

Political parties of Russia in the early 20th century as a historiographical problem

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The history of political parties in Russia during the beginning of the XX century is a key problem of native and foreign historiography, this is quite naturally. The emergence of new actors on the political scene in this period is evidence that an age-old drama of the relationship between power and society was approaching culmination¹.

Researches, which were discussing Russian political parties, went to analyzing literature mostly from the Soviet periods and before October revolution². We focus in

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¹ *Shelokhaev V. V., Solovyov K. A.* Political parties of Russia during the beginning of the XX century. Features of the phenomenon and prospects of study // *Russia XXI*. 2019. No. 5. Pp. 10—27.

² *Shelokhaev V. V.* Results and tasks of studying Russian bourgeois parties in modern Soviet literature // Non-proletarian parties of Russia in the years of the Bourgeois-democratic revolution and in the period of the going up of the Socialist Revolution. Moscow, 1982. Pp. 74—81; *Volobuev O. V., Leonov M. I., Utkin A. I., Shelokhaev V. V.* History of political parties of the period of the First Russian Revolution in the newest Soviet literature // *Voprosy istorii*. 1985. No. 7. pp. 52—67; *Kanishcheva N. I., Pridvorova T. P., Shelokhaev V. V.* The Party of the Bolsheviks in the years of the First Russian Revolution. Criticism of the latest bourgeois historiography // Questions of the History of the CPSU. 1985. No. 12. pp. 87—100; *Kanishcheva N. I., Pridvorova T. P., Shelokhaev V. V.* The Bolshevik Party in the years of reaction and the new Revolutionary upsurge // Questions of the history of the CPSU. 1988. No. 7. pp. 82—98; *Volobuev O. V., Leonov M. I., Utkin A. I., Shelokhaev V. V.* History of political parties in Russia 1907—1914 in Soviet historiography // Questions of history. 1989. No. 4. pp. 147—160; *Kanishcheva N. I., Leonov M. I., Pavlov D. B., Stepanov S. A., Shelokhaev V. V.* Political parties in 1905—1907 (Review of the latest non-Marxist historiography) // History of the USSR. 1989. No. 6. Pp. 180—195; *Volobuev O. V., Miller V. I., Shelokhaev V. V.* Non-Proletarian parties of Russia: results of the study and unsolved problems // Non-proletarian parties of Russia in three revolutions. M., 1989. pp. 5—20; *Agafonov O. V., Kanishcheva N. I., Morozova E. G.* Western non-Marxist historiography of the RSDLP. Main directions, research centers, archives. M., 1989; *Shelokhaev V. V.* *Mnogopartiynost v Rossii: istoriya i sovremennost'* [Multiparty System in Russia: history and modernity]. The difficult search for a solution. Issue 1. Moscow, 1992. pp. 141—159; *Gusev K. V., Miller V. I.* The system of political parties in Russia. To the formulation of the question // *Centaur*. 1992. November—December; Political history of Russia in parties and persons. Moscow, 1993; *Shelokhaev V. V.* *Mnogopartiynost', vyshevshaya v vozdukh* [Multiparty system, hanging in the air]. 1993. No. 6. pp. 166—171; *Shelokhaev V. V.* Political parties of domestic entrepreneurs: history and modernity // *Renewal of Russia: a difficult search for solutions*. Issue 2. M., 1994. pp. 182—188; *Kokonenko A.* The Party of Socialist Revolutionaries in 1901—1922. The problem of historiography. Tyumen, 2004; *Shelokhaev V. V.* Political parties in the First Russian Revolution: problems of further study // *Russian history*. 2016. No. 4. pp. 101—109; *Shelokhaev V. V.* Discussion about the type of political party in the Russian intellectual sphere // *Russian multiparty system and Russian Crises of the XX—XXI centuries*. Collection of scientific articles and materials of round tables. Issue 6. Moscow, 2016. pp. 344—350; *Shelok-*

the present paper on a tracing main tendencies of modern native historiography, we take in account in this discussion that it was no easy matter for scholars to leave old dogmas in order that to get understanding this political and social phenomenon as Russian political parties. First of all, writing of the history of the parties changed in the way of main changes of the historiography. Parties, including just the small ones, and best of all party systems reflected the political situation in Russia during the beginning XX centuries, we could say parties mirrored asynchronous and heterogeneous development of Russia. A historian had to assess the overall situation in the country and he did not want maybe to do this as he was characterizing a life of political parties. Secondly, taking in account many studies, which have appeared in the last three decades (monographs, articles, theses), we concentrate on innovative approaches in this case. We can understand the qualitative changes in the understanding the political history of this period summarizing achievements of Russian researchers from the mid-1980s to now days.

There were tendencies to revise the ideological conceptual ideas of the “Short Course” CPSU’s history in the 1960s and 1970s. The Twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956) became an undoubted milestone after which the emergence of a “new course” in historical science became possible. Scholars, which followed the “new course”, expanded the scope of research. The Scholars discussed the diversity in the Russian economy in the beginning of the XX century, the heterogeneity of the post-reform society; they stroke the question of the proletariat’s hegemony and its allies on the democratic stage of the revolution in Russia. It is obvious, there was a need to expand the circle of subject within the study of political parties. There were at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s researches which contained studies of “landlord”, “bourgeois”, “petty-bourgeois” parties, as well as various anarchist groups, although the studies stood within Marxist approaches which used the appropriate terminology. Despite the fact of Marxism’s domination in a vast majority of cases of statements about political associations, the appeal to new archival sources in the way of the expansion of the circle of subjects (this had a high significance) allowed to the scholars, which met this goal, to present the activities of the parties from a different perspective. As a result, there were in the shadow of accepted ideological names, for example, “The Struggle of the Bolsheviks against...”, findings which lay far beyond the usual Soviet historiographical frames. The scholars came to conclusion that the political process in the Russian Empire of the early XX century was not linear and this process did not contain obvious activity of political parties, this conclusion became in opposition to previous views on the subject.

