

LIFE OF LENIN

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PART ONE

CHAPTER I

THE ULYANOV FAMILY

LENIN WAS BORN ON APRIL 22, 1870, IN ULYANOVSK (FORMERLY SIMBIRSK) on the Volga. His father, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov, was a public school inspector, who came of a poor, lower middle-class family, and had worked his way through school. He was a hard-working man with a strong character, who devoted his whole life to the cause of public education.

Lenin's mother was the daughter of a physician. She was well versed in foreign languages and music, and had read a great deal. She was tactful and considerate in her relations with others, and was distinguished for her great will-power.

Lenin's sister, M. Ulyanova, gives the following description of him: "Physically, Vladimir Ilyich greatly resembled his father. He had inherited his father's stature, his high cheekbones, his features, the slightly Mongolian slant of his eyes and large forehead. He had his father's lively disposition and the same hearty, infectious laugh. They had a great many traits and habits in common—will-power, energy, the ability to devote themselves wholly and ardently to their work, the utmost conscientiousness with regard to their obligations, a wide democratic outlook and consideration for others. Vladimir Ilyich even inherited the slight burr with which his father pronounced the letter *r*."

Vladimir Ulyanov grew up in a happy family, in an atmosphere of work. His father was one of those democratic Russian intellectuals of the 'sixties, who, though they themselves were not revolutionaries, had great respect for those who fought against the tsarist autocracy, Chernyshevsky in particular. They con-

sidered it their duty to help the people, to teach them to read and write, and to educate them. Winter and summer, in all kinds of weather, Ilya Nikolayevich traveled about the whole gubernia, organizing the work of schools. Lenin's sister, Anna Ilyinichna, says

"His children, who often did not see him for weeks at a time during his rounds, realized at an early age that the cause is something higher, to which all else is sacrificed. His animated accounts of the progress made in his sphere of activity, of the new schools which had sprung up in the villages, of the struggle this had entailed both at the top (with those in power, with the land-owners) and at the bottom (with the ignorance and the prejudices of the people)—were eagerly absorbed by his children."

All the Ulyanov children became revolutionaries

Vladimir Ulyanov was a healthy, high-spirited child, fond of noisy games and romping. By the time he was five, his mother had already taught him to read, and he was very fond of reading. Whenever he was in the country, he joined wholeheartedly in all the children's games. It was here that he first came in contact with the impoverished Russian countryside. At the age of nine he entered the *gymnasium*, where he was a good student. He was a clever child and learning came easy to him. He was always ready to help his comrades in their studies.

Even in his school years he was distinguished by his ability to work systematically and thoroughly. Take, for example, his method of writing a school composition. First he drew up a brief outline, containing the introduction and conclusion, next he took a sheet of paper, folded it in two, and on the left side wrote a rough draft with figures and letters corresponding to the plan. On the following days he made additions, corrections, interpolations, references to books, etc., on the right side of the page. On the basis of this draft he then wrote the composition itself—usually in rough first, and then the clean copy.

This careful preparation of all his work characterized Lenin throughout his life. Later on he used to draw up a brief outline for every one of his newspaper articles and speeches. When he was preparing to write a pamphlet or a book, he would make

several drafts, each draft being more detailed and elaborate than the preceding one. In the same careful way he compiled the necessary quotations, figures, and material. Vladimir Ulyanov took great pains to acquire the necessary assiduity and capacity for work.

His character and views were formed in the dark years of Russian reaction, at a time when the autocracy had smashed all the revolutionary organizations. The tsarist officials, the police and the gendarmes, domineered over the country. The workers were compelled to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day for a mere pittance. In the countryside the landowner was supreme lord and master and possessed most of the best land. Thirty thousand landowners owned seventy million dessiatins of land, *i.e.*, as much as belonged to ten and a half million peasant households. The peasants were considered "free," but in reality, they were in complete bondage to the landowners and were obliged to work for them, they were, in addition, burdened down with heavy taxes. All books and newspapers were subject to strict censorship. It was forbidden to write about the real conditions of the country.

While still a schoolboy Vladimir Ulyanov began to realize how terribly oppressed the workers and peasants in Russia were. He was greatly influenced by his elder brother, Alexander, a young man with a strong will, firm, calm and thoughtful. Alexander Ulyanov was an excellent student, who was preparing himself for scientific research work. He was a member of a revolutionary circle and belonged to the "Narodnaya Volya" (People's Will) organization. Alexander Ulyanov also carried on propaganda among the workers, he studied Marx's *Capital*, occupying a position half-way, as it were, between the "Narodnaya Volya" and Marxism.

In 1886 Vladimir Ilyich lost his father, this was a severe blow to the whole Ulyanov family. At that time Vladimir Ilyich was in his last year at the *gymnasium*. In 1887 Alexander Ilyich was arrested and executed, on the charge of plotting the assassination of Alexander III. His brother's execution made an indelible impression on Vladimir Ilyich.

After the arrest and execution of Alexander Ulyanov his family

was deserted by many of their former acquaintances for it was dangerous to be on friendly terms with the family of a revolutionary. His brother's death strengthened Vladimir Ilyich's revolutionary inclinations, but he sought a different path of struggle with the autocracy from that taken by his elder brother

His brother's execution brought Vladimir Ilyich face to face with the question of his life's work. He realized clearly that the enemy who had to be fought was the autocracy, the landowners, the bourgeoisie and all the exploiters. He saw that purely cultural, educational work (to which his father had devoted his life) would not lead to the overthrow of the exploiters and the liberation of the people. But he also realized that the path of terror did not lead to victory, but only hindered it. The members of the "Narodnaya Volya" had succeeded in assassinating Alexander II, but another tsar took his place. The tsarist regime continued. Many high officials of the police and gendarmerie were killed, but this did not destroy the power of the tsar, the landowners, and the factory owners. And most important, this method of struggle could in no way help the organization of the working masses and the growth of their class consciousness. On the contrary it impaired the work, since all the energies of the revolutionaries were absorbed in terrorist activity. It destroyed the bond between the revolutionaries and the masses, and fostered among the revolutionaries and the whole population the most erroneous ideas as to the tasks and methods of struggle with the autocracy.

Vladimir Ilyich had seen the works of Marx and Engels in his brother's possession and he turned to them for instruction as to how the revolutionary struggle of the toilers for emancipation should be waged.

He eagerly applied himself to the study of the history of the revolutionary struggle in other countries, and the experience of the struggle of peoples in the past against autocracy and landowners.

In the autumn of 1887, Vladimir Ilyich entered the university of Kazan. Here he associated with the revolutionary-minded section of the students.

In December of the same year he took part in student protest meetings against the police regime in the universities. For this he was arrested, expelled from the university and banished to the village of Kokushkino, near Kazan.

Later Vladimir Ilyich related his conversation with the police officer who took him away after his arrest.

"What's the good of rebelling, young man? You're up against a stone wall," said the officer to him.

"Yes, but it's a rotten wall. Kick it and it will crumble," answered Vladimir Ilyich.

In Kokushkino Lenin closely observed the conditions of the peasantry. Only after a year was he allowed to return to Kazan, but he was not readmitted to the university. Lenin seriously applied himself to the task of self-education and to the study of Marxism. He spent the summer in the country, first in Kokushkino and then in Alakayevka in the Samara Gubernia.

At that time a Marxist group already existed in Kazan, and Vladimir Ilyich became an active member. It was in Kazan that Lenin began to study the first volume of Marx's *Capital*.

A. I. Ulyanova-Elizarova writes of this period.

"I remember how, in the evenings, when I would go down to have a chat with him, he would tell me with great ardour and enthusiasm of the foundations of Marx's theory and all the new horizons which it opened up. I remember him, as though it were now, sitting on the newspaper-covered stove in his room, gesticulating violently. He seemed to exude a lively confidence which communicated itself to everyone who talked with him. Even then he was able to convince and enthral one by what he said. And when he had learned something new, he could never refrain from sharing his discovery with others, and recruiting supporters. He was not long in finding adherents in Kazan, young people who had also studied Marxism and who were revolutionary-minded."

In 1889 Vladimir Ilyich moved to Samara (now Kuibyshev). The four and a half years he spent there were years of persistent study. Lenin studied foreign languages, especially German, in

order to read the works of Marx and Engels, the greater part of which had not yet been translated into Russian.

At the same time Vladimir Ilyich carefully read underground Russian revolutionary literature, especially the publications of the Social-Democratic "Emancipation of Labour" group. This group was formed abroad in 1883 by Plekhanov, Axelrod and others. It carried on extensive Marxist propaganda in Russia.

In Samara Vladimir Ilyich prepared for the state university examination and in 1891 he made his first trip to the capital, St. Petersburg, where he passed his examination brilliantly and obtained a diploma which enabled him to register as a junior barrister. His practice gave him an independent though meagre income.

Those who met him at this time were amazed that he, a young man of only twenty-one, was able to read German and French, knew English, had made a thorough study of Marx's *Capital*, and was well acquainted with Marxian literature.

At this time Vladimir Ilyich translated *The Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels from the German, and the translation circulated for a long time among the revolutionary youth of Samara, where Lenin together with A. Sklyarenko and I. Lala-yantz had organized a Marxist circle.

In the summer, while living in the country near Samara, he continued to devote himself to study. He made himself a secluded den in a thick grove of linden trees, where there was a bench and a table. Immediately after breakfast he would go there with a stack of books and would work till three o'clock—dinner time.

After dinner he would again go off to the same spot with some book on social problems. In the evening, after a walk and a swim, Vladimir Ilyich would again sit down with his book on the porch, by a lamp-lit table, where the Ulyanov family was gathered. In his spare time, at dinner or on walks, he joked and conversed animatedly, infecting everyone with his laughter and vitality.

Vladimir Ilyich knew how to work and how to rest. Besides going for long walks he also went in for gymnastics. In his corner in the garden, near the table, he had constructed a "rack,"

a cross-bar on two uprights, seven feet high. Here he exercised regularly.

Another of his hobbies was chess. He had begun playing chess with his father when he was only eight or nine years old. He played a serious game and demanded strict observance of rules no taking back of moves—if you touch a piece, you must move it. Winning the game interested him less than the intensity of the struggle, the ability to get out of a difficult position. He played chess only in the evenings or after dinner. The forenoon was always devoted to serious reading.

A hard worker himself, Vladimir Ulyanov was always willing to help others. He helped his comrades in their studies, and helped his sister Maria to learn languages. He insisted, however, that she work as independently as possible and resort to outside assistance only in particularly difficult cases. When helping his sister to prepare her assignments, he demanded that she approach the task seriously, according to a definite plan, and made her do over any work which was done carelessly and hurriedly.

In the period he spent in Kazan and Samara, Lenin made a thorough study of the works of the founders of Marxism, preparing himself for the revolutionary struggle. Step by step he began to master the Marxist method, and later on was able to develop Marxism further and apply it to a new historical situation. Lenin continued the great work of Marx.

Later, explaining the essence of the teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin wrote "The great and historic merit of Marx and Engels is that they indicated to the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle *all* the toilers and exploited."

In his chief works (*The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*) Marx showed that the basic forces in capitalist society are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is the ruling class of capitalist society, the class of the exploiters. The proletariat, the most oppressed class of society, is the grave-digger of capitalism, it is the only force capable of destroying capitalist society and creating a new, socialist society.

Marx thoroughly explained and proved that it is precisely the proletariat that is the creator of socialist society, that in the course of a stubborn class struggle the proletariat will overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish its own dictatorship. The doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental point in the teachings of Marx.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the unlimited power of the working class. Using this power the proletariat of our country wiped out the exploiting classes—the landowners and the bourgeoisie—destroyed class society, and built socialist society.

The writings of Marx were Lenin's bulwark in the theoretical and practical revolutionary work for which he was preparing.

The path to the victory of the proletariat, as described by Marx, showed how the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat had to proceed in Russia also. In addition to studying Marx's works and the revolutionary movement, Lenin had to acquaint himself with the specific conditions of the country's economic development.

Lenin carefully studied the economic situation in the Russia of the time and the conditions of life and struggle of the working class in Russia and abroad. He prepared himself for active work among the proletariat and for the organization of the working people for victory over the autocracy and capitalism.

In Samara, on the basis of a careful study of statistical material, he wrote his first scientific work, dealing with the condition of the peasantry in Russia. In this essay he showed that capitalism had already penetrated to Russian agriculture, that the peasantry was divided into classes and was in no way an entity as the Narodniks taught, he showed how the kulaks exploited the poor and part of the middle peasantry.

Lenin acquired his knowledge of the peasantry not only from statistical and economic works, but also from direct observation of peasant life. Living in the country near Samara in the summer helped him greatly in this respect. Lenin not only closely observed conditions of life among the various strata of the peasantry, but often had long talks with the peasants, plying them with questions, and listening carefully to what they had to say.

In this same period Lenin became acquainted with the writings of the opponents of Marxism—the Narodniks of the 'nineties—and more than once came out strongly against their views, both in study circles and at meetings.

Those who met Lenin in Samara in those years describe him as "a young man of small stature, but stocky, with a fresh, ruddy face, a budding moustache, a small reddish beard, and slightly curly reddish hair. He looked no more than twenty-three years of age. The most striking thing about him was his large head, with its large white forehead. His rather small eyes seemed perpetually narrowed, his glance was serious, thoughtful and intent. A slightly ironical smile played on his thin lips."

Even in those early years Lenin exercised a magnetic influence on all who came in contact with him. After talking to him people experienced a peculiar joyous exhilaration.

In Lenin zest and joy of living were combined with great tact and simplicity. His profound Marxist training was coupled with a firm confidence in his own powers, militant revolutionary ardour, with logic and consistency of reasoning, lucidity and clarity of expression.

In Samara Lenin definitely developed into a Marxist revolutionary. He had found his aim in life.

