161–2, 187, 189–97, 199–201, 214–5, 266; and radicalization, 20, 26, 34–5, 47, 51–2, 57, 59, 63–6, 90, 92–3, 96, 103–4, 105–6, 112, 115–6, 121–2, 124–5, 140–1, 145–6, 153–4, 170, 181, 184–5, 197–9, 205–6, 217, 253–4, 257–8, 260, 269; *See also* assimilation; education; imperial strategies
- Social Democracy of the Latvian Krai (SDLK), 166, 171
- Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL), 99, 100, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 116–9, 166, 177
- Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), 10, 19, 21, 49, 50, 69, 72, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 129, 135, 138, 141, 143–4, 145, 150, 151, 154, 177, 186, 215, 218, 221, 223, 243, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259

Subject Index

313

- Spilka* (Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Union), 73, 76, 144–5, 149
- Szlachta*, 43–4, 46, 74, 93–4, 96–7, 102–3, 104, 125, 126, 127, 207
- Tatars, 13, 28, 29, 32, 34, 38–9, 41, 42, 44–5, 46, 47, 127, 131, 135, 191–2, 194, 199, 203, 217, 233–4, 256–8, 259–60, 280
- Ukrainian Peoples' Party, 145, 149
- Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (RUP), 144–5, 149
- Ukrainian Socialist Party, 73–4, 144
- Ukrainians/Ukrainian Bolsheviks: and anti-Semitism, 138–40, 141, 149, 153; Chubar' and Jews, 134, 135, 138, 140; Chubar' and socialism's class appeal, 134, 136, 140; Chubar's imperial army service, 141; Chubar's left-bank context, 136–7; Chubar's russified worker radicalism, 134, 135–6, 139, 140; Chubar's socioethnic origins, 135; Chubar's Ukrainian nationalism, 134; class radicalization of, 131, 152–4; and dissimulatory Russification, 123, 124, 153; education of, 131, 148; and ethnopolitics in Ukraine, 123–4, 129, 138–9, 148, 150, 152–3; imperial/bureaucratic incorporation of, 123, 125–6, 127–8, 129–30, 147–8, 150, 153, 154; and imperial strategies, 123–4, 125–31, 148, 150, 153; Krestinsky's employment as lawyer, 147; Krestinsky's internationalism, 146; Krestinsky's Russification and Bolshevism, 140, 146–7, 150; Krestinsky's socioethnic origins/education, 146–7; Lebed' and socialism's class appeal, 134, 136, 137, 140; Lebed's anti-Jewish activity, 134–5, 140; Lebed's imperial army service, 141; Lebed's left-bank context, 134, 136–7; Lebed's radicalism as russified worker, 134–5, 135–6, 139–40, 141, 150; and left-bank radicalism, 125–6, 130–1, 134–41, 140, 141–6; Manuilsky and internationalism/rossiiskii, 140, 146, 148, 150, 151–2; Manuilsky's education/early radicalism, 148, 149; Manuilsky's emigration, 149, 150; Manuilsky's right-bank socioethnic origins, 147; Manuilsky's Russification, 147–8; and multiethnic mobilizations, 124–5, 137, 138–9, 143, 144, 147, 153; and nationalist-socialist-internationalist mobilizations, 123–4, 128–9, 131, 137, 141–2, 143–4, 149–50, 152–3, 153; and peasantry, 130–1; Petrovsky and pogroms, 140; Petrovsky and socialism's class appeal, 134, 136, 137, 140; Petrovsky's imperial army service, 139, 141; Petrovsky's left-bank context, 136–7; Petrovsky's russified worker radicalism, 134, 135–6, 139–40, 141, 150; and right-bank radicalism, 125, 126, 129, 130–1, 146–52; and Russian centralism, 124, 129, 142, 144, 152, 154; and Russian socialism's class appeal, 137, 139–40; Russification/assimilation of, 123, 125, 128, 129, 130, 141, 150, 153–4; Skrypnyk's education, 143, 144; Skrypnyk's left-bank origins, 142–3, 146; Skrypnyk's opposition to Russian centralism, 142, 145, 146; Skrypnyk's Russification and socialism/internationalism, 140, 141, 145, 146; Skrypnyk's socialist-nationalist radicalism, 143–4, 144–5; Skrypnyk's Ukrainian nationalism, 142; Skrypnyk's Ukrainianization efforts, 142, 146; social origins/class structure of, 129, 130–1, 136–7, 148; and split middle classes, 126, 129–31, 153; Tsiurupa's early radicalism, 131; Tsiurupa's imprisonment/arrests, 123–3; Tsiurupa's socioethnic origins/education, 131; Tsiurupa's statistician/zemstvo radicalism, 131–3; and universalist/rossiiskii politics, 124–5, 129, 138, 141, 150, 153–4
- Union of the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, 134, 137
- Working classes, 5, 7, 10–12, 15, 26, 29, 50, 51–2, 56, 65, 66, 67–8, 72, 88, 100, 107, 110, 117, 125, 141, 150, 153, 156, 157–8, 160–1, 175–9, 184–5, 190, 195–6, 201–2, 206–9, 210–11, 216–8, 226, 235–8, 241, 242, 243–6, 255, 263, 269–70, 271, 278–9, 280–1; multiethnic character of, 67–8, 72, 107, 110, 156–8, 175, 177, 179, 185, 196, 202, 206, 217; *See also* class; *meshchanstvo*
- Zemlia i Volia*, 84
- Zemstvo*, 19, 30–1, 34, 61, 85, 94, 125, 129, 131–3, 134, 135, 143, 148, 151, 153, 160, 162, 236, 240, 247, 250, 252, 258, 263, 280, 281
- Zionism, 47, 68, 69, 86