Scientists pushed forward an idea of improvement the study of political parties in Russian Empire, scholars outlined this conceptual idea during the late 1970s and early 1980s by numerous All-Union scientific conferences held by the Scientific Council on the History of the Great October Socialist Revolution, headed by Academician I. I. Mints. The group of researchers of V. V. Komin, K. V. Gusev, L. M. Spirin, V. I. Miller, G. Z. Ioffe, N. G. Dumova, O. V. Volobuev, S. V. Tyutyukin, V. P. Buldakov, and V. V. Shelokhaev proposed to start preparing a collective generalizing monograph

haev V. V. Reforming of the party political space in Russia in 1917. 2017. No. 2. pp. 22–41; *Shelokhaev V. V.* Political parties in 1917 (Results of study and research tasks) // 1917. State. Power. Territory. Reports of the international scientific conference on October 25, 2017. Moscow, 2017. pp. 379–387; *Egorov A. N.* Essays on the historiography of Russian Liberalism at the end of the XIX — first quarter of the XX century (pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods). Cherepovets, 2007; *Egorov A. N.* Russian Liberals of the Early Twentieth century and Power: historiographical discussions. Cherepovets, 2007.

on the history of Russian non-proletarian parties at a scientific conference held in 1982 in Kalinin. The scholars stroke a plan of this book and formed a collective of authors.

The preparation of the monograph turned out to be a difficult task. At first, this was supposed to be published in two volumes. The manuscript was submitted by the Publishing house "Thought", with which K. V. Gusev had a preliminary agreement. The editors of "Thought" red the manuscript and decided to take no chances and sent the text of the book to the Department of Science of the Central Committee of the CPSU. As Gusev sad, the publication of the two-volume book on the history of non-proletarian parties met objections of the Department of Science of the Central Committee of the CPSU. To save the project of the book, Gusev had to resort to a help of persons close to the leadership of the Central Committee of the party. Although the authors had not got approval to publish the book, officials recommended to issue only one volume.

The group of the authors had to make a new text working in urge as people sad "handing by scissors and glue". Of course, it was possible for the authors to refuse the publication because of the reduction of this, but the authors took a decision to issue the book as they were doing others projects. As a result, scholars gave the book, this was published in 1984³, a favorable review. Of course, the monograph, which contains the history of none-proletarian parties from the origins of these parties to the disappearance of these ones during the Russian emigration, has many statements in the spirit of the time the domination of the Communist ideology.

The process of carrying out the text of the book reflected the fact that the Soviet science needed a revision of all stored historical material and formation new research tasks. This revision on one hand allowed a critical consideration of results of researches of several generation of Russian, Soviet and foreign historians, the scope of which were political processes of the beginning of the XX century, on another hand this revision became basis for a new ways of discovering this rank of problems.

At first, researchers had to pay more attention to study of a theory and methods. This, in particular, was reflected in the understanding of the heritage of A. Tocqueville, B. N. Chicherin, M. Ya. Ostrogorsky, M. Weber, R. Michels, M. Duverger, J. Brice, etc⁴. Secondly, scientists had to take in account features of the forming of political parties in Russia, this process was out of the Western European political tradition.

In the same time a group of scientists started to work out almost undiscovered problem as number, structure, geographical location of political parties in Russia Specialists from the Institute of the USSR history published special collection of papers in 1987⁵, a group of historians prepared an article and a report at a scientific conference in the United States on the base of this collection of papers⁶. Researchers almost immediately began to apply active quantitative methods for the study of the Russian

³ Non-proletarian parties in Russia. History Lesson. Moscow, 1984.

⁴ Malov Yu. K. Introduction to the Theory of Political parties (Review of Ideas and concepts). Moscow, 2005.

⁵ Kiselev I. N., Korelin A. P., Shelokhaev V. V. Political parties in 1905—1907: number, composition, placemaent (Quantitative analysis) // Istoriya SSSR. 1990. No. 4. pp. 71—87.

⁶ Kiselev I. N., Korelin A. P., Shelokhaev V. V. Political map of Russia in 1905—1907. Quantitative analysis // Russia and the USA at the turn of the XIX—XX centuries. Mathematical methods in historical research. Moscow, 1992. pp. 114—142.

political parties⁷. The discovering of this subject allowed to clear up a dependence a party organization on economic, social, national and confessional specifics of the country's regions and to identify channels through which parties influenced on different stratus, this research allowed also to determine methods of influencing public and mass consciousness.

Important role for a promotion the study of the Russian parties in the beginning of XX century had the all-USSR Conference in the city Orel, the reports were published⁸. The number of reports made on the Conference in Orel contained results of the study of the political parties in Russia, but O. V. Volobuev, V. I. Miller, V. V. Shelokhaev had outlined undiscussed problems, K. N. Tarnovsky had pushed forward first a subject of features of formation of proletarian parties. O. A. Harus, I. V. Narsky, N. D. Erofeev, M. I. Leonov, A. L. Afanasyev payed much attention to locality, number of members and composition of the political parties, Stepansky, A. D., V. I. Startsev, A. D. Kourakin, S. A. Stepanov, M. V. Smirnova discussed political programs of the parties. So the reports of the Conference reflected facts that only new ideas and approaches, which were outlined in the monograph and the collection of papers, had an approval of scientists and were put by scholars in a row of books and articles⁹.