But Samara offered no scope for revolutionary work. There was almost no proletariat there, no university. Lenin was eager to get to a revolutionary centre, a centre of big industry. He decided to move to St. Petersburg.

He wanted to go there in 1892, but remained another year in Samara, apparently on account of his mother. The Ulyanov family had just suffered a new loss at the time. Vladimir Ilyich's sister Olga, a splendid girl of outstanding ability, had died of typhus. Her death was a heavy blow to her mother. Only the nearness of her other children could lighten her sorrow, so Lenin decided to remain in Samara a while longer.

CHAPTER II

WITH THE WORKING MASSES

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1893 LENIN CAME TO ST. PETERSBURG. He was then twenty-three years of age. From St. Petersburg, the tsar, through his governors, police and gendarmes, ruled the whole of Russia. A number of large factories were concentrated there. At that time the St. Petersburg workers were distinguished among the other proletarians of Russia for their class consciousness and culture. Underground revolutionary workers' circles existed there. And in the St. Petersburg workshops and factories strikes and workers' disturbances were frequent occurrences.

At that time the industrial proletariat of Russia numbered approximately two millions. Most of the workers lived in the large industrial centres: St. Petersburg, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Baku, the Donbas, etc.

Even in the dark 'eighties and early 'nineties, when there was no revolutionary movement whatever in the countryside, strikes occasionally broke out in the cities, at times assuming considerable proportions (as, for example, the strike at the Morozov works in Orekhovo-Zuevo in 1885). In some cities revolutionary Social-Democratic circles (Blagoyev's, Brusnyov's, Fedoseyev's, etc.) existed.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was distinguished in Russian history for the rapid development of industry. There was a great increase in the output of coal, oil, pig-iron, steel, and textile goods. This industrial boom (which was especially marked in the second half of the decade) stimulated the growth of the workers' strike movement.

As soon as he arrived in St. Petersburg Lenin established contact with the local underground Marxist circles, which were carrying on propaganda among the workers, primarily with the so-called "*stariki*" ("old men"), among whom were S. Radchenko, G. Krassin, G. Krzhizhanovsky and others

Comrades who knew him in those years are unanimous in testifying to the profound impression created by the youthful Ulyanov in the underground Marxist circles in St. Petersburg

He amazed everyone with his erudition, his revolutionary enthusiasm and supreme devotion to the cause of the working class. He plunged into revolutionary work with the tireless energy and zeal of youth, and immediately came to the forefront as the leader of the movement

Even in those early years Lenin emphasized the necessity for carrying on a relentless struggle against all enemies of the working class, the necessity for making no concessions whatever. He stressed the importance of being able to view conditions soberly and clearly, in order to base the revolutionary struggle on the real strength of the masses.

Lenin got to know all the leading members of revolutionary circles, observing them closely, choosing from among them future comrades-in-arms and builders of the Party, training them and rallying them around the one great task—the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation

These first comrades of Lenin's included people who were to throw in their lot for many years to come with the life and struggle of our Party (Krzhizhanovsky, Krassin, Krupskaya, Babushkin, Vaneyev, and others). In the winter of 1893-94 Lenin began to deliver lectures in order to create a basic nucleus of Marxist adherents. The discussions that followed these lectures very soon revealed those who were wavering, and those who were trying to refute Marx or introduce their own "corrections" into his teachings. In the theoretical battles waged around these lectures Lenin sounded out his friends and foes, and began to gather together a group of militant comrades.

His very first lecture, "On Markets," revealed what a great revolutionary and authority on Marxism had made his appearance

in St. Petersburg In this lecture Lenin revealed the contradictions of growing capitalism in Russia, and pointed out that the fundamental task of proletarian revolutionaries was to build an organized working-class movement in the country.

In December 1893, Lenin spent several weeks in Moscow, where his family was living at the time.

While there Lenin came out against Vorontsov, the leader of the Narodniks This occurred at a gathering attended chiefly by Narodniks where Vorontsov delivered a lecture Lenin began by making a few biting ironical interjections during the lecture, interjections which considerably nettled the Narodniks. After the lecture he took the floor and developed his objections. The impassioned conviction of the young Marxist's speech, the scientific data and the various statistical materials on which it was based, greatly impressed everyone there.

These speeches had so great an influence on the development of the revolutionary theory and practice of Marxism that many years afterwards both enemies and adherents of Bolshevism frequently referred to these lectures of Lenin's as examples of an ardent militant temperament, genuine scientific training, and sound revolutionary Marxism

"Lenin's very first lectures in St. Petersburg in 1893 produced an irresistible impression on us," writes G. Krzhizhanovsky, thirty years later "None of us knew as well as he how to apply a profound knowledge of Marx to the questions of Russian economics which agitated all of us at the time. None of us was as familiar as he with the sources available for studying these economic conditions, with the wealth of material contained in our Zemstvo statistics. None of us could compete with him in the depth and breadth of his class analysis of the forces in operation."

The discussions around Lenin's lectures in the revolutionary circles were of special importance because they were not mere arguments and talks on current themes, but an ideological struggle organized by Lenin for the training of revolutionaries—leaders of the future party.

Lenin had a well thought-out strategic and organizational plan—first to test the members of the revolutionary circles of St. Peters-

burg, both in theory and practice, then to establish one leading circle, and by means of it to organize extensive revolutionary work among the masses. Lenin proceeded resolutely and steadfastly towards his goal.

Lenin also conducted the struggle against Narodism in the underground press. His work, *What "The Friends of the People" Are And How They Fight Against the Social-Democrats*, was copied and hectographed by the members of the underground circles

This was the first of Lenin's larger illegally published works. And even long before it was reproduced on the hectograph, bulky copy-books, written in Lenin's small but legible handwriting, circulated from hand to hand and gave rise to animated debates and excited responses "How proud we all felt," says G Krzhizhanovsky, "that such a man was marching in our ranks."

What "The Friends of the People" Are did not actually appear in print until twenty-five years later (without the second part, which is still missing) This work shows with what genius Lenin could apply the teachings of Marx to the realities of the Russian situation and how prophetically he foresaw the paths to the future victory of the proletariat.

Lenin's *What "The Friends of the People" Are* was the first important attack on the Narodniks Lenin considered it necessary to aim his first blows against the doctrine of the Narodniks because it was that very doctrine, with its sharp hostility to Marxism, which stood in the way of the working-class movement and hindered the formation of a proletarian party.

What was the doctrine of the Narodniks? They maintained that capitalism did not exist in Russia and that Russia would not develop along capitalist lines, that in Russia the workers constituted a small minority and were not the vanguard of the revolutionary fighters. They argued that Russia would be able to avoid the capitalist path of development and that socialism would grow directly out of the Russian rural commune. They held that the peasant commune would be the basis of socialism; they denied the existence of class divisions among the peasantry. They regarded the peasant movement as purely socialistic. The

Narodniks maintained that "the man of the future in Russia is the muzhik." The working-class movement frightened the Narodniks. They came out against the class struggle of the working class. Narodism was a typical petty-bourgeois doctrine, which reflected the interests of the well-to-do peasant. It was the bitterest enemy of Marxism.

Lenin and the other Marxists waged a determined struggle against this pernicious doctrine of the Narodniks. Lenin said "the man of the future in Russia is the worker the Russian worker is the sole and natural representative of the whole of the toiling and exploited population of Russia."

Lenin pointed out that capitalism already existed in Russia and that only the working class, led by the Social-Democratic Party, would overthrow it.

"The very conditions of his work, and the circumstances in which he lives, organize him, compel him to think, and enable him to enter the arena of political struggle."

The factory worker is the leading representative of the entire exploited population of the country, including the peasantry. He is the natural leader of the oppressed in the revolutionary struggle. He will undertake the decisive conflict with capitalism.

In this way, step by step, Lenin exposed the doctrine of the Narodniks, subjecting it to sharp criticism and opposing to it the teachings of Marx.

Never before had the theory of the Narodniks been subjected to such merciless and irrefutable criticism. Thus, Marxism in Russia was tempered in the struggle with Narodism. In the last of the copy-books of *What "The Friends of the People" Are* Lenin concluded with the prophetic words ". . . the Russian worker will rise at the head of all the democratic elements, overthrow absolutism and lead the *Russian proletariat* (side by side with the proletariat of all countries) along the straight road of open political struggle towards the victorious communist revolution."

Here the idea of the bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into the socialist revolution is brought out.

These "copy-books" of Lenin's had a great effect on the participants in the revolutionary movement in Russia. They provided a powerful theoretical argument in defence of Marxism, against the petty-bourgeois teachings of the Narodniks. They indicated how the struggle of the proletariat should proceed.

The Narodniks, however, were not the only adversaries of Marxism. Marxism had certain "friends," whom the working-class movement had to rid itself of. There was the group of so-called "legal Marxists," headed by Struve, who proclaimed themselves Marxists, fought against the Narodniks (though not consistently), but at the same time distorted Marxism and robbed it of its revolutionary content.

In his controversies with the Narodniks, Struve showed that capitalism did exist in Russia and that it was developing. But while following the Marxist lead in admitting the inevitability of the development of capitalism in Russia, Struve painted capitalism in glowing colours and denied the inevitability of its downfall. Struve drew no conclusions whatever concerning the struggle for socialism, and held aloof from the revolutionary working-class movement. He called on the Narodniks and the Marxists "to go and learn from capitalism." Struve thereby showed himself to be an abettor of the capitalists. At first, he covered up and disguised his bourgeois views with all sorts of "revolutionary" phrases, but Lenin immediately saw through him.

Lenin severely attacked Struve in the study circles. At a debate in which Struve took part, Lenin characterized Struve's position as a "reflection of Marxism in bourgeois literature."

Later on, Lenin exposed the bourgeois essence of the so-called "legal Marxists" in his important work *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book*.

Struve soon became the leader of the liberals, *i.e.*, of that section of the bourgeoisie which desired to restrict the power of the tsar to the extent necessary for strengthening the position of the bourgeoisie, but which greatly feared the strengthening of the proletariat. After the defeat of the first revolution the liberals made obeisance to the tsar. After Soviet power had been established, Struve and his followers were to be found in the camp of the

monarchists and counter-revolutionaries; they became the rabid enemies of the Soviet power

Lenin severely attacked Struve for his distortion and "correction" of Marxism. Lenin saw that Struve was not a Marxist, but a supporter of the bourgeoisie, who was endeavouring to bring the working-class movement under bourgeois influence

Lenin's criticism of Struve, made when he was still a very young man, was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that even a man like Plekhanov, the founder of the "Emancipation of Labour" group, the first Russian Marxist group, did not immediately adopt a correct attitude with regard to Struve. It was on this question that the first differences of opinion between Lenin and Plekhanov arose. And these differences of opinion, as was shown afterwards, were not accidental. Here the future opportunism of Plekhanov, and the consistent Marxism and genuine proletarian revolutionism of Lenin already evinced themselves.

Later, in 1907, Lenin wrote " . . . the old and in many respects out-of-date controversy with Struve furnishes an instructive example which shows the practical political value of uncompromising theoretical controversy. The revolutionary Social-Democrats have been reproached time without number for being too prone to such controversies with the Economists, the Bernsteinists, and the Mensheviks. . . . From this viewpoint it is very useful to consider the situation as it was ten years ago, what theoretical differences with 'Struveism' were visible even then, from what minor (minor at first glance) differences the complete political demarcation of the Party has come about . . . "

In the spring of 1894 Lenin began to conduct extensive propaganda among the St Petersburg workers. He carried on work in the study circles, in addition he gave special instruction to the more outstanding workers, training them to become the future organizers and leaders of the revolutionary movement and the workers' party.

In the study circles Lenin closely combined theory with practice. He would read and explain *Capital* and other of Marx's writings to the workers. Then he would question them on their

work and on working conditions, and explain to them how the existing order of society could be changed.

Citing examples from working-class life, he explained that the only course for the workers was to form a proletarian party, and to wage a revolutionary struggle against the tsar and the capitalists. An outstanding worker-revolutionary, Babushkin, who had been a member of Lenin's circle, related how Lenin propagated Marxism.

"The lecturer expounded this science to us orally, without any notes. He frequently tried to provoke us to speak or arouse us to start a discussion, and then he would urge us on, compelling each to demonstrate to the other the correctness of his standpoint on a given question. Thus our lectures were made very animated and interesting, and we began to become accustomed to speaking in public. This mode of study served as an excellent way of clarifying a given question for the students. All of us greatly enjoyed these lectures, and were constantly delighted by our lecturer's power of intellect, it being a standing joke among us that excess brains was making his hair fall out. At the same time, these lectures trained us to do independent work, and to find material. The lecturer would hand us lists of questions which required on our part close knowledge and observation of life in the factory and workshop."

Prior to Lenin propaganda had been confined to small workers' study circles. Lenin succeeded in bringing about a change to widespread agitation among the masses on the basis of their daily economic needs. Using concrete illustrations from the difficult material conditions of the workers, Lenin instructed, educated and organized the working class for the struggle with the autocracy. At Lenin's suggestion a central leading group was formed, and all the work proceeded in a more organized manner. The members of this group were assigned to definite districts. In addition to Lenin, this leading group was comprised of Krzhizhanovsky, Martov, Vaneyev and others.

Krzhizhanovsky was at that time a student in the Technological Institute, as were the brothers L. and G. Krassin.

Vaneyev, who died in exile, was an example of a tried and

true revolutionary, who wholeheartedly devoted himself to the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat.

One of the Krassin brothers, Leonid, who was afterwards a member of the Central Committee of our Party, at the time of the 1905 Revolution did a great deal in providing the workers with arms and organizing the technical end of underground work. Under the Soviets he was People's Commissar of Railways, ambassador to England, and People's Commissar of Foreign Trade.

The workers Babushkin and Shelgunov were subsequently in the front ranks of the Party. The former was killed by tsarist bullets in the 1905 Revolution.

Many other Bolsheviks were trained and educated by Lenin in those first years of his revolutionary work.