One of the stimulating factors for the spread of new approaches to the study of political parties in Russia was the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the party to prepare "Essays on the History of the CPSU". They were supposed to correct statements about the RSDLP—RSDLP(b)—RKP(b)—VKP(b)—CPSU that took place in the multi-volume history of the CPSU. Officials organized a serious group of historians academic institutes and universities, this group had got almost unlimited access to archival documents at least about the pre-October period of the RSDLP, many boxes of these archives had secret status before. The member of the Politburo A. N. Yakovlev ran this project. Researchers from the second half of the 1980s set quite solid base for theoretical, methodological, historiographical and source studies, which contributed to the transition to a new stage of development of history science, which began in the 1990s.

Academic interest to the history of political parties in the Russian Empire sharply increased during the beginning 1990s in connection with the collapse of the USSR and the collapse of the CPSU because of a need to form national and modern parties. Scholars constantly raised questions during very many round table discussion about a genesis, forms, and methods of functioning of Russian political associations, their interaction with the Empire's government and society, and the significance of their experience for the "new" conditions. A real "boom" of publications of program documents, reissues of monographic studies of both domestic and foreign historians, memoirs of leaders of political parties took start.

⁷ *Narsky I. V.* Russian Provincial Partisanship: political Associations in the Urals before 1917. (On the question of the democratic tradition in Russia) Ch. 1—2. Chelyabinsk, 1995; *Postnikov N. D.* Political Parties of Russia 1907—1917. (Quantitative analysis) M., 2001; *Postnikov N. D.* Territorial distribution and number of political parties in Russia (1907 — February 1917). M., 2013.

⁸ The non-proletarian parties of Russia in the three revolutions.

⁹ See: *Erofeev N. D.* Narodnye socialists during the First Russian revolution. M., 1979; *Leonov M. I.* Leftist narodnichestvo v nachala proletarskogo segodnya liberativnogo dvizheniya v Rossii. Kuibyshev, 1987; *Leonov M. I.* Social Revolutionaries in the Revolution of 1905—1907. Samara, 1992; *Spirina M. V.* The collapse of the petty-bourgeois concepts of socialism of the Socialist Revolutionaries. M., 1987; *Dumova N. G.* The Cadet Party during the First World War and the February Revolution. M., 1988; *Pavlov D. B.* The Socialist Revolutionaries-maximalists in the First Russian Revolution. M., 1989.

There was a state of a new special scientific department of The Russian Independent Institute social and national problems (RNISiNP) in this period, this department urgent took the study of Russian multiparty system in the period of the end XIX — beginning XX centuries. Specialists from RNISiNP published the collection of political programs of the parties¹⁰, provided an international scientific conference on the history of national political parties in Russia¹¹, one of results of this conference were 14 papers about political parties including the poor discovered parties and 20 political leaders¹².

By the initiative of V. V. Shelokhaev, a big group of researchers (about 100 people) was formed, this group began to prepare a special encyclopedia. This work allowed us to introduce a large picture of the genesis, formation and functioning of political parties in Russia by the turn of the XIX–XX centuries¹³. The scientific group cleared up 280 political parties which were in the beginning of the XX century, the group investigated share of members of political parties of the Russian population during brake points of Russian history 1906 and 1917, the share was 0,5% in 1906 and 1,2–1,5% in 1917. At the same time, working on the publication, V. V. Krivenky prepared a list of all-Russian (57) and national (223) political parties¹⁴.

The authors of the encyclopedia denied to follow the old classification of political associations, this classification bases on the class theory of Marxism, and this deny was an innovative approach. According to this new approach, the researches classified the Russian parties in line with party views on native ways of a development and a reforming. According to this method, the scientists classified all Russian political parties as several main groups, they are conservative, liberal, socialist ones, every class of the political parties introduced one of three possible an objective alternative to the country's reforms and transformation of the beginning of XX century¹⁵.

The introductory article of the encyclopedia reveals the historical features of the formation and functioning of political parties, not only all-Russian, but also national¹⁶. The articles give a comprehensive description of the activities of each party for the entire period of their existence in Russia and the emigration. At the same time, the authors payed special attention to the number, social, national and religious characteristics of the political parties, analysis of program documents, strategy and tactics. For the first time, the publication describes the leading press bodies of political parties, the forms and methods of their influence on public and mass consciousness, interaction with government structures and mass organizations (The Soviets, All-Russian and regional unions, professional and cooperative societies), and describes the activities of many party leaders. The process of creating this work contributed not only to the establishment and expansion of scientific relations with domestic and foreign scientists, which developed the history of Russian political parties, but also allowed us to outline further prospects for their study.

¹⁰ Programs of political parties of Russia, the end of the XIX — beginning of the XX centuries. / ed. V. V. Krivenky, N. N. Tarasova. M., 1995.

¹¹ Political History of Russia in Parties and Individuals.

¹² History of the National Parties of Russia. Proceedings of the International conference. Moscow, 1997.

¹³ Political parties of Russia. The end of the XIX — the first third of the XX century. Encyclopedia / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev. M., 1996.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 725–743.

¹⁵ See: Models of Social Reconstruction in Russia. XX century / Ed. V. V. Shelokhaev. M., 2004.

¹⁶ Political parties of Russia. The end of the XIX — the first third of the XX century ... p. 5–12.

One of the primary tasks of a comprehensive study of this issue was an input of the documentary complex of political associations into scientific use. At the same time, scholars discussed an examination not only Russian, but also foreign archives and how to base international research groups. It was the early 1990s, when two parallel projects took start the “Menshevik” and the “Liberal”. The first of these projects was provided by the Department of historical Sciences, the second one was in hands of specialists of Institute of public opinion, which was founded on the initiative of a number of Russian researchers and the Publishing house “Russian political encyclopedia”. Soon both projects merged into one — “Political Parties of Russia. Documentary heritage”. Researchers from Russia, the United States, Israel and Italy participated in the implementation of this fundamental publication, which has no analogues in the World history. The American magazine “Criticism” published in 2004 a series of articles devoted to the analysis of the published books¹⁷.

We can say about 60 volumes, which contain materials about liberal, socialists and conservative political parties for all periods of existence of these parties¹⁸. There

¹⁷ *Emmons T.* Liberation or Liberalism? // *Kritika*. Vol. 5. 2004. № 1. P. 107—112; *Becker S.* A Conservative Lobby: The United Nobility in 1905—10 // *Ibid.* P. 112—116; *Korros A.* The Kadet Party and the Elusive Ideal of Internal Democracy // *Ibid.* P. 117—136; *Galai Sh.* The True Nature of Octobristism // *Ibid.* P. 137—148; *Budnitskii O.* Russian Liberalism in War and Revolution // *Ibid.* P. 149—168; *Lyandres S.* Documents and Politics in 1917 // *Ibid.* P. 169—178; *Narskii I.* The Right-Wing Parties: Historiographical Limitations and Perspectives // *Ibid.* P. 179—184; *Boniece S.* «Don Quixotes of the Revolution»? The Left SRs as a Mass Political Movement // *Ibid.* P. 185—194; *Melancon M.* The Neo-Populist Experience: Default Interpretations and New Approaches // *Ibid.* P. 195—206; *Corney F.C.* Party History — What It Is and Is Not // *Ibid.* P. 207—219; *Weiss C.* Russian Political Parties in Exile // *Ibid.* P. 219—232.

¹⁸ *The Mensheviks in 1917* / Under the general editorship of Z. Galili, A. Nenarokov, L. Heimson. In 3 vols., Vol. 1. From January to July Events, Moscow, 1994; Vol. 2. From July Events to the Kornilov Rebellion, Moscow, 1995; Vol. 3. From the Kornilov Rebellion to the end of December. Ch. 1. From the Kornilov Rebellion to the Provisional Democratic Council of the Russian Republic (August — first Decade of October), Moscow, 1996; Ch. 2. From the Provisional Democratic Council of the Russian Republic to the end of December (First Decade of October — end of December), Moscow, 1997; *Anarchists. Documents and materials. 1883—1935.* / Ed. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, introduction. and comment. V. V. Krivenky. In 2 t. M., 1998—1999; *Liberal movement in Russia, 1902—1905* / Ed. V. V. Shelokhaev, comp. D. B. Pavlov, authors of notes O. N. Lezhneva, D. B. Pavlov. M., 2001; *Right parties. Documents and materials.* In 2 vols. / Ed. V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, introduction. I. Kiryanov, M., 1998; *Protocols of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., authors of the commentary by N. I. Kanishcheva, D. B. Pavlov. In 6 t. M., 1994—1999; *Congresses and conferences of the Constitutional Democratic Party* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface and note by N. I. Kanishchev. In 3 t. M., 1997—2000; *The party “Union of October 17”. Minutes of congresses and meetings of the Central Committee* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, introduction. and comment. D. B. Pavlov. In 2 vols., 1996—2000; *Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. Documents and materials* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, introduction. and comment. N. D. Erofeev. In 3 vols., 1996—2000; *Party of Left Socialist Revolutionaries. Documents and materials. 1917—1925.* In 3 vols., 2000—2015; *United Nobility. Congresses of authorized provincial noble societies.* In 3 t. M., 2001—2002; *Labor People’s Socialist Party. Documents and materials* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, introduction. and comment. A.V. Sypchenko, K. N. Morozov. M., 2003; *Party of Democratic Reforms, Peaceful Renewal, Progressives. Documents and materials, 1906—1916* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, introduction. and comment. N. B. Khailova. M., 2002; *Union of Socialist-Revolutionaries-maximalists. 1906—1924. Documents, journalism* / Ed. V. V. Shelokhaev, comp., author of the preface, comment. D. B. Pavlov. M., 2002; *Parties of Russian Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. Documents and materials, 1905—1906* / Ed. by V. V. Shelokhaev, comp. and the author of the comment. V. Yu. Karnishin. M., 2004; *Conferences of the RSDLP of 1912: documents and materials* / Comp., auth. comment. Yu. N. Amiantov, K. G. Lyashenko, I. S. Rosenthal, Z. I. Peregudova, Z. N. Tikhonova; trans. from the German S. A. Gavrilchenko. M., 2008; *Bund: documents and materials, 1894—1921* / Comp. and author’s

are very important materials of party congresses and conferences, meetings of the Central Committee, Duma factions, correspondence with local committees and departments. Publication of the encyclopedia and a “general project” of documentary materials became a good motive to issue new books¹⁹ and also textbooks for students.

We can hardly name a significant political party, history of which was not mirrored in a famous book or article. Significant results have been achieved in the study of the history of Russian conservatism and right-wing parties²⁰. The characteristic features of the genesis of the conservative ideology in Russia are revealed today, its continuity of the intellectual concepts of the XIX century is proved, all new ideas introduced by the generation of conservatives of the early XX century became clear. At the same time, scientists discussed in detail the interaction between elite conservative circles and salons of the late XIX — early XX century and political associations, showing their territorial distribution, population dynamics and composition, participation in election campaigns, activities in the State Duma, the Council of State and various types of mass public organizations.