Lenin did not confine himself merely to oral propaganda among the workers. He sought ways of appealing to the broader mass of the people. Police regulations forbade the holding of meetings or mass assemblies, so Lenin resorted to the underground printing press.

He wrote several leaflets explaining to the workers how the struggle should be waged. He wrote his first leaflet in the beginning of 1895, in connection with a disturbance in the Semvannikov factory. The leaflet made a strong impression on the workers of this factory, to whom it was addressed.

Lenin wrote a pamphlet *On Fines*, dealing with the fines imposed on the workers. This pamphlet, which was printed in an underground printing shop, explained to the workers how the tsar and the manufacturers exploited the proletariat, and called upon them to unite for the struggle against the government and the manufacturers.

Lenin pointed out that the struggle of the workers with the manufacturers must inevitably draw the attention of the workers to questions of state, to political questions. Every conflict in the factory, he said, inevitably brings the workers into conflict with the law and the representatives of the government. In this struggle the proletariat begins to become aware of its own interests.

The workers' party should awaken and develop class con-

sciousness in the workers, help them in the struggle for their daily needs, point out to them the necessity of struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism. The workers' party should explain to the workers their position in the state and their role as fighters against every form of exploitation.

This revolutionary work among the St Petersburg proletariat, carried on by Lenin and the group led by him, resulted in a great increase in the number of underground workers' circles. The St Petersburg "Group of Social-Democrats," as it was then called, soon became the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class."

This was Lenin's first attempt to build a party of a new type, a militant party of the proletariat, which, as distinct from West-European Social-Democratic parties, set as its fundamental task the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling social order.

While carefully selecting and rallying the revolutionary forces of St. Petersburg, Lenin fought ruthlessly and persistently against all opportunist errors and deviations from Marxism. And there were plenty of them.

There were people who advocated a plan to create a workers' benefit fund which should be independent of the Social-Democrats (*i.e.*, of the revolutionary Marxists) and which would rally the workers around their economic needs. This was the germ of Economism, that trend which sought to divert the workers from the revolutionary political struggle. Lenin resolutely opposed this plan, and it was rejected.

Differences of opinion existed between Lenin and Martov, who did not attach the proper importance to Lenin's idea of the necessity of forming a workers' party, and was not able to adopt a critical attitude towards Struve and the future Economists.

Thus, even then, when the workers' party was just coming into being, Lenin had to wage a stubborn struggle against the opportunists who were attempting to bring the working-class movement under the influence of the bourgeoisie.

In the spring of 1895 Lenin became seriously ill with pneumonia. Upon his recovery he went abroad for the first time. Lenin had planned the journey abroad before he fell ill. He

was going for the purpose of establishing contact with the revolutionaries there, of studying that revolutionary Marxist literature which was unobtainable in Russia, and becoming personally acquainted with the working-class movement abroad and with its leaders. He spent nearly four months in Switzerland, Paris and Berlin.

While abroad he met Plekhanov and other members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group. Former Narodnik organizations in Russia had devoted the major part of their attention to revolutionary work among the peasantry, considering that socialism would grow out of the peasant commune. Only a few working-class organizations, such as the South Russian Workers' League (1875), and the North Russian Workers' League (1878), headed by Khalturin and Obnorsky, considered the working class as a revolutionary force and pointed out that the workers must strive for political freedom. But these were not Marxist organizations. The Social-Democratic "Emancipation of Labour" group alone pointed out, on the basis of the teachings of Marx, that the working class was the main force which would overthrow the autocracy and fight against capitalism for socialism.

This group, which had given birth to the Social-Democratic trend in Russia, had exerted a great deal of influence on the Marxist circles that had sprung up in the 'eighties. It had fought against the Narodnaya Volya and had helped to circulate the works of Marx and Engels in Russia. But its members lived abroad, very much cut off from the Russian Social-Democrats and had no means for conducting widespread activities.

Lenin's purpose in meeting the members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group was to establish contact between this group and Russia. Lenin, speaking for the Russian comrades, promised to assist the group financially so that it could undertake the publication of *Rabotnik* (*Worker*), a periodical for the Party cadres, as well as other popular literature.

Lenin's arrival made a very strong impression on the Group workers abroad. They felt that he was the representative of a new generation of Marxist revolutionaries who were closely bound up with the working-class movement in Russia. One of the members

of the "Emancipation of Labour" group, P. Axelrod, who later became a Menshevik, wrote many years afterwards

"These talks with Ulyanov were a real treat to me. I still recall them as some of the happiest and brightest moments in the life of the 'Emancipation of Labour' group"

These talks also revealed with the utmost clarity certain differences of opinion between Lenin and Plekhanov and others. Plekhanov told him that he, V. Ulyanov, was turning his back on the liberals, while they, the "Emancipation of Labour" group, turned their face to them. By these words Plekhanov implied that he condemned Lenin's attacks on Struve and others as too severe.

Lenin, unlike Plekhanov, Axelrod and other members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group, by the middle of the 'nineties had already clearly perceived the independent role of the working class and the half-heartedness and cowardice of the Russian bourgeoisie in its struggle with the autocracy

While abroad Lenin became acquainted with the leaders of the French and German working-class movements, went to workers' meetings and workers' clubs, and worked in the libraries.

Lenin returned to St Petersburg in the autumn of 1895. He brought back a valise with a false bottom packed with illegal literature which had been published in Russia abroad. At the border the gendarmes rapped on the false bottom, Lenin thought that his secret was discovered and that he would be arrested, but everything passed off smoothly.

On his return to Russia, Lenin visited a number of towns (Moscow, Vilna, Orekhovo-Zuevo), and made contact with revolutionaries there.

He already knew the St Petersburg Social-Democrats very well, his object now was to become better acquainted with the Marxist revolutionaries of other towns, pick out the best, test them personally and win them to his side. He was getting together the leading forces of Russian revolutionaries preparatory to the publication of a newspaper and the unification of the scattered Marxist circles into one workers' party.

In the autumn and winter of 1895 an upsurge of the working class movement began in St Petersburg. A wave of unrest swept

the workers and strikes broke out at the Putilov works, the Thornton and Laferme factories, at a shoe factory and other enterprises

The "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class," with Lenin at its head, actively directed this struggle of the workers. It just as actively directed the struggle of the workers in other St. Petersburg factories, seeking to convert the separate strikes into one organized struggle of the whole working class against its exploiters.

During these months Lenin also continued his work in the study circles. He visited the working-class quarters practically every day, conducted four workers' study circles and maintained contact with individual workers. He also made arrangements for the publication of an underground Social-Democratic newspaper, *Rabocheye Dyelo* (*The Workers' Cause*), and wrote all the main articles for the first number

But the tsarist police were already preparing to arrest Lenin and the other leaders of the League. They were constantly shadowed by spies.

On the night of December 20, 1895, Lenin and a number of his comrades were arrested. The entire leading group of St. Petersburg Social-Democrats "collapsed." The gendarmes confiscated the first number of the *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which was ready for press

The workers belonging to the underground circles issued a leaflet which was purely political in content concerning the arrest of Lenin and his comrades. Their studies with Lenin had evidently not been wasted.

Within a month other members of the League of Struggle were also arrested, but the fight of the St. Petersburg proletariat went on, the work of the League had struck deep roots. The revolutionary movement was not to be destroyed by arrests.

Lenin energetically continued his revolutionary work in prison. Even here, locked in a narrow prison cell, Lenin did everything in a systematic, organized manner. Immediately after his arrest he mapped out a plan for utilizing his term of imprisonment for research work and for directing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

While in the remand prison Lenin devoted himself to study. The prison had a fairly rich and extensive library, built up by revolutionary prisoners and their friends. Besides this, the prisoners were allowed to receive books and magazines from the "outside," and Lenin was able to make use of all the principal libraries of St. Petersburg. Stacks of books were brought to him in prison. From morning till night he sat studying books of statistics, and volumes on economics, he was preparing his great work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. During this period he continued his efforts to build the Party, and wrote the first draft program. This program was afterwards supplemented and re-drafted many times, and subsequently became the principal document on which the Bolshevik program was based. He also wrote a pamphlet *On Strikes* and a number of leaflets to be printed illegally.

At the same time he carried on a lively correspondence both with his comrades in prison and with those outside, keeping up their revolutionary spirits and continuing his work of mustering the Party forces.

The prisoners were obliged to resort to various ruses in order to conduct their correspondence. Lenin usually wrote his letters in milk between the lines of books which were being returned. When heated, the writing darkened, and the letter became legible.

In order to avoid discovery when writing, Lenin would make little ink-wells of bread, into which he poured the milk. As soon as the prison guard began opening the door Lenin would swallow the ink-well. "Today I have eaten six ink-wells," he wrote in a postscript.

Lenin divided up his time in prison very strictly. He gave himself a cold rub-down, exercised regularly and arranged his reading of various books in strict order. Later on, writing to his family about his brother who was in prison, Lenin said:

"In the first place, does he watch his diet in prison? Probably not. But that, in my opinion, is essential. And in the second place, does he take exercise? Again, probably not. And yet again, this is essential. I, at least, can say from my own experience that I derived great pleasure and benefit from doing exercises

daily before retiring. You get into such a glow that you feel warm even in the coldest weather, when the cell is quite chilly, and you sleep ever so much better afterwards ”

When his sister, Maria Ilyinichna, and his eldest sister's husband, M. Elizarov, were in prison, Vladimir Ilyich wrote to them of the importance of a regular regime in “solitary,” and gave a number of practical instructions drawn from his own prison experience. For mental work he especially recommended translations first a translation into Russian, and then back again into the foreign language. He added, “My own experience has borne out that this is the most rational way of learning a language ”

Discussing a system of work, Lenin wrote “I would again advise you to divide up your study periods according to the books on hand in such a way as to vary the subjects. I remember very well that a change of reading or work—from translation to reading, from writing to exercise, from serious reading to fiction—helped me enormously ”

He ends the letter with these words “In the evening, after dinner, for relaxation, I remember I would *regelmässig* [regularly—*P K*] turn to fiction and nowhere did I appreciate it so much as in prison. But the main thing is not to forget your daily exercises, and to make yourself perform each exercise a few score times (without giving in) ”

Strictly dividing up his time and rigidly observing his schedule, Lenin kept on working steadily in prison for the cause of the revolution. Even behind prison bars he was as full of energy and as cheerful as ever. His mother used to relate that “his health improved in prison, and he became amazingly cheerful ”

Lenin was courageous and cheerful in the tsarist prison because he firmly believed in the victory of the working class. He knew that beyond the walls of his prison, in the St. Petersburg outskirts, the proletariat was conducting turbulent revolutionary strikes.

In the spring of 1896, when the landlords, the bourgeoisie and all the tsarist hangers-on were celebrating the coronation of Nicholas II, the St. Petersburg workers sent greetings to the French workers on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the

Paris Commune, the first proletarian dictatorship. During the same period 30,000 St. Petersburg weavers went on strike. In the course of the strike twenty-five revolutionary leaflets appeared, several of which Lenin had written in prison. The "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class" played a very active part.

Turbulent strikes also took place among the textile workers in Moscow. One of the causes of the strikes was the workers' demand that they be paid for the days of the coronation, when by order of the police the factories had been closed. All these strikes were, so to say, forerunners of the years of the first revolution. They caused an upsurge of the revolutionary movement throughout the country and alarmed the tsarist government. It was on account of these strikes that Nicholas II several times postponed his return to the capital from the south.

The St. Petersburg workers' organization which was created under Lenin's leadership was the embryo of the future Bolshevik Party. Lenin built up this organization in the struggle against all forms of opportunism. He was training the workers for the decisive attack against the autocracy and capitalism.

The formation of a large working-class Social-Democratic organization was a great revolutionary achievement. Thousands of workers learned a great deal from this experience of mass organization and struggle and Lenin himself learned from it.

During his years in St. Petersburg Lenin was able to select the first forces of the future leading Party workers. Not only did he do this, he also educated and reared them, increasing their knowledge of Marxism and their revolutionary mettle, encouraging their militant spirit, and helping them in the days of heavy trial and adversity.

In these years Lenin dealt a smashing blow to the enemies of Marxism—the Narodniks, the "legal Marxists," and the opportunists of all hues. He won many victories on the theoretical front in his battles for the teachings of Marx and their application to Russian conditions.

Lenin emerged as the immediate and logical successor and continuator of the teachings and work of Marx and Engels.

CHAPTER III

SIBERIAN EXILE

IN FEBRUARY 1897 AFTER SPENDING FOURTEEN MONTHS IN the tsarist prison, Lenin was sentenced to three years' exile under police surveillance in Eastern Siberia. He managed to spend a few days in St Petersburg and Moscow before leaving for his place of exile. He met with members of the revolutionary Social-Democratic circles, took part in a discussion on the political situation in the country and heatedly attacked the attempts of certain comrades to reject the revolutionary political struggle. While Lenin was in prison certain opportunist tendencies—in particular the tendency to confine revolutionary work solely to the economic struggle—markedly increased among a section of the Social-Democrats. During his very first meetings with the comrades after his release Lenin sharply attacked these tendencies.

Lenin was banished to the village of Shushenskoye, in the Minusinsk Uyezd.

On the way to Shushenskoye Lenin managed to stop off in Krassnoyarsk. He delayed his journey to the remote place of exile as long as he could, endeavouring to utilize all the possibilities of the city. He worked in the local library, got acquainted with the exiles there, and came across fellow-revolutionaries who were being sent from Krassnoyarsk to various parts of Siberia. Here he also met Fedoseyev, who was in the Krassnoyarsk prison (waiting to proceed under convoy to another part of Siberia). The meeting between the two was arranged as follows: some comrades who were released from prison in Krassnoyarsk in order to proceed further to their places of exile, neglected to take

their belongings with them, and returned for them to the prison on the following day with a cart driven by Lenin in the guise of a driver. The convoys suspecting nothing admitted Lenin into the prison.