Significant progress was made in the study of liberal ideology and the various types of parties that propagated it (Cadets, Octobrists, progressives, the Party of Peaceful Renewal, the Party of Democratic Reforms, etc.). The RNI SiNP provided conferences during 1990s, which were two international conferences²¹ and one all-Russian in

comment. Yu. N. Amiantov, K. G. Lyashenko, I. S. Rosenthal, Z. I. Peregodova, Z. Tikhonova. M., 2010; Zionist parties and organizations in the USSR. 1920s. In 2 books, Moscow, 2019; Social-Democratic factions of the First and Second State Dumas: minutes of factional meetings and materials. 1906—1907 / Ed. by P. Yu. Savelyev; comp. by R. M. Gainullina, A. P. Nenarokov, Z. I. Peregodova, P. Yu. Savelyev, G. N. Simakov, A. V. Stenalkhova, M. D. Trukhin. M., 2020.

¹⁹ For a detailed analysis of the first 28 volumes of this publication, see: *Zhuravlev V. V., Nenarokov A. P., Pavlov D. B., Shelokhaev V. V.* Documentary heritage of Russian parties (Some results of serial publication) // *Archeographic yearbook for 1999*. Moscow, 2000. pp. 3—18; *Pavlov D. B.* Domestic and foreign publications of documents of Russian parties. Autoref. thesis. PhD of historical science. M., 1998.

²⁰ See: *Stepanov S. A.* Chernaya sotnya v Rossii (1905—1914) M., 1992; *Raskin D. I.* Ideologiya russkogo pravogo radikalizma v kontsa XIX — nachalo XX vv. [The Russian Right-wing Radical Ideology in the Late nineteenth and Early twentieth Centuries]. / Edited by O. Vite, V. Voronkov, R. Ganelin, B. Firsov. Ch. 1. Russia and the Russian Abroad. St. Petersburg, 1992. pp. 5—46; *Narsky I. V.* “Revolutionaries on the right”: Black Hundreds in the Urals in 1905—1916. Materials for the study of “Russian-ness”. Yekaterinburg, 1994; *Abushik V. V.* Activity of monarchical organizations of Central Russia in the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions (1905—1907). M., 1995; *Tolochko A. P.* Chernosotentsy v Sibiri (1905—February 1917). Omsk, 1999; *Repnikov A. V.* Conservative concept of Russian statehood. M., 1999; *Repnikov A. V.* Conservative concepts of perestroika of Russia. M., 2007; *Mikhailova E. M.* Black-hundred organizations of the Middle Volga Region in 1905—1917. Cheboksary, 2000; *Strelkov A.* Black Hundred in the Central Chernozem Region. Kursk, 2000; Conservatism in Russia and the World: Past and Present. Collection of scientific papers of the Voronezh State University. Issue 1. Voronezh, 2001; *Lukyanov M. N.* Russian conservatism and reform. 1907—1914. Perm, 2001; *Kiryanov Yu. I.* Right Parties in Russia. 1911—1917. M., 2001; *Kiryanov Yu. I.* Russian Assembly 1900—1917. M., 2003; *Doroshenko A. A.* Right in the State Duma of the Russian Empire. Samara, 2004; *Sankova S. M.* The Russian Party in Russia. Formation and activity of the National Union (1908—1917). Orel, 2006; *Omelyanchuk I. V.* The Black Hundred Movement in the Russian Empire (1901—1914). Russian Russian ideas and the Russian Cause: Kiev, 2006; *Stogov, D. I.* Pravomonarchicheskie salony Peterburg—Petrograd (Late XIX — early XX century). St. Petersburg, 2007; *Lebedev, S. V.* Russkie idei i russkoe delo. National-patriotic movement in Russia in the past and present. St. Petersburg, 2007; *Ivanov A. A.* Pravye v Russian parliament: from the crisis to the collapse of 1914—1917. Moscow; St. Petersburg, 2013; *Ivanov A. A.* “The Matter of Honor”. Deputies of the State Duma and dueling scandals of 1906—1917. St. Petersburg, 2018.

²¹ Russian liberalism. Historical destinies and prospects. Materials of the international scientific conference. Moscow, May 27—19, 1998, Moscow, 1999; P. N. Milyukov: historian, politician, diplomat. Materials of the international scientific conference. Moscow, May 26—27, 1999, Moscow, 2000.

Rostov-on-Don²². Scholars discussed a wide range of theoretical and methodological, historiographical and source studies problems of the Russian liberalism's history at forums, ideas of these scientists mirrored in the reports done on the conferences. The conferences had a significant role in raising new scientific questions. For example, the problems of adaptation Western European experience (ideas, parliamentary practice) and continuity between different generations of Russian liberalism began to be actively discussed. The scientists did introduction of new sources into scientific circulation making it possible to significantly correct the ideas about the formation of liberal proto-party and party structures, which to a certain extent contributed to the answer to the question: why did the Russian liberals (like the conservatives and socialists) fail to create a single party? There are in these detailed studies the content of liberal models of the transformation of Russia, the channels of interaction of parties with government institutions and public associations²³.

The political situation of 1990s provoked an obvious interest in the history of Russian liberalism. This situation was what determined the emergence of new research aimed at understanding the processes of a genesis and evolution of liberal ideology, the development of party programs, and attempts to establish constructive (though ultimately unsuccessful) interaction with the government and society. Relatively recently, encyclopedias have been prepared on the development of liberalism and conservatism in Russia, there were publishing monographs, reissued memoirs and biographies of party leaders from these spheres. An important role in the formation of the historiographical tradition of studying Russian liberalism had the public organization "Liberal Mission", which initiated many scientific actions, prepared several issues of collections of documents which lighted the life of prominent Russian liberals, "Liberal Mission" installed memorial plaques devoted to famous liberals in many regions of the country. In this regard, it is necessary to emphasize the great organization role of two initiators of many scientific conferences and symposiums on the history of liberalism, they are Doctor of Philosophy A. A. Kara-Murza²⁴ and Doctor of History D.V. Aronov²⁵.

²² Liberal Conservatism: History and Modernity. Materials of the All-Russian scientific and practical conference. Rostov n/A, May 25—26, 2000, Moscow, 2001.

²³ See: *Shelokhaev V. V.* Ideology and political organization of the Liberal bourgeoisie. Russian Russian Federation, 1907—1917, Moscow, 1991; *Shelokhaev V. V.* The Liberal Model of the Transformation of Russia, Moscow, 1996; *Shelokhaev V. V.* The Constitutional Democratic Party in Russia and Emigration, Moscow, 2015; *Shelokhaev V. V.* Liberalism in Russia at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, Moscow, 2019; *Vishnevsky E.* The Liberal Opposition in Russia on the Eve of the First World War, Moscow, 1994; *Seletsky V. N.* Progressivism as a political party and Ideological direction in Russian Society, Moscow, 1996; *Gogolevsky A. V.* Essays on the History of Russian liberalism of the XIX-early XX Century. XX century. St. Petersburg, 1996; *Seleznev F. A.* Nizhny Novgorod Cadets: regional experience of a political party (1905—1917). N. Novgorod, 1997; *Seleznev F. A.* Constitutional Democrats and the bourgeoisie (1905—1917). N. Novgorod, 2006; *Harus O. A.* Liberalism in Siberia at the beginning of the twentieth century: Ideology and Politics. Tomsk, 1996; *Sekirinsky, S. S., Shelokhaev, V. V.* Liberalism in Russia: essays on history (mid-XIX — early XX centuries). M., 1995; *Gaida, F. A.* Liberal Opposition on the way to power (1914 — Spring 1917). M., 2003; *Gaida, F. A.* Power and the public in Russia: a dialogue on the path of political development (1910—1917). M., 2016; *Soloviev, K. A.* Circle "Conversation". In search of a new political reality 1899—1905. Moscow, 2009.

²⁴ Russian Liberalism: Ideas and People. Ed. 2 / Under the general editorship of A. A. Kara-Murza. M., 2007; Russian liberalism: ideas and people / Under the general editorship of A. A. Kara-Murza. In 2 vols., 2018.

²⁵ See: *Aronov D. V.* "Life given to the struggle for the right": scientific conference "Muromtsev Readings, 2009—2018" // History: facts and Symbols. 2019. No. 1 (18). pp. 165—168. See also: Russian Libe-

Scholars paid much attention to the study of socialist parties during 1990s²⁶. Researchers changed priorities in this period when historians of the Soviet period favored history of CPSU mainly after the October Revolution. The scientific attention was focused on the study of other socialist parties — Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, left Social Revolutionaries, People's Socialists, social Revolutionaries-maximal-

ralism: Theory, Programmatics, Practice, Personalities. Collection of scientific articles. Orel, 2009; Orel Liberals: people, Events, epoch. Collection of scientific articles. Orel, 2010; Sergey Andreevich Muromtsev-Chairman of the First State Duma: scientist, politician, teacher. Orel, 2010; Orel Sage, ahead of time. Collection of scientific articles. Orel, 2011. "Time has chosen us." The intellectual's path to politics. IV Muromtsev readings. Collection of materials of the scientific conference. October 25—26, 2012 Orel, 2012; "The Constitution of 1993 and Russian Liberalism: to the 20th anniversary of the Russian Constitution". V. Muromtsev readings. Collection of materials of the scientific conference. September 27—28, 2013 Orel, 2013; "The Imperial and monarchical component of liberal ideology". Muromtsev readings. Collection of materials of the All-Russian Scientific Conference. Orel, 2014; Muromtsev Readings. Works. 2009—2013. Collection of scientific articles. Orel, 2014; Ethnoconfessional and national problems of the development of Russian statehood in the theory, programatics and political and legal practice of Russian liberalism. Collection of materials of the All-Russian Scientific Conference. October 1—3, 2015 Orel, Prioksky State University. Orel, 2015; Moral Aspects of Political Activity in the Theory, Programmatics, Party Practice and Law-making of Russian liberalism. Collection of materials of the scientific conference. VIII Muromtsev readings. 8—9 October 2016 Orel, 2016; Liberals and Revolution. Collection of materials of the All-Russian Scientific Conference. October 13—14, 2017 Orel, 2017; History of the State and Law. 2017. № 19. Special issue dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Revolution of 1917; Russian Liberalism: results and Prospects of Study. Collection of materials of the international scientific Conference. September 28—29, 2018 Orel, 2018; Russian Liberalism and the State Duma. 1906—1917. Materials of the international scientific conference. October 11—12, 2019 At 3 Orel / Under the general editorship of D. V. Aronov. Eagle, 2019.