At the depot where the prisoners' belongings were returned the exiles demanded that Fedoseyev, as "monitor" of the political prisoners, be brought to them. While the things were being loaded on the cart, Vladimir Ilyich managed to talk to him.

In writing to his sister Lenin described the village of Shushenskoye, which he jokingly called "Shu-shu-shu," as follows

"It is a large village, with several rather dirty, dusty streets, just as one would expect. It is situated in the steppe, with no gardens or vegetation. The village is surrounded with dung, which they do not take out to the fields here, but throw right outside the village. The result is that to get out of the village one almost always has to wade through a certain amount of dung. Near the village itself is the little river Shush, quite shallow at present. About one or one and a half versts from the village (or rather from *me*, for the village is long) the Shush flows into the Yenisei, which here forms a multitude of islands and channels, with the result that the main stream of the Yenisei is inaccessible. I bathe in the largest channel, which is also drying up now. On the other side (opposite the river Shush), about one and a half versts away, there is what the peasants proudly call a 'pine forest,' which is actually a sorry little wood, where most of the trees have been cut down, where there is no real shade (though plenty of wild strawberries), and which has nothing in common with the Siberian taiga, which I have as yet merely heard of, but have not been in (it is at least thirty or forty versts from here). As for the mountains . . . on that subject I expressed myself very inaccurately, as the mountains are fifty versts from here, so that one can only look at them . . ."

Lenin took up his abode in a peasant's hut. There were only two exiled workers in this remote village. Lenin made friends with some of the local peasants. Zhuravlev, who came out boldly against the rich, and Sosipatich, with whom he went hunting. He would help the local inhabitants with advice. For instance,

he helped one worker, who had been discharged from the gold mine, to win his case in court against the owner of the mine. The peasants and their wives used to come to Vladimir Ilyich to share their woes with him and seek help and advice.

A year later, in the spring of 1898, Nadyezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya arrived in Shushenskoye. She had been sent there to be kept under police surveillance. She became Lenin's wife and to the end of his days remained his closest friend and loyal assistant. Nadyezhda Konstantinovna found that after a year in Siberia Lenin had become much stronger and healthier than he had been in St. Petersburg.

Although exiled to far Siberia, cut off from the proletarian centres by thousands of kilometres of dense taiga, and torn away from his comrades in revolutionary work, Lenin continued his life's work. He decided to utilize his three years of exile for the completion of several important works he had begun on the economic condition of Russia, for a more profound study of philosophy, for active work in the illegal press, and for further preparation for the building up of the Party.

During his years in Siberia Lenin, as usual, continued his studies. He carefully studied the works of Marx and Engels and Marxian literature, again and again, and read dozens of books on philosophy, economics, and statistics. He continued to perfect his knowledge of foreign languages.

And in his usual way he immediately tried to communicate his knowledge to his comrades, to formulate it in the shape of essays, books, papers and letters. He was anxious to give the proletarian movement the weapon of Marxian theory. Inasmuch as direct participation in the revolutionary struggle was impossible, Lenin devoted his energies to political writing, which was so necessary to the Party.

With exceptional ability to make the best use of his time Lenin applied himself to the work he had set out to do. Lenin's entire working day was divided up with scrupulous precision. He led an industrious and methodical life. Usually he sat down to work after a short morning walk. At stated times he read, translated, prepared statistical material, and so on.

In a letter to his mother from Siberia he wrote, regarding his brother:

"Is Mitya working? He ought to take up some regular study, otherwise this kind of general 'reading' is of little value." Lenin himself always read methodically.

And so, without wasting a day or an hour, he worked intently, preparing his books and revolutionary pamphlets, and getting ready for the stormy battles of the revolution.

While in Siberia Lenin translated two huge books *The History of Trade Unionism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and Kautsky's book against Bernstein, the leader of the German revisionists of Marxism.

Lenin went hunting, hiking, skating and played chess for recreation. He himself cut the chessmen out of bark, in the evenings when he felt especially tired. About skating he wrote to his brother as follows:

"I skate with great assiduity. At Minusinsk, Gleb [Krzhyzhonovskiy—P. K.] showed me various figures (he is a very good skater), and I am learning them so diligently that I wrenched my hand once, and could not write for two days. I had not, however, lost my old skill. But this exercise is so much better than the (old) winter hunting, when you get stuck in the snow up to your knees, spoil your gun and . . . scarcely ever see any game!"

Lenin knew and loved the Russian classics, and he read and reread Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrassov and others, many times, both in Siberia and afterwards. He had a particular admiration for Pushkin. Lenin loved Chernyshevsky very much as a great, consistent and irreconcilable revolutionary and scholar, who had endured with proud dignity the severe persecutions of the tsarist government. Lenin enjoyed reading over and over again Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is To Be Done*. In Lenin's Siberian album there were two pictures of Chernyshevsky.

One of the participants in the revolutionary movement at that time writes. "Lenin was no dull, dry-as-dust bookworm, or self-absorbed anchorite; he loved people, loved life and its joys, but the chief of these joys was the struggle and striving for victory.

He was a well-knit, sturdily-built, agile man, fond of strenuous exercise, an enthusiastic hunter, an excellent skater and a keen chess player. While in exile he would sometimes play three games at once, lying on his bed and not looking at the board, and defeat all three opponents "

In his first years of exile Lenin devoted most of his attention to his book, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. In preparing this book Lenin carefully studied hundreds of statistical and economic works describing the condition of the working class and the peasantry and the state of industry and agriculture. Lenin attached particular importance to exact, indisputable facts, to accurate figures, and for that reason, throughout his life, he always highly valued statistics.

His book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* dealt a crushing blow to the Narodnik theories. Lenin saw that the doctrine of the Narodniks was disastrous for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, that it disarmed instead of arming the proletariat, and sowed doubt in the ranks of the revolutionaries.

He saw that only by definitely crushing this anti-Marxist trend, its theory, methods, and weapons of struggle, could a proletarian party be created and develop. He realized that Narodism—a petty-bourgeois doctrine—helped to subject the proletariat to bourgeois influence. This anti-Marxist teaching had to be destroyed, and the ideological fetters with which the Narodniks, the worst enemies of Marxism, were trying to shackle the proletariat broken.

There were a number of outstanding publicists in the ranks of the Narodniks and a great many books and articles expounding their theories had appeared at this time. The only Marxist book directed against the Narodniks was one written by Plekhanov. Lenin's object was to write a comprehensive book on the basis of detailed and manifold materials on the economic condition of Russia in order to smash the doctrines of the Narodniks and their assertions that there was no proletariat in Russia, that capitalism did not exist, that all hopes must be placed in the peasant commune, etc., etc.

His work on this book was a most important task for Lenin,

by his theoretical treatise he wanted to show that all the prerequisites existed in Russia for the creation of a proletarian party, and for a successful struggle against tsarism

In this book Lenin proved that capitalism had firmly entrenched itself, not only in industry, but also in the rural districts, in landlord and peasant farming. Notwithstanding the assertions of the Narodniks, Russia was developing along the path of capitalism, and the very same proletarian and bourgeois classes had come into being in Russia as in other capitalist countries. The communal peasantry was not in any sense an opponent of capitalism, but, on the contrary, constituted a firm and deep-rooted base for it. The number of factories in Russia was rapidly growing, the size of the proletariat was increasing in town and country, and there was a marked growth of the cities and of the urban population.

Lenin proved that agriculture in Russia was assuming more and more a trading and commercial character, that the proletariat and the kulaks were increasing in the countryside and a market was being created, thereby providing the facilities for a rapid growth of factories and workshops. Capitalism was to an ever greater extent destroying the remnants of serfdom in the country.

Capitalism, notwithstanding all the horrors of exploitation, was an economic system of a higher order, having greater productivity of labour, than feudalism.

"The Russia of the wooden plough and the flail, of the water-mill and hand loom, rapidly began to be transformed into the Russia of the steel plough and the threshing machine, of steam-driven flour mills and looms."

The conditions under which the worker lives under capitalism "rouses the worker to think, transforms a vague dull discontent into a conscious protest, transforms a petty, fragmentary and senseless revolt into an organized class struggle for the liberation of all the toiling people, a struggle which draws its strength from the very conditions of existence of this large-scale capitalism and can therefore definitely count on *certain success*."

While the Narodniks maintained that there was no proletariat in Russia, Lenin demonstrated with figures that the number

of workers in town and country already approximated ten millions (including industrial workers, agricultural labourers, transport workers, etc.), that the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie and against the oppression of the autocracy was increasing, that the proletariat would be the leader of the revolution and would carry with it all the other oppressed classes.

On the basis of scientific data, Lenin correctly indicated in his book the path along which the economic development of Russia would proceed, and provided a basis for the formulation of the program and tactics of the revolutionary workers' party

In these years of exile Lenin wrote a number of other articles on economics, chiefly directed against Narodism. In 1899 his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* as well as a collection of his articles on economics were published. These were the first of his writings to become widely known.

Lenin's first scientific work *New Economic Trends in Peasant Life*, which was written in Samara, was first published only after the October Revolution. His book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight Against the Social-Democrats* was printed illegally at the time in a few dozen copies, and also became widely known only after the establishment of Soviet power.

The Development of Capitalism in Russia became a powerful weapon of the Russian Marxists in the struggle against Narodism. It gave them a whole arsenal of facts, figures and arguments. It provided a firm foundation for all further theoretical and practical work of revolutionary Marxists.

While working on this great book of his and on articles for periodicals Lenin never for a moment forgot the underground press. Here he could speak with full clarity and completeness of the fundamental tasks of the revolutionary struggle.

Thus, in Siberia, Lenin wrote for the underground press his pamphlet, *The New Factory Act*, and a number of articles wherein he explained to the working class the necessity for creating a strong workers' party for the struggle for socialism.

In the pamphlet *Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*, Lenin outlined the basic tasks confronting the Party and the

proletariat. He pointed out that the task of the Social-Democrats was to lead the class struggle of the proletariat in two directions. a) the socialist (the struggle against the capitalist class, the destruction of the capitalist order, and the establishment of socialism) and b) the democratic (the struggle against the autocracy, for political liberties). Lenin showed that the chief work of the Social-Democrats should be carried on among the factory workers, among the industrial proletariat, which is the most receptive to socialism and the most politically prepared. But this did not mean that they were to disregard the other classes which were hostile to the autocracy. The proletariat was the basic revolutionary class, having no interest in common with capitalism, the autocracy, or the bureaucracy. The working class and its party would support the peasantry in its revolutionary struggle against feudalism and the autocracy. In this pamphlet Lenin called for the unification of the scattered workers' study circles of the Social-Democratic groups into one Social-Democratic Party.

In Siberia Lenin received a pamphlet written by one of the members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group, P. Axelrod, *The Historic Position and Mutual Relations of Liberal and Socialist Democracy in Russia*. In this pamphlet Axelrod wrote of the "alliance" and "collaboration" of the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie. Lenin criticized this pamphlet, and in a letter from exile wrote that Axelrod "should have brought out more sharply the class character of the working-class movement," that one should not be benevolently disposed towards the liberal bourgeoisie.

Disagreeing with the members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group Lenin wrote "In my opinion to 'utilize' [the liberal movement—*P K*] is a much more appropriate word than support or alliance, for the cowardly and inconsistent Russian liberal bourgeoisie is not developed enough for an alliance with the proletariat."

It was necessary to make use of the liberal bourgeoisie when it was in opposition to tsarism, but under no circumstances should the proletariat be subjected to bourgeois influence. Lenin always

fought for the independence of the working-class movement, for the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement

In 1899, while in exile, Lenin received a manifesto entitled "Credo" drawn up by the "legal Marxists," Kuskova and Propkovich. In it were expounded the views of the so-called Economists. The "Credo" proposed that the working class remain aloof from the revolutionary political struggle against the autocracy and confine itself entirely to the economic struggle, strikes, etc. The "Credo" opposed the formation of an independent party of the working class and scornfully ignored the underground workers' organizations. The political struggle was declared to be the task of the liberals, of the bourgeoisie—the workers were to wage a purely economic struggle. In other words, the working class was to allow itself to be led by the nose by the bourgeoisie. The authors of the "Credo" had come out with "amendments" to the teachings of Marx. The "Credo" was based on the work of the German opportunist Bernstein, who had written a number of essays and a special book directed against Marx at this time. These ideas found many adherents in the Second International and met with response in Russia.

During the time Lenin was in prison and in exile the Economists grew stronger. They took advantage of the disorganization existing in the revolutionary organizations as a result of the arrest of Lenin and other revolutionary Marxists and began winning over to their side the less stable elements in the working-class movement.

Economism was a most pernicious trend, which disarmed the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. It was Russian Bernsteinism. Therefore, when Lenin received the "Credo" he lost no time in attacking it.

He drafted a reply entitled "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats," and brought it up for discussion by the whole colony of exiles in Minusinsk.

Lenin and the other exiles occasionally travelled from 50 to 100 versts to see one another. Those who were tried at the same time as Lenin (Krzhizhanovsky, Starkov, Vaneyev, and

others) lived in the same district of Siberia. On the pretext of welcoming in the New Year or of celebrating a wedding, the exiles would manage to come together from their various villages, and then lively discussions on political questions would be held.

His sister Ulyanova-Elizarova writes in her *Memories of Ilyich*: "During these get-togethers, which lasted three or four days, the time passed 'very happily,' Lenin wrote. In summer they had outings, went off on long hunting expeditions, and bathed, in winter they skated and played chess. They talked about various subjects, read chapters from Lenin's book, or discussed the various new trends in literature and politics."

At one of these gatherings Lenin started a discussion on his reply to the "Credo." Seventeen Social-Democrats, led by Lenin, discussed the "Credo" in detail, and subscribed to the "Protest" written by Lenin. In this "Protest" Lenin laid down the principles of the program of the Russian Social-Democrats. The fundamental aim of Social-Democracy was "the formation of an independent political workers' party, which shall be inseparable from the class struggle of the proletariat, and which shall have for its immediate aim the winning of political liberty."

Lenin showed that the political and economic struggle of the proletariat is bound up in one inseparable whole. The class struggle of the proletariat is the combination of the political and economic struggles. The trade unions are an essential weapon in the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. But the main and decisive weapon of the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism is the Party. The chief task of the workers' party is the seizure of power for the organization of socialist society. The political struggle is one of the most important tasks of the proletariat. To reject the political struggle, to leave it to the bourgeoisie, spells absolute suicide for Social-Democracy. The revolutionary Social-Democrats should head the struggle of all those who are discontented with tsarism, first of all the peasantry. The Social-Democrats would support any and every revolutionary movement against the existing order, and defend oppressed nationalities. They would even support the bourgeois parties provided those parties fought against the autocracy, but

the Social-Democrats would not, under any circumstances, surrender the leadership of the political struggle to the bourgeoisie. The illegal organizations of the working class are indispensable to a successful struggle against the autocracy.

This "Protest" of Lenin's made a tremendous impression on all the revolutionaries in Russia

Even though far from the revolutionary centres, Lenin in his "Protest" was able to point out the correct line for Social-Democratic work, and to warn the revolutionary workers against the mistakes of the Economists.

In all the ensuing years Lenin fought passionately against Economism, against bourgeois influence on the working class.

Both in the "Protest," and in other articles and writings during these years, Lenin waged a struggle against opportunism in the Second International (against Bernstein, David, and others). In those years opportunism already exerted a great influence in the European workers' Social-Democratic Parties. Lenin continued the struggle against opportunism throughout his life.

From exile Lenin carefully followed the working-class movement in Western Europe and in Russia.

In a number of articles published in *Novoye Slovo*, *Nachalo*, etc., Lenin defended revolutionary Marxism against all attempts of the opportunists to "revise" and "improve on" it.

In a lengthy article, "Capitalism in Agriculture," Lenin exposed the "legal Marxist" Bulgakov, who tried to prove that the Marxian laws are inapplicable to agriculture.

In his years of exile Lenin also made a profound study of philosophy. He reread the philosophic works of Marx and Engels, studied the great philosophical writings of the past and the chief works of bourgeois philosophy.

As ever, he wished to master the philosophic legacy of the past so as to revise it critically, on the basis of Marxism. Lenin carried on a lengthy correspondence with Lengnik on philosophical themes (unfortunately this correspondence has been lost), in which he developed in detail the fundamental theses of Marxist philosophy in its struggle against bourgeois teachings, and against opportunist distortions.

Whereas Lenin, before and during his period of exile, never ceased to expose the "legal Marxists" as abettors of the bourgeoisie, Plekhanov adopted a conciliatory attitude towards them. Lenin was the only one in the international working-class movement who, from the beginning of his political activity, waged a consistent revolutionary struggle against opportunism, while continuing and developing the teachings of Marx and Engels.

In exile Lenin wrote an article on the program of the Party and commentaries on the program for No. 3 of the *Rabochaya Gazeta*. This article was of great significance in working out the Party program, which was undertaken by *Iskra* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

As early as 1899 Lenin wrote "We do not regard Marx's theory as something final and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstones of the science which socialists *must* advance in all directions if they do not want to lag behind the march of life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially necessary for Russian socialists, since this theory provides only *general guiding* principles which, in *particular*, are to be applied differently to England than to France, differently to France than to Germany, differently to Germany than to Russia."

Lenin independently developed, elaborated and enriched the theory of Marx in a new situation and in new conditions of the class struggle.

In addition to his great scientific and political work, Lenin carried on an extensive and many-sided correspondence with the foremost leaders of the revolutionary working-class movement in Russia and abroad, and with those comrades who were in exile in various parts of Siberia and European Russia.

From his remote Siberian village Lenin continued to muster the Party, keeping up the revolutionary spirit of its fighters who were in prison and in exile, giving practical instructions to those who were at liberty, and theoretically bolstering those who wavered

Lenin's closest comrades, Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov, would receive letters from him twice a week. He kept them informed

of his own work and sent on whatever news he had received from different parts of Russia concerning the progress of the strike and revolutionary movement. In these letters Lenin also wrote about various theoretical questions, and gave brief and precise answers to all queries. Occasionally he entered into polemics on particular questions.

Lenin was noted for the exceptional punctuality of his correspondence. These letters kept up the spirit of the exiles, rallied them ideologically and encouraged them to work steadily

A characteristic incident occurred in connection with the escape of a worker, Raichin, from exile in Minusinsk, 60 versts from Shusha. The old Narodnaya Volya exiles were opposed to this escape, fearing that it would result in police reprisals against them. Afterwards they demanded that two members of our Party, G. I. Okulova (Theodorovich) and V. Starkov, be censured for having known of the proposed escape and not taken measures to prevent it

Lenin, who did not know Comrade Okulova personally and heard of the whole episode from Comrade Krzhizhanovsky, immediately intervened on behalf of Okulova and Starkov. Incidentally, what particularly angered him was the fact that the root of the whole matter lay in the lofty attitude of the Narodovoltsi to exiled workers. Lenin was very indignant at this. His championship of Comrades Okulova and Starkov and his sharp condemnation of the overbearing attitude of the Narodovoltsi to the workers resulted in a breach between Lenin and his comrades and the "old exiles," as they were called.

While in exile, Lenin persistently thought out a plan for the formation of the Party. He saw that it was necessary to begin by organizing an all-Russian underground newspaper, as the only means around which it would be possible to organize the entire working class. It was necessary to have a paper which could appear regularly and would not be subject to police persecution and suppression.

Krzhizhanovsky recalls how during a walk along the bank of the Yenisei one frosty moonlight night Lenin enthusiastically related these plans of his, and drew a picture of how the Party

of the working class would be created around this paper

Lenin wanted to utilize the experience of the past years of revolutionary struggle in organizing the workers' party. While in Siberia he wrote that the sorest spot in the working-class movement was organization.

"It is absolutely essential that we improve our revolutionary organization and discipline, and perfect our conspiratorial methods. We must frankly admit that in this respect we lag behind the old Russian revolutionary parties, and must put forth every effort to overtake and surpass them. Unless our organization is improved it will be impossible for our working-class movement as a whole to make any progress and it will be particularly impossible to form an active party with a properly functioning organ."

N. K. Krupskaya writes of the last months of exile

"Vladimir Ilyich began to spend sleepless nights. He became terribly thin. It was in these nights that he thought out his plan in every detail, discussed it with Krzhizhanovsky, with me, corresponded about it with Martov and Potresov, conferred with them about a journey abroad. The more time went on, the more Vladimir Ilyich was overcome with impatience, the more eager he was to get to work."

The three years of exile were not lost time either for Lenin or for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. During those years Lenin wrote a fundamental scientific work and a number of articles, including a pamphlet on the tasks of the Party, which served as a program of action, and brilliantly inflicted a smashing rebuff to the Economists. He continued to rally his Party comrades and prepare them for new battles. He himself did a great deal of reading, and thinking, preparing himself for the new stage of the revolutionary struggle.

In February 1900, his term of exile came to an end. Lenin travelled from Siberia to Russia. He intended to emigrate abroad, where, far from the tsarist police, he could bring out a paper around which the proletarian party would be organized. With this plan uppermost in his mind Lenin travelled through snow-swept Siberia.

CHAPTER IV

ISKRA

LENIN RETURNED FROM EXILE FULL OF ENERGY AND PREPARED to carry out his plan of establishing an all-Russian Party newspaper and of building the Party.

Lenin was forbidden to live in St Petersburg and other large cities, so he went to Pskov. On the way, in Ufa and in Moscow, he met with the Social-Democrats who worked there and renewed contact with them. From Pskov Lenin maintained contact with the various Social-Democratic groups. He called a meeting there at which the character of the proposed newspaper was discussed. Lenin was busily selecting collaborators in Russia for the future paper and collecting money for it.

Lenin got a passport to go abroad. He went to St Petersburg to meet with a group of Social-Democrats in order to give them final instructions, and was again arrested there.

Lenin related how he was nabbed on the street, and how the police squeezed his arms so firmly that he could not budge. They were afraid that he might manage to throw away or swallow any documents he had on him. And so, holding him fast by both arms, they marched Lenin to the office of the city governor.

When Lenin was arrested a letter to Plekhanov was found on him, written in invisible ink on some bill or other. The letter told of Lenin's plan for the establishment of an all-Russian Social-Democratic paper. Had the gendarmes succeeded in reading this letter Lenin would have had to spend another long term in prison. But they paid no attention to the scrap of paper and in ten days Lenin was released.

Lenin was afraid they would take away his foreign passport, but it was returned to him. He travelled under police surveillance to Podolsk to visit his mother. There the local police officer tried to take away his passport, but Lenin threatened to report him to St. Petersburg and the passport was given back. When he arrived in his mother's apartment Lenin was still full of his recent encounter with the police officer, and laughing heartily told how he had frightened the "old fool" by threatening to report him to the police department, and compelled him to return the passport.

From Podolsk Lenin, his mother and sister went for a month to Ufa, to visit N. K. Krupskaya who had remained there to finish her term of exile, and also to see the Social-Democrats living there. They went by steamer down the Kama and the Belaya. Lenin's sister, recalling this trip, writes

"We spent all our days on deck. Vladimir was in a most happy frame of mind, delightedly inhaling the wonderful air from the river and the surrounding forests. I remember our conversations on the deserted upper deck of the little steamer, they used to last far into the night. . . Vladimir Ilyich gave me an enthusiastic and detailed account of his plan for an all-Russian newspaper, which was to be the scaffolding for the building of the Party. He showed how constant arrests made congresses in Russia absolutely impossible. 'If the mere preparations for a congress entail such catastrophes and such sacrifices, then it is madness to organize it in Russia, only an organ published abroad can wage a prolonged struggle against tendencies like Economism, can rally the Party around the correctly understood ideas of Social-Democracy.'"

In Ufa Lenin met the local Social-Democrats. Here, as elsewhere, Lenin arranged for a correspondence code, got addresses, chose collaborators for the paper, etc.

As he was going abroad for a long time Lenin hastened to make personal contact with all the principal Social-Democratic circles and the most prominent Party workers in various towns

in Russia. He even thought of going to Siberia to discuss matters with a number of comrades there, but for some reason or other this journey did not come off. It may be said that when Lenin left his native land, he held in his hands all the threads to the revolutionary Marxist organizations in Russia. Although he had no paper as yet, he already had collaborators and correspondents in every corner of the land. As always, he made preparations carefully and thoroughly, with energy and enthusiasm.

On July 17, 1900, Lenin left for Germany. The first period of Lenin's life as a political emigrant, which lasted five and a half years, had begun.

It had been decided to publish the paper together with the leaders of the "Emancipation of Labour" group (Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zasulich, and others), Martov and Potresov also came from Russia to assist in getting out the paper. At this time they were followers of Lenin. Negotiations were opened between Lenin and the "Emancipation of Labour" group. The negotiations proceeded with difficulty and often a complete rupture seemed imminent.

At the time Lenin wrote a letter full of bitterness and apprehension for the fate of the paper, telling "how the *Iskra* (*Spark*) was almost extinguished"—it was almost extinguished through the obstinacy of Plekhanov, his unwillingness to reckon with the group of young Social-Democrats, and his desire to be absolutely supreme on the editorial board.

Lenin wanted to publish the all-Russian paper, not in Switzerland, where Plekhanov and Axelrod were living, but in Germany, where he, Martov and Potresov had settled. Lenin wanted the paper to be as independent as possible of the "old men" (the "Emancipation of Labour" group), who had no direct contact with the revolutionary movement in Russia.

Lenin considered it necessary to have the most prominent Marxists of the older generation with him in starting to build up the Party and its printed organ, but at the same time he clearly saw their mistakes and their opportunist leanings.

Lenin gained his point and *Iskra* began to be issued in Germany—first in Leipzig and later in Munich and Stuttgart.

After lengthy negotiations between Lenin and the Plekhanov group a statement was drawn up announcing the publication of the newspaper *Iskra* and the periodical *Zarya* (*Dawn*). It was decided that the paper be published in Munich, and the chief editorial group, which, headed by Lenin, was running the paper, moved there

What were the tasks Lenin set before the paper? First of all, to unite all the Party forces around it. There was at the time no unified party, only separate circles and groups, which worked in an unorganized manner. Lenin's idea was that the paper should become the collective organizer, the builder of the workers' party. The distributing agents of the paper would be the nucleus of the Party.

The unification of the Party had to proceed on the basis of a definite Marxist program, on the basis of the teachings of Marx, but such ideological and organizational unity could be achieved only through a determined struggle against every distortion of Marxism.

Lenin pointed out that the creation of a united party was possible only through an uncompromising ideological fight for its program and tactics against all opportunist, casual and wavering elements.

" . . . The struggle will perhaps arouse the ire of a few individuals, but it will clear the atmosphere, it will determine relations precisely and directly—it will determine which differences are of consequence and which are secondary, it will determine where those people stand who are actually pursuing an entirely different road and where those fellow Party comrades stand, who disagree on particulars."

The editorial statement announcing the forthcoming publication of *Iskra* reads: "Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all firmly and definitely draw the lines of demarcation."

This idea was expressed and put into practice by Lenin many times. The same idea was expressed by Marx and Engels under different circumstances, and was put into practice by them in the struggle against the various anti-proletarian and petty-bour-

geois trends in the German and international working-class movements, and in the First International. In Russia, in the new conditions of the class struggle, when it came to creating a militant proletarian party for the victory over tsarism and capitalism, dissociation from the opportunists became indispensable.