²⁶ See: *Orlov B. S.* Social-democratic theory: a view from Russia. Collection of articles. M., 1993; *Orlov B. S.* Political culture and the formation of democracy in Russia. M., 1994; *Orlov B. S.* Russian social-democracy: history and modernity (To the 100th anniversary of the RSDLP). Scientific and analytical review. M., 1998; *Orlov B. S.* Social-democracy as an object of scientific research in Russia. Scientific and political review. M., 2000; *Tyutyukin S. V., Shelokhaev V. V.* Marxists and the Russian Revolution. M., 1996; History of terrorism in Russia in doctrines, biographies, studies / Comp. O. V. Budnitsky. Rostov n/A, 1996; *Leonov M. I.* The Party of Socialist Revolutionaries in 1905—1907, Moscow, 1997; *Shevtsov A. V.* Publishing activities of Russian non-socialist parties of the early twentieth century. St. Petersburg, 1997; *Ermakov V. D.* Anarchist movement in Russia: History and Modernity. St. Petersburg, 1997; *Morozov K. N.* The Party of Socialist Revolutionaries in 1907—1914, M., 1998; *Gorodnitsky R. A.* The Combat Organization of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (1901—1911). M., 1998; Mensheviks and Menshevism. Collection of articles. M., 1998; Historical experience of interaction between Russian and German social-democracy. To the 100th anniversary of the RSDLP. Proceedings of the Russian-German Bilateral Symposium 5—7 March 1998, Moscow, 1998; *Sypchenko A. V.* The People's Socialist Party in 1907—1917, Moscow, 1999; *Sypchenko A. V.* The Labor People's Socialist Party: Theory and Practice. Samara, 2004; *Pavlov D. B.* The Bolshevik Dictatorship against the Socialists and Anarchists 1917-Mid-1950s Moscow, 1999; Political Parties and Society in Russia 1914—1917. Collection of articles and documents. M., 1999; *Sherstyankov I. S.* History of the Menshevik faction of the RSDLP (1903-February 1917). M., 2003; *Shubin A. V.* Anarchy-the mother of order. Between red and white. M., 2005; *Urilov I. H.* History of Russian social-democracy (Menshevism). Part 1. Source studies. M., 2000; Part 2. Historiography. M., 2001; Part 3. Origin of Menshevism. M., 2005; Part 4. Formation of the party. M., 2008; *Shtyrbul A. A.* Anarchist movement in Siberia in the 1st quarter of the twentieth century: anti-state revolt and non-state self-organization of workers: theory and practice. Part 1. Omsk, 1996; *Leontiev Ya. V.* "Scythians" The Russian Revolution: the Party of the Left Social Revolutionaries and its literary companions. M., 2007; *Galili Z., Heimson L., Miller V., Nenarokov A.* RSDLP(b) in 1917: Documentary and historical essays. Moscow, 2007; *Rublev D. I.* The Dictatorship of intellectuals? The problem of "intelligentsia and revolution" in Russian anarchist journalism of the late XIX — early XX centuries. Moscow, 2010; *Nenarokov A. P.* Rightist Menshevism: insights of Russian Social-democracy. Moscow, 2012; *Prysmen L.* The Third Way in the Civil War. The Democratic Revolution of 1918 on the Volga. St. Petersburg, 2015; *Krivenky V. V.* Anarchist movement in Russia in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Theory, organization, practice. Moscow, 2018.

ists. Now days the activities of the socialist parties during the First Russian Revolution, the period of the First World War, as well as after the February Revolution have been most thoroughly studied.

Many significant scientific papers about history of national parties were issued²⁷. The problem field of the researches has also significantly expanded, the wide field contains now the formation of parties, their social and organizational structures, programs, strategies and tactics; participation in election campaigns for the State Duma and the Constituent Assembly; the activities of Duma factions, as well as deputy associations in Councils. Much attention was paid to the party press, and methods of comparative analysis were more actively used.

So good proceedings in the Study of party history allowed to prepare manuals for the Russian High School²⁸.

In the relevant chapters, the theoretical and methodological, historiographical and archaeographic problems of studying Russian political parties are thoroughly considered. In particular, the authors described typology and definition of the concept of "party". Each political association had its own intellectual credo and this depended in many ways on regional characteristics. However, there is also a human factor in politics, and researchers actively studied during 1990s biographies of major party leaders²⁹.

Innovative research developments became often the subject of discussions within international and all-Russian scientific forums, in which not only famous scientists,

²⁷ See: *Seidzade D. B.* Azerbaijani deputies in the State Duma of Russia. Baku, 1991; Political parties and Movements of Ukraine of the XIX—XX centuries. Collection of scientific papers. Dnepropetrovsk, 1993; *Bagirova I. S.* Political parties and Organizations of Azerbaijan in the early twentieth century. 1900—1917. Baku, 1997; *Iskhakov S. M.* Russian Muslims in the Revolution (Spring 1917—Summer 1918). Moscow, 2004; *Karapetyan L. A.* At the origins of the Russian multiparty System: the North Caucasus region (the end of the 90s of the XIX century. February 1917). Krasnodar, 2001; *Tsiunchuk R. A.* Presentation of ethno-confessional and regional interests in political programs and election platforms of parties and socio-political associations of the Russian Empire 1905—1912 // Space of power: the historical experience of Russia and the challenges of modernity. Moscow, 2001. pp. 288—316; *Soldatenko V. F.* Gromadsko-politichna diyalnist Volodimir Vinnichenka: (up to 125-rychcha vid den narodzhennya). Kiev, 2006; *Soldatenko V. F.* Ukraine: 1917 rik. Kiev, 2012; The Great Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Muslim Movement. Collection of documents and materials / Comp., preface and note. Iskhakov, M., 2019.

²⁸ See: The History of Political Parties in Russia / Ed. by A. I. Zevelev, M., 1994; Political Parties: History and Modernity. Textbook for history and humanities departments of higher educational institutions / Edited by A. I. Zevelev, Yu. P. Sviridenko, V. V. Shelohaeva, M., 2000.