Lenin held that the revolutionary Social-Democrats should sharply dissociate themselves from all opportunist trends hostile to the revolutionary proletariat—the Economists, the “legal Marxists,” and the like. Unity must be established on the basis of sound revolutionary theory and practice.

At the end of December 1900 the first number of *Iskra* appeared, and in the spring of 1901 the first number of the periodical *Zarya* came off the press. Lenin was the organizer and actual editor of *Iskra*. Even in the very first number of *Iskra* Lenin wrote on the future victory of the revolution: “If we have a strongly organized party, a single strike may grow into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the government. If we have a strongly organized party, a rebellion in a single locality may spread into a victorious revolution.”

Lenin showed in another article that the working class must lead the revolutionary peasantry, and voiced the assurance that the peasantry would follow the proletariat. Lenin worked on each number of the paper with enthusiasm and his usual thoroughness. The contents of the issues and also separate articles were discussed in detail at meetings of the editorial board. Every formulation, every word, was painstakingly thought out. It was characteristic of Lenin that he himself corrected the proofs, although this task might have been entrusted to another comrade. His fear was that somehow or other some error, shortcoming, or inadvertence, might slip into the paper.

Lenin's chief assistants on the editorial board at that time were Martov and Potresov. Martov was an able journalist who could expound in a lively and pointed manner the themes developed for him by Lenin.

Potresov was of greater assistance in the publishing end of the work than in the editorial work. Of the members of the “Emancipation of Labour” group, only V. Zasulich (then living

in Munich) took any part in the work of the paper. Plekhanov and Axelrod were on the editorial board in name only, taking no part in the actual work of editing the paper. Plekhanov wrote a few articles for *Iskra* and *Zarya*.

Iskra was printed in small, close type on thin onion-skin paper, so as to be convenient for transmission to Russia. Issues were limited to only a few thousand copies. Lenin and his comrades themselves had to see to the organization of "transportation," i.e., getting the paper into Russia. The papers were sent out in separate envelopes, in double-bottomed valises, through smugglers, through sailors on foreign ships, and so on. Many copies fell into the hands of the police and the gendarmes, but many reached the workers. A whole network of *Iskra* agents was organized to distribute the paper in Russia. These agents were the organizers of the Party.

In Transcaucasia the founder of the Lenin *Iskra* organization was Comrade Stalin, who was assisted by L. Ketskhoveri, A. Tsulukidze, Kurnatovsky, and others.

Some numbers of *Iskra* were reprinted in Russia in illegal printing shops. The one organized by Ketskhoveri in Baku functioned particularly well. Stalin assisted in its organization.

It is hard for the present-day reader to imagine the joy experienced by the Party functionaries on receiving each new number of *Iskra*. The paper was read and reread from beginning to end, it was read in the study circles, and passed around from hand to hand.

Every number of *Iskra* gave the workers new strength. It showed them how to fight and how to organize. It branded the betrayers of the cause of the working class. *Iskra* was the genuine leader of the Party that was being created.

In the spring of 1901, Krupskaya arrived in Munich from Russia. She became secretary of the editorial board of *Iskra* and actively assisted Lenin, especially in maintaining contact with Russia.

As was his habit, Lenin kept up a regular correspondence with his mother as well as with his sisters and brother, who were actively participating in the revolutionary movement at the time.

Lenin was greatly attached to his mother and always treated her with tenderness and consideration.

When he could not write to her himself Krupskaya wrote. In a letter written in the summer of 1901, Krupskaya wrote of Lenin

"Vladimir is working fairly hard at present, I am very glad on his account. When he applies himself wholeheartedly to some work or other he feels well and in good spirits—that is a part of his nature. His health is quite good, there seems to be no trace left of the catarrh, and the insomnia also has gone. He has a cold rub-down daily, and in addition we go bathing practically every day."

The beginning of the twentieth century, when *Iskra* began to appear, was a period of industrial crisis. After the industrial boom in Russia, accompanied by big strikes, a serious crisis set in in 1900, production was curtailed and unemployment increased.

The growing tenseness of the political situation in the country was reflected in the turbulent student strikes and demonstrations of 1899-1902. In 1902 workers' political strikes and workers' demonstrations took place in a number of cities.

It was necessary to determine the paths of the Social-Democratic movement in this critical period. It was necessary to deal a crushing blow to Economism—that opportunist trend in the ranks of Social-Democracy. The Economists rejected the revolutionary struggle and the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle against tsarism. They rejected the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They opposed a militant centralized party. Russian opportunism—Economism—was a manifestation of the international opportunism which was widely prevalent in the parties of the Second International. The Economists in St. Petersburg issued a paper *Rabochaya Mysl* in which they openly preached these bourgeois views. Abroad the Economists Krichévsky and Martynov published a periodical *Rabocheye Dyelo* in which they propagated these same bourgeois views in a veiled form.

In those years, when the Party was as yet only in process of formation, Economism did tremendous harm. The Economists had to be crushed, otherwise it would be impossible to create a

militant proletarian party. That is why Lenin considered it necessary to publish his book *What Is To Be Done?* (in the winter of 1901-02), in which he exposed the views of the Economists, primarily of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* group, and set forth the tasks of the revolutionary working-class movement.

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin pointed out how the Party must be organized. He analyzed and tore to shreds the erroneous theories which the Economists continued to develop.

Lenin wrote in this book

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement . . . *The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory* "

Lenin showed that only on the basis of Marxism, through a struggle against all its distorters like Bernstein and the Economists, could the Party of the working class be built. Those who preached that the workers should concern themselves solely with the economic struggle, and not interfere in politics, were degrading and weakening the working-class movement. The revolutionary workers should be the leaders of the entire political struggle in the country, they should be responsive to every case of tyranny and oppression, violence and abuse. The working class was the foremost fighter for political freedom, and the vanguard of the revolutionary forces. The Social-Democratic Party, while leading the working class, would attract to itself the other strata of the population which were participating in the revolutionary struggle.

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin fought against the tendency of the Economists and other opportunists to degrade the working-class movement. He showed that the workers' party should bring class consciousness and organization into the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat, and not lag at the tail of the movement. He showed that "tailism" is a typical feature of all opportunism. The task of the Social-Democrats was to be the vanguard of the proletariat, to lead it forward, to confront it constantly with new tasks, and not to trail behind the most backward sections of the working class.

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin came out sharply against the

so-called "freedom of criticism" which existed in the parties of the Second International, and which the Economists sought to introduce in the Russian Social-Democratic Party. In practice this notorious "freedom of criticism" meant that it was possible, within the Party, to criticize Marxism and preach views hostile to Marxism, *i.e.*, hostile to the proletariat.

Lenin wrote with regard to this "freedom of criticism"

"We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: how out of date you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the right to invite you to take a better road! Oh yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render *you* every assistance to get there. Only let go of our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the grand word 'freedom', for we too are 'free' to go where we please, free not only to fight against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh."

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin pointed out that Economism was part of international revisionism, an attempt to subject the working-class movement to bourgeois influence. Lenin differentiated the revolutionary and the opportunist trends both in the Russian Social-Democratic and in the international working-class movements. Lenin's book was aimed not only against Russian but also against international opportunism.

With regard to the tasks of the proletariat in Russia Lenin wrote

"History has now confronted us with an immediate task which

is *more revolutionary* than all the *immediate tasks* that confront the proletariat of any other country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction would place the Russian proletariat in the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat. We are right in counting upon acquiring the honourable title already earned by our predecessors, the revolutionaries of the 'seventies, if we succeed in inspiring our movement—which is a thousand times wider and deeper—with the same devoted determination and vigour."

What Is To Be Done? made a very deep impression on all the Russian Social-Democrats. It dealt a deadly blow to Economism. It showed how Marxian theory must be applied to Russian conditions. It gave a concise, clear-cut plan for the organization of the workers' party. Lenin's instructions began to be carried into effect.

What Is To Be Done? became the principal guide of the Party members for many years, and has retained its importance up to the present day. This work of Lenin's was of exceptional importance in the formation of a militant proletarian party. It gave a clear and practical answer to the question of what was to be done by the Russian Social-Democrats, and elucidated all the principal tasks confronting the Party of the proletariat.

With regard to the organization of the Party, Lenin pointed out in this book, as in his articles, the necessity of selecting particular comrades to devote their whole time to revolutionary work, *i.e.*, to become professional revolutionaries. He particularly emphasized the need of involving workers in such revolutionary activity. He pointed out that only a powerful underground organization of revolutionaries with a strong guiding centre could be regarded as a real party. A strong association of professional revolutionaries would provide a firm support for the entire struggle of the proletariat, and would guarantee the stability and soundness of the Party.

The first professional revolutionary of this type was Lenin. Another outstanding professional revolutionary of this type was Stalin.

As early as 1898 Stalin had taken an active part in revolutionary Social-Democratic work in Transcaucasia. In 1900 he organized the Tbilisi (Tiflis) Committee, and in 1901 he founded the Lenin *Iskra* organization in Transcaucasia. He organized a number of strikes and demonstrations in Tbilisi and Batumi. After stormy economic strikes and a May Day political demonstration the Tbilisi Committee was broken up by the police. Stalin went into illegality. He became a professional revolutionary—a Bolshevik underground worker.

The local professional revolutionaries formed Party organizations in Russia.

In the work of organizing the Party Lenin paid particular attention to the lower factory circles. In his "Letter to a Comrade" on the organization of the Party he said

"They [the factory circles—*P K*] are especially important to us, for the main strength of the movement lies in the organization of the workers in the *large* factories . . . Every factory must be our fortress"

The editorial board of *Iskra* was at this time engaged in drawing up the Party program, which gave rise to sharp differences of opinion between Lenin and the Plekhanov group.

Lenin, as we have seen, wrote the first draft program of the Party in prison, and afterwards returned to this work several times. By the time the discussion of the program arose, Lenin had already worked out the draft program in detail.

The draft program was divided into two main parts—the maximum program and the minimum program. The first part dealt with the principal demand of the proletarian party, *i.e.*, socialism and socialist society, the second part dealt with those demands which could be realized even in bourgeois society (for instance, the overthrow of the autocracy, the 8-hour working day, etc.)

Lenin demanded that it be clearly stated in the program that the Party was fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat (this proposition Plekhanov "forgot" to include in the draft program). Without the point of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the program would not be the revolutionary program of the pro-

letarian Party. Lenin insisted that the class role of the proletariat as leader of the revolutionary struggle should clearly and distinctly be set forth in the program. "It is absolutely necessary *at first* for us to *fence* ourselves off from all, to stress *solely* and *exclusively* only the proletariat, and *afterwards* declare that the proletariat frees all, summons all, invites all!"

The type of program submitted by Plekhanov did not satisfy Lenin. He pointed out the necessity of bringing out more sharply the specific features of capitalism and in particular the specific features of capitalism in Russia, which were not included in Plekhanov's draft. It is necessary to speak not of capitalism in general, but of *Russian* capitalism, on which we declare war in the first instance—wrote Lenin.

Plekhanov's draft, in Lenin's opinion, was more like a textbook for students than a militant program of the proletarian party, fighting for power in Russia.

Differences of opinion also arose between Lenin and Plekhanov on the question of the attitude towards the liberals. Dissatisfied with the corrupt tsarist bureaucracy and its domination the liberals were not averse to frightening the bureaucracy with the threat of revolution and using the working-class movement to win a "constitution" for themselves.

The future Mensheviks considered it the task of the impending revolution to put the bourgeoisie in power in place of the tsarist autocracy.

Lenin regarded the liberal bourgeoisie with the utmost mistrust. He held that in the struggle with the autocracy it was very unreliable and would soon go over to the side of the tsar. Plekhanov advocated closer co-operation with the liberal bourgeoisie and said that it should not be antagonized but that an agreement should be reached with it.

Serious disagreements also arose between Lenin and Plekhanov on the subject of the agrarian program of Social-Democracy. At Plekhanov's insistence Lenin deleted the point on the nationalization of the land, *i.e.*, the transfer of all the land to the state, from his program article, "The Agrarian Program of Russian Social-Democracy."

In the spring of 1902 Lenin went to live in London. On the way he spent a few days in Brussels. Strikes were taking place there at the time, accompanied by street demonstrations which were being dispersed by the police. A comrade who accompanied Lenin tells how Lenin on seeing a workers' demonstration became quite excited and promptly wanted to join it.

"I almost had to hang on to him to hold him back," he writes. "Just at that moment the police appeared from the side and cut us off from the crowd."

In London Lenin lived a rather secluded life, being completely taken up with the editing of *Iskra* and *Zarya* and with his Party and scientific research work. Krupskaya, besides her usual task of corresponding with Russia and her work on the paper, did the housekeeping herself, prepared the meals, scrubbed the floors and so on.

In the morning Lenin would go to a public library where he read the English newspapers. He would then work till evening in the library of the British Museum, the best library in Europe, where Marx also had worked.

Alexeyev, who lived in London at the time, recalls

"Once, in a conversation with Vladimir Ilyich, I was laughing at a certain article in the London *Justice* on the imminence of the social revolution (*Justice* was very fond of making such forecasts, in season and out of season), V I was displeased with my sarcasm 'I myself hope to live to see the socialist revolution,' he stated categorically, and added a few unflattering epithets about sceptics."

In his free time Lenin got to know London. He went to workers' clubs and meetings, wherever he could get into direct contact with the life of the working masses.

Lenin did not like the aimless "visiting" which was the habit of a certain section of the Russian émigrés. He economized his time, devoting it entirely to the cause of the struggle of the working class. In London he was in charge of a political circle of worker-émigrés, to whom he explained the program of the Party. He would read the program to them sentence by sentence and explain it in detail.

It was typical of Lenin that even before his arrival in London he had carefully studied a map of the town and could find his way about very well, astonishing the old residents by his knowledge of the shortest way to get to any given place.

"Ilyich studied living London," writes Krupskaya. "He loved going for long rides about the town on top of an omnibus. He liked the bustle of this huge commercial city. The quiet squares, the detached houses, with their separate entrances and shining windows, adorned with greenery, the drives frequented only by highly polished broughams, were much in evidence, but tucked away nearby, the mean little streets, inhabited by the London working people, where lines with washing hung across the street, and pale children played in the gutter—these sights could not be seen from the bus-top. In such districts we went on foot, and observing these glaring contrasts of wealth and poverty, Ilyich would mutter through clenched teeth, in English 'Two nations!'

"Vladimir Ilyich was always attracted by crowds of workers. He went wherever they were to be found. He went on outings, where tired workers, glad to be away from the city, lounged for hours on the grass, and also to pubs and libraries."

In London Lenin assiduously studied the English language. On his free days he used to go to the country. He and Krupskaya rode and tramped together around all the suburbs of London, getting to know the various "country" lanes and all the neighbouring places.

In the summer of 1902 a wave of peasant unrest accompanied by clashes with the police and troops swept the Ukraine and other southern districts. This was the first big peasant movement after a long lull. At the same time the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary Party made its appearance and began to issue its own publication.

Lenin began a determined struggle against the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the columns of *Iskra* and in his letters to comrades in Russia.

One of Lenin's writings of this period was entitled "Why the Social-Democrats Must Declare Determined and Relentless War

on the Socialist-Revolutionaries." It was indeed a question of waging a determined war against an enemy of the revolution. Lenin showed in detail why the workers' party must adopt just this very position

The Socialist-Revolutionaries rejected the only correct, the only scientific international theory of revolutionary socialism, namely, Marxism

The Socialist-Revolutionaries helplessly gave way to the liberal-Narodnik trends and were attempting to revive the views of Narodism, which had already been exposed as bourgeois and petty-bourgeois by Russian Marxists and been smashed by them.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries did not understand and did not recognize the class struggle, they denied the fact that "in the Russia of today only that party can be really revolutionary and truly socialist which *fuses* socialism with the *Russian working-class movement*."

By striving to lean for support on the proletariat, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and at the same time not recognizing the leading role of the proletariat, the Socialist-Revolutionaries were paving the way for "the political and intellectual enslavement of the Russian proletariat to Russian bourgeois democracy" "Petty-bourgeois ideological instability" was therefore a distinguishing feature of the Socialist-Revolutionaries

The program of the Socialist-Revolutionaries combined vulgarization of Marxism with the reactionary teachings of Russian Narodism, petty-bourgeois reformism—with unprincipled adventurism

By preaching terror as a method of political struggle, the Socialist-Revolutionaries were doing serious harm to the working-class movement, "destroying the indissoluble connection between socialist work and the mass of the revolutionary class."

Terrorism "*is not in any way connected with work among the masses, for the masses, and together with the masses*" It draws the revolutionary forces away from the basic task—the creation of the workers' party It is merely "fighting in single combat, the sort of fighting that has been wholly condemned by

the experience of history," and weakens the force of the onslaught of the masses against the autocracy.

In his article "Revolutionary Adventurism," Lenin pointed out that the Socialist-Revolutionaries' terrorist leanings were closely linked with the fact that they stood aside from the working-class movement. They refused to see that the only really revolutionary class is the proletariat, that the remaining classes could be revolutionary only to a limited extent and under specific conditions. They did not understand that the peasantry on whom they wished to rely was a part of the petty bourgeoisie.

Lenin showed that the Socialist-Revolutionary Party was in fact only "a fraction of bourgeois democracy"

Through the medium of articles written by Lenin and other comrades, *Iskra* waged an untiring struggle against the Socialist-Revolutionaries and their anti-Marxist petty-bourgeois theories, and fought against their pernicious influence on the toilers

In order to explain the tasks of the workers' party to the peasantry Lenin wrote his pamphlet *To the Rural Poor*, in the autumn of 1902 This pamphlet was published in the spring of 1903 in Geneva, where Lenin and the whole editorial board of *Iskra* had moved at the time.

In his pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*, Lenin explained to the peasants in popular and simple language the program of the Social-Democrats He wrote "We are striving to obtain a new and better order of society in this new and better society there shall be neither rich nor poor, all will have to work No longer will a handful of rich men enjoy the fruits of common toil, all the working people will enjoy them Machinery and other improvements will no longer serve to enrich the few at the expense of millions and tens of millions of people, but will contribute to make work easier for all This new and better kind of society is called *socialist society*"

Lenin pointed out how this order of society could be attained The workers, in spite of all persecution, in spite of imprisonment, exile, penal servitude and executions were organizing into a secretly-existing party. This party was fighting against the autocracy, for political freedom The workers' party was the only

party which could help the peasantry and, in the first place, the rural poor, to rid themselves of the tsar and the landlord.

Lenin showed how hard the life of the poor peasants was. They were ground down by both the landlord and the kulak. The poor peasants had only one true ally—the urban workers. The poor peasants had to fight against both the landlord and the kulak. On defeating the landlord, they would follow the proletariat in its struggle against the foundations of capitalism

The alliance of the workers and the poor peasants under the leadership of the working class would help the peasantry to take a new road, leading to a better life. Lenin wrote that the day was near at hand when the workers would rise. He said “The peasants, too, will then rise throughout the length and breadth of Russia, march to the assistance of the urban workers, and fight to the end for the freedom of the workers and peasants. The tsar’s hosts, no matter how great, will then be unable to withstand this attack.”

Through the *Iskra*, through its agents, the professional revolutionaries, and through various letters and conversations, Lenin guided the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and rallied the Party. In his books and articles he gave directions on how the Party should organize the mass of the workers and lead them to victory.

Iskra was directed and inspired by Lenin. He wrote the main articles, formulating the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat. It was Lenin who drew up the plan for organizing a militant party. Lenin’s *Iskra* was the collective agitator, propagandist and organizer of our Party.

Iskra taught the working class how to lead the struggle of the working people against tsarism. Lenin’s *Iskra* fought against bourgeois distortions of Marxism, it was Bolshevik in trend.

Iskra, under the guidance of Lenin, united the Party around revolutionary Marxism. It waged an uncompromising and bitter struggle against opportunists, *i.e.*, against all who tried to subordinate the workers’ party to the bourgeoisie, and against all open and concealed enemies of the working class. It fought the liberals, who were cowardly in their opposition to the tsar and were only

waiting for the opportunity to conclude an alliance with him against the working class and the peasantry and to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie.

Iskra fought against the Socialist-Revolutionaries as petty-bourgeois adventurers who were urging the proletariat along the ruinous path of individual terror

Iskra fought against the Bundists, who wanted to break up the united working-class party into separate national units, without a single strong centre *Iskra* fought against all conciliators and compromisers who tried to unite all and sundry into one single party and reconcile differences of opinion of every kind It carried on a relentless struggle against international opportunism. *Iskra* fought determinedly against all revision of the principles of Marxism, against all deviations Lenin's *Iskra* rallied the Party around the revolutionary theory of Marx

Stalin tells how even then Lenin was to him a leader of a higher type, a mountain eagle. "My introduction to the revolutionary activity of Lenin at the end of the 'nineties, and especially after 1901, after the publication of *Iskra*, convinced me that Lenin was a man out of the ordinary At that time I did not regard him merely as a leader of the Party, but as its actual creator, because he alone understood the internal substance and the urgent needs of our Party Whenever I compared him with the other leaders of our Party it always seemed to me that Lenin's comrades-in-arms—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod, and others—were a head shorter than Lenin, that compared with them, Lenin was not merely one of the leaders, but a leader of a superior type, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in the struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement."

CHAPTER V

THE FORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY

THE EXISTENCE OF AN ALL-RUSSIAN POLITICAL PAPER facilitated the calling of the long-awaited Party Congress.

The First Party Congress (1898) had been attended by only nine delegates and had had little influence on the activities of the Party, especially since the Central Committee it elected was immediately arrested.

A second congress was necessary for the actual formation of the Party, for the adoption of a program, and the consolidation of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. The convening of the congress had become all the more urgent because of the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

The work incidental to the convocation of the congress devolved on *Iskra*, and in the first place on Lenin. An Organization Committee composed chiefly of *Iskra* agents was formed in Russia for convening the congress. Among those most active in the work of rallying the Social-Democrats in Russia were N. Bauman, Lengnik, Stassova, Zemlyachka, and Krassikov. In Transcaucasia, Party work was carried on by Stalin.

Lenin directed revolutionary work in Russia through comrades who travelled to see him, and also by correspondence. Letters required a long time to reach their destination because they had to be forwarded through several addresses. It took weeks and months to get a reply. This correspondence was a nerve-racking business. A letter informing him in a veiled way of some arrest or of the discovery by the police of a printing shop or literature in transport, would keep Lenin awake at night.

In preparing for the congress, Lenin sought to have the more reliable Party workers, who fully subscribed to the *Iskra* platform, represented, for this congress was to rally the leading forces of the working class

After long efforts the Second Party Congress was convened in July-August 1903. It was a period of rapid development of the revolutionary movement. General strikes, in which tens of thousands of workers participated, were taking place all over the south of Russia. Under Stalin's leadership a number of political demonstrations by the workers took place in Transcaucasia. In December 1901 Stalin took over the leadership of the Social-Democratic organization in Batumi and organized the famous political demonstration of the workers which ended in clashes with the police and gendarmes. In many cities (Rostov, Baku, Tbilisi, Odessa, Minsk, Kiev, etc.) militant workers' demonstrations against the autocracy took place.

Influenced by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat the peasants rose against the landowners. They burned the landowners' manors, seized their lands, and began to fight the tsarist police.

The working class was becoming increasingly revolutionary. Its Party had to be prepared for stormy revolutionary events.

Lenin eagerly awaited the Party Congress. The congress was the supreme authority within the Party, and had power to decide all fundamental questions of Party life.

The Party program which the congress was to adopt had been worked out in closest collaboration with Lenin. Long before the opening of the congress Lenin had likewise drawn up the draft of the Party rules, had prepared draft resolutions, and worked out the agenda and the rules of procedure.

As the delegates began to arrive, Lenin held long conversations with them. He questioned them on the state of affairs in Russia, and explained to them the fundamental questions before the congress. In these talks Lenin took stock of the political leanings of the delegates, who was for *Iskra*, who against, and who was wavering (in the "marsh," as the saying was).

Those who attended the Congress especially noted the cold and unapproachable behaviour of Plekhanov. He bore himself with the airs of a "lord" or a "general," and brooked no criticism. With Lenin, however, everyone felt friendly and at ease. On the eve of the congress, in the simple surroundings of his tiny flat, Lenin had a friendly informal talk with the delegates.

"We always expressed our admiration of Lenin's practical mind," writes one of the delegates, "his knowledge, and the particular gift he had for expounding his views. Occasionally Lenin invited us to take a stroll with him and have a heart-to-heart talk. On leaving him after these talks we were still more charmed with him, although he never thrust his views on us, and never attacked those who differed with him. He always said what he thought on a given question in a very clear and particularly comradely manner."

The congress opened on July 30, 1903, in Brussels (in a large flour storehouse). It was attended by 43 delegates representing 26 Social-Democratic organizations. The opening address was delivered by Plekhanov. After a few sessions it was transferred to London on account of police persecution.

The congress noted the tremendous service which *Iskra* rendered the Party, it was pointed out that *Iskra* was the revolutionary banner around which the Party had rallied.

In addition to the staunch *Iskra*-ists, followers of Lenin, the congress was also attended by representatives of the petty-bourgeois Bund, Economists, and wavering or "soft" delegates, the so-called "Marsh."

The composition of the congress was bound to give rise to a struggle around the principles of Lenin's *Iskra*.

Disagreements had already arisen over the election of the presidium. Martov wanted nine people elected, Lenin wanted a businesslike presidium of three. Lenin's proposal was carried. At the very beginning of the congress an incident occurred in the Organization Committee. At one of its meetings a proposal to invite D. Ryazanov, the representative of the opportunist "Borba" group to the congress as a delegate with voice but no vote, was rejected. Lenin and the firm *Iskra*-ists were against

inviting Ryazanov, Martov and other "soft" *Iskra*-ists were for it.

When the Party program came up for discussion new differences of opinion cropped up Plekhanov, supported by Lenin, declared that the success of the revolution came before all else and that for the sake of the revolution the victorious proletariat could deprive of electoral and other rights those classes which opposed the proletariat (for instance, dissolve the bourgeois parliament, deprive the bourgeoisie of the freedom of the press, etc.). This declaration drew the applause of Lenin and his adherents but aroused keen dissatisfaction among the opportunists.

The opportunist Akimov spoke against the clause in the draft program on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and the firm *Iskra*-ists defended this important thesis of our program.

In the discussion of the agrarian program the opportunists declared that the peasantry would never support the revolution and would not follow the proletariat They claimed it was useless to count on a revolutionary movement among the peasantry as the peasantry was always reactionary Lenin and his adherents, on the contrary, regarded the revolutionary peasantry as the ally of the proletariat.

When the attitude of the Party to the liberals was discussed, two tendencies were again apparent Some proposed an agreement with the liberals (*i e*, an alliance with the bourgeoisie) Others pointed out that the fundamental task of the Party was to explain to the workers that the liberals (*e g*, their principal organization, the Emancipation League, headed by Struve) were opposed to the workers and hostile to revolution, that the class interests of the liberals drew them to the camp of the autocracy Lenin defended the latter stand

A particularly sharp struggle arose at the congress over the first point of the Party rules Lenin proposed that only those should be regarded as members of the Party who not only accepted the program of the Party but who also were personally active in one of the Party organizations. Martov proposed that those who were not in the organization but who merely helped the Party in one way or another (financially, etc.) should also

be regarded as members of the Party. Martov, as Lenin expressed it, wanted "to make *all and sundry* members of the Party." Lenin pointed out that Martov's formulation "opens the door for all elements of confusion, vacillation, and opportunism." He said

"It is better that ten who actually work should not call themselves members of the Party (real workers don't hunt for titles!) than that one who just talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member"

Lenin pointed out that the stronger and more united the Party was the greater would be its influence on the working class. The Party could not include the entire working class. It should consolidate and organize its vanguard, and such a party, by uniting the foremost elements of the working class, could lead the whole working class.