²⁹ See: Political figures of Russia, 1917: biographical dictionary. M., 1993; Dumova N. G. Liberal in Russia: the tragedy of incompatibility. Historical portrait of P. N. Milyukov. M., 1993; *Volkogonov D. A.* Lenin. In 2 t. M., 1994; *Vandalkovskaya M. G.* Milyukov P. N., *Kizeveter A. A.*: history and politics. M., 1992; *Tumarinson V. H.* Mensheviks and Bolsheviks: a failed consensus. Experience of historical reconstruction. M., 1994; *Aleksandrov S. A.* Leader of the Russian Cadets P. N. Milyukov in emigration. M., 1996; *Senin A. S.* Alexander Ivanovich Guchkov. M., 1996; *Tyutyukin S. V. G. V.* Plekhanov. The fate of the Russian Marxist. Moscow, 1997; *Tyutyukin S. V.* Menshevism: pages of history. M., 2002; *Tyutyukin S. V.* Alexander Kerensky: pages of political biography (1905—1917). Moscow, 2012; *Gusev K. V.* V. M. Chernov. Strokes to a political portrait. M., 1999; *Loginov V. T.* Vladimir Lenin. Choosing a path. Biografiya. M., 2005; *Loginov V. T.* Neizvestny Lenin. M., 2010; *Fedorenko A. A.* Politicheskaya kontseptsiya V. M. Chernova. M., 1999; *Kazarova N. A.* Yu. O. Martov. Touches to the political portrait. Rostov n/A, 1998; Russian Liberals. Collection of articles / Edited by B. S. Itenberg, V. V. Shelohaeva. M., 2001; *Konovalova O. V. V. M.* Chernov about the ways of development of Russia. Moscow, 2009; *Ivanov A. A.* Vladimir Purishkevich. Experience of the biography of a right-wing politician. M.; St. Petersburg, 2011; *Rosenthal, I. S. N.* Valentinov and others. XX century through the eyes of contemporaries. M., 2015; *Kolonitsky B. I.* "Comrade Kerensky": anti-monarchist revolution and the formation of the cult of the "leader of the people" (March-June 1917). Moscow, 2017; *Aronov D. V.* Sergey Andreevich Muromtsev. A life devoted to the struggle for the right. Eagle, 2019.

but also young specialists actively participated. The scientific conference “Political Parties in Russian revolutions at the beginning of the twentieth century” was held in 2003, this conference was initiated by the Scientific Council of the History of Social Reforms, Movements and Revolutions 40 reports by this conference were about various problems of the life of Russian parties in 1905—1917³⁰.

As often happens, three important commemorative events as the 100th anniversary of the First World War, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Civil War had a stimulating role in the further development of the Study of party history, during the preparation of which collective monographs³¹ were fulfilled on the basis of the IRI RAS and international conferences, which were held in this period³².

This kind of data compilation an sources as same as special research activity allow us to outline not only findings which have been done, but also what remains to be studied. It is worth to pay attention to the need for further development of the history of national parties, as well as regional associations. The study of the first problem was complicated with the collapse of the USSR (1991), this had deleted the unified archival system and the stopped a growing of a new generation of historians in the former Soviet republics. Some of historians, unfortunately, adopted a nationalist ideology, which is today the basis for research, including political parties which got roots and operated in national regions, this is a common trend, but this is not only one. Many of these historians continue to participate in international conferences, adhering to completely scientific approaches, which gives them the opportunity to find not just “points of contact” with their Russian colleagues, but to successfully cooperate in the preparation of joint fundamental scientific works. This allows us to maintain hope for the strengthening contacts between historians, for their joint participation in the preparation of generalizing studies, without which it is impossible to imagine the unity and peculiarities of the genesis and functioning of political parties in the multinational Russian Empire.

We should mention also about new opportunities to cooperate with foreign and native colleagues for joint papers about Russian political parties during the functioning of these parties home and abroad. Above this, we can wait innovative works about history of local political organizations is a way of comparative study as we take in account a big amount of proceeding in the field of the study of the archives and the past periodical press³³ in different regions. However, political parties are not only their central committees and executive bodies, political parties special social organism, every such organism functioned within the total Russian territory, but this activity had

³⁰ Political parties in Russian revolutions at the beginning of the twentieth century. Moscow, 2005.

³¹ See: Russia in the years of the First World War: economic situation, social processes, political crisis / Ed. by Yu. A. Petrov. M., 2014; The Russian Revolution of 1917: power, society, culture. In 2 t. / Ed. Yu. A. Petrov. M., 1917; The First World War and the end of the Russian Empire. T. I. February Revolution. St. Petersburg, 2013.

³² See: Russia during the First World War, 1914—1918. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference (Moscow, September 30 — October 3, 2014) / Ed. by A. N. Artizov, A. K. Levykin, Yu. A. Petrov. M., 2014; The Great Russian Revolution, 1917: One hundred years of study. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference (Moscow, October 9—11, 2017) / Ed. by Yu. A. Petrov. M., 2017 (see: section “Political Parties and Public Organizations”); Russia during the Civil War, 1917—1922: power and Society on both sides of the front. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference (Moscow, September 1—3, 2018). Moscow, 2018.

³³ See, for example: *Belov A.M.* Political parties and workers of the Central Industrial Region in the Revolution of 1905—1907. Kostroma, 1997; *Shilovsky M. V.* Socio-political movement in Siberia in the second half of the XIX-early XX century. Novosibirsk, 2013.

its own diverse features in different regions. We should mention in this sense example of the publication activity of Ja V Leontiev who has found very informative sources when he was exploring the materials of the Party of Left Socialist Revolutionaries, some of these materials were in regional archives³⁴.

Finally, in addition to the expansion of theoretical and methodological issues as the development of the concept of “political party” in Russia as same as root connection of the political parties of the Early Twentieth century with the previous proto-party’s period, composite nature of the ideological, programmatic, strategic, and tactical units; the stages of the “bifurcation” of political structures, etc. it is necessary to intensify research on the special study parties “transition” and “centrist” types, mechanisms of reformatting them in crisis situations, especially in the periods of revolutions of 1905—1907 and 1917, Civil war and immigration. All this will allow us to start creating a fundamental generalizing work on the history of Russian political parties for the entire period of their existence in Russia and abroad.

³⁴ The Party of Left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries. Documents and materials. 1917—1925. In 3 t. M., 2000—2015.