Lenin wanted a united, reliable and militant workers' party, capable of leading the working class to the attack against the strongholds of capitalism. Martov and his adherents, on the other hand, sought to draw into the Party large numbers of intellectuals and all other unstable elements.

On this point two conflicting policies became apparent. Lenin called for the formation of a militant revolutionary party, which should not only overthrow the autocracy, but also lead the working-class offensive against capitalism. Martov and the future Mensheviks wanted to form a party which, after the autocracy was overthrown, would conduct its struggle entirely within the framework of bourgeois democracy, and would be merely a peaceful opposition party to the rule of the bourgeoisie—after the pattern of European reformism. From the differences in these two policies all the fundamental disagreements arose—on the question of the attitude towards the liberals, on questions of organization, etc.

In fighting for his formulation of Point 1 of the rules, for strict centralism in the Party, Lenin sought to create a party of a new type, a militant revolutionary party.

The parties of the Second International were "peace-abiding" parties. They did not desire to lead the working class to revolu-

tionary battles. All they did was to conduct elections to Parliament and then occupy themselves with peaceful work in Parliament, trying to walk in step with the bourgeois parties and actually echoing the latter. The Socialists of the Second International uttered fine words about revolution but actually they sought all possible agreements with the bourgeoisie, and tried to prevent revolutionary action by the workers.

Lenin wanted to create a strong, sound party, capable of leading an armed insurrection and of overthrowing the autocracy, and prepared to lead the proletariat to the seizure of power.

In order to fulfil this mighty task the Russian proletariat had to create a militant proletarian party, and Lenin passionately and determinedly fought for such a party.

Lenin realized that if the working class did not form such a party it would inevitably suffer defeat in the future battles with the autocracy and with the bourgeoisie. However, Martov's formulation of Point 1 of the rules was adopted at the congress by a very small majority, which included members of the Bund and other opportunist delegates.

Later, at the Third Congress, the Bolshevik Congress, held in the spring of 1905, Martov's formulation was stricken from the rules and Lenin's formulation on conditions of Party membership was adopted.

Sharp disputes arose at the Second Congress on the subject of the Bund. The Bund was an association of Jewish workers, reflecting the interests of the small artisans. The Bund proposed that the Party be formed as a federation of different national organizations uniting the workers according to nationality. The Bundists, for instance, wanted Jewish workers, wherever they happened to be, to join the Party through their own particular national group. Instead of a single international party the Bundists wanted separate national parties. If the Bundists had won their point, instead of one powerful united party there would have been as many parties in Russia as there were nationalities.

Lenin resolutely opposed these petty-bourgeois proposals of the Bundists. The congress supported Lenin, whereupon the Bundists demonstratively withdrew from the congress, announcing their

resignation from the Party. The representatives of *Rabocheye Dyelo* (Martynov, Akimov) also left the congress. This gave a majority to the supporters of Lenin.

Hence the names "Bolsheviks" (from the Russian "*bolshinstvo*"—majority) and "Mensheviks" (from "*meshinstvo*"—minority) originated. Lenin's adherents came to be known as Bolsheviks and Martov's as Mensheviks.

The congress elected Lenin, Plekhanov and Martov to the editorial board of *Iskra* (Plekhanov had sided with Lenin at the congress). Martov insisted that all the old members of the former *Iskra*, Potresov, Zasulich and Axelrod, be included in the editorial board. The congress rejected this proposal, wishing to have a reliable and united board. Then Martov announced that he would not work on the editorial board. The minority at the congress demonstratively declared that they refused to participate in the elections to the Central Committee. The supporters of the majority, *i.e.*, the supporters of Lenin—Khrzhanovsky, Lengnik and Noskov, were elected to the Central Committee.

At the close of the congress Lenin again conversed with groups of delegates and individual delegates, explaining to them the root of the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, urging them to draw as many workers as possible into the Party, and to keep in contact with the professional revolutionaries.

By his work during the period of the Second Congress Lenin gave a remarkable example of the attitude of a Party member towards a Party Congress. He made careful preparations for the congress and made drafts for nearly all the resolutions. He had talks with all the delegates before the congress, and presided at the meetings of the *Iskra*-ists during the congress. He attended every session of the congress, took an active part in its work, delivered reports, took part in discussions, presided, talked with the delegates in the intervals between sessions, and formulated the decisions. He kept a minute diary of the congress, writing down all the main points and incidents. When it was over he explained the resolutions of the congress to the delegates and gave them instructions as to how to carry them out in Russia. He

then wrote that brilliant, detailed account of the congress, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, in which he characterized all the trends which had clashed at the congress. Lenin pursued a firm line at the congress, stubbornly defending revolutionary positions.

The revolutionary majority in the congress routed the opportunists.

Lenin wrote ". . . The split among the *Iskra*-ists was one of the principal political results of the congress . . ." A Bolshevik and a Menshevik fraction were formed within the R S D L P

At that time certain short-sighted politicians thought that the workers' party had split over empty words, over the formulation of the first point of the Rules, over trifles. The opportunists, after bringing about a split in the Party, at the same time criticized Lenin for his "splitting tactics." Today, after a lapse of more than thirty years, it is apparent to anyone how correct Lenin was, how fundamental, and, not simply incidental, were the issues at stake. Today it is particularly clear what genius it required on Lenin's part to gauge the import of the disagreements between the majority and the minority groups, and reveal the abyss towards which the supporters of Martov were seeking to lead the Russian revolutionary movement.

The ideological differences between the revolutionary and the opportunist wings of the Party had already been manifested quite clearly in the clashes between Lenin and the opportunists in the past, as, for example, in his Reply to the "Credo," in *What Is To Be Done?*, and in *Iskra*. The congress clearly brought to light the differences of opinion that existed on all fundamental questions of program, tactics, and organization of the Party.

The Russian Mensheviks and their champions in the European workers' parties began to accuse the Bolsheviks, and especially Lenin, of a tendency towards excessive centralism, towards Blanquism (*i.e.*, an attempt on the part of small groups of revolutionaries to concoct conspiracies and rebellions without the participation of the masses).

We know now how correct Lenin was when he strove to create a sound, firmly organized party with a strong centre.

Lenin saw that the Menshevik proposals would drive the working class into the arms of the bourgeoisie.

The whole future fate of the Party was decided at this congress Lenin succeeded in rallying around him the majority of the congress, the genuine revolutionaries who formed the framework of the Bolshevik Party

In his Report at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Stalin said

"Take 1903, the time of the Second Congress of our Party. This was a period in which the Party made a turn from agreement with the liberals to a mortal struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie, from preparing the struggle against tsarism to waging an open struggle against it for the complete destruction of tsarism and feudalism. The Party at that time was headed by six people Plekhanov, Zasulich, Martov, Lenin, Axelrod and Potresov. The turn proved fatal for five of the six. They fell out of the cart. Lenin remained alone . . . It is clear now to every Bolshevik that if Lenin had not determinedly fought the five, if the five had not been beaten off, our Party could not have become welded as the Party of Bolsheviks capable of leading the proletarians into the revolution. . ."

The Bolsheviks, who had been a fraction in the R S D L P , subsequently formed a separate Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1912, and led the proletariat of Russia to complete victory. The Mensheviks, who were expelled from the R S D L P in 1912, were an auxiliary force of the bourgeoisie, and subsequently went over openly to the side of counter-revolution.

The formation of the R.S.D.L.P. at the Second Congress in 1903 and the appearance of Bolshevism as a trend of political thought, as a political party, was a vital turning point in the history of the entire international working-class movement.

Bolshevism developed not merely as a purely Russian phenomenon, but on the basis of the whole struggle of Lenin and his supporters against opportunism in the ranks of the international working-class movement, on the basis of the experience of the struggle of the proletariat all over the world, on the basis of the

doctrines of Marx, doctrines forged in the fire of proletarian battles in Europe and elsewhere. In the Second International, as well as in the ranks of the Russian Social-Democrats, there were revolutionary and opportunist elements, and conciliators. The split in the ranks of the Russian Social-Democrats indicated the path which the proletariat had to follow in its struggle.

Why was it that precisely in Russia a militant proletarian party of a new type came into being? Why did Russia produce the leader of the world revolution, Lenin? Why did a comparatively backward country initiate the epoch of proletarian revolutions?

Tsarist Russia was the "nodal point" of all the contradictions of imperialism. It was part and parcel of the imperialist system of states and the nest of every form of oppression. In no other country were the toiling masses subjected to such rapacious exploitation. Here capitalist exploitation was bound up with landlord oppression. The tsarist police and gendarmerie supported all forms of exploitation by force of arms. The whole political system was permeated with this oppression. The workers received a mere pittance, they had the longest working day, the worst housing and living conditions, and the least rights.

The peasantry was subjected to the exploitation of the landowners and the rural bourgeoisie (the kulaks). It lived in conditions of extreme poverty and perpetual hunger.

Tsarism subjected all the non-Russian nationalities to especially severe oppression and persecution. The peoples of Poland, Transcaucasia, Finland and Central Asia were forcibly Russified. Non-Russian nationalities were deprived of all rights. Instruction in the native language was persecuted. The Jewish population was subjected to particular oppression. This national oppression further increased the hatred of the toilers for tsarism and its defenders.

Taking advantage of the facilities offered by tsarism, foreign capitalists readily invested capital in Russia because there they could obtain the highest profits. Tsarism, through its police and its troops, aided this international exploitation of the Russian proletariat. Tsarism extorted hundreds of millions of rubles from

the population to pay the interest on the loans granted it by the foreign bourgeoisie

At the same time tsarism assisted the bourgeoisie of the West in exploiting and dividing up the countries of the East Persia, Turkey, China, etc Tsarism was the gendarme of Europe. Tsarism, according to Comrade Stalin, was "the watch-dog of imperialism in the East of Europe" A blow struck at tsarism was a blow struck at the whole system of imperialism

Thus tsarist Russia was the home of every kind of oppression, and moreover, of oppression in its most barbarous and inhuman form.

At this time the popular revolution was growing in the country It was led by the foremost class—the proletariat, with the militant Party of Lenin at its head

A revolution in Russia, by striking a blow at tsarism, would become a menace to world imperialism It inevitably would become a revolution of international importance, for it would create a breach in the system of world imperialism Thus the whole international situation and all the internal conditions in Russia itself contrived to shift the centre of gravity of the world revolutionary movement to Russia

Russia became the home of Leninism Here a party of a new type came into being, and from here came its creator and leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

After the congress the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks became even fiercer

In Geneva the Congress of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad was convened, at which the results of the Second Congress were discussed The Mensheviks, led by Martov and Trotsky, waged a furious campaign against Lenin, and declared their lack of confidence in the Central Committee After this congress Plekhanov, too, definitely went over to the Mensheviks He insisted that all the old editors, who had not been re-elected at the Second Congress, be co-opted on to the editorial board of *Iskra* Plekhanov, after temporarily siding with Lenin, returned to his own kind, and fought Lenin and the Party from the opportunist standpoint of Menshevism.

Lenin held that Plekhanov had treacherously violated the resolutions of the Second Congress, and resigned from the editorial board. With the 53rd number *Iskra* became a Menshevik organ. While the old, Lenin *Iskra* had taught the Party and the working class how to wage a consistently revolutionary struggle against tsarism and the bourgeoisie, the Menshevik, new *Iskra* preached opportunism and instilled the working class with petty-bourgeois views on politics. Trotsky completely sided with the Mensheviks. In the new *Iskra* and in his pamphlet, *Our Political Tasks*, he gave complete expression to all the opportunist views of the Mensheviks. Trotsky fought against centralism and discipline, and spoke against the dictatorship of the proletariat. He particularly furiously attacked Lenin in his writings.

Lenin waged a determined struggle against the Menshevik opportunists. A difficult period in the history of the Party had set in. After leaving the editorial board of *Iskra* Lenin worked on the Central Committee. But among the Central Committee members there were people who advocated conciliation with the Mensheviks (Krassin, Noskov). Lenin strove to have a new congress convened.

He demanded the strict fulfilment of the Party resolutions, but the majority of the Central Committee betrayed Bolshevism—they went over to the side of the Mensheviks, united with them, and censured Lenin for his agitation on behalf of the congress.

Lenin broke politically with Plekhanov, whom he had always deeply respected. He broke with Maitov, with whom he had been on friendly terms as a result of long years of revolutionary work together. He also broke with other members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group and with the editorial board of *Iskra*. A number of the Bolshevik adherents among the members of the Central Committee went over to the camp of the conciliators, and Lenin waged a determined struggle against them. The Mensheviks slung mud at Lenin in their articles and pamphlets. Lenin did not have a single press organ at his disposal. He seemed completely unarmed and alone.

But Lenin knew that his line was correct, that only by waging a relentless struggle could opportunism be defeated, that the victory of the working class would be assured only if there were a powerful revolutionary party, rallied around the banner of Bolshevism. With a small group of supporters he fought persistently and determinedly for his views, fought to rally the Party round the Bolshevik slogans. He knew that in Russia the workers supported the slogans of the Bolsheviks, that the "victories" of the Mensheviks abroad did not reflect the situation in Russia.

Lenin wrote a special pamphlet, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, on the Party Congress and the nature of the disagreements. In this pamphlet he explained in detail the significance of the struggle which had taken place at the congress. He exposed the opportunism of the Mensheviks, including such a confirmed Menshevik as Trotsky. The Mensheviks came out openly against a centralized party, against proletarian discipline and unity.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back was, as it were, a supplement to the famous pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* It gave new examples of how to combat all deviations from Marxism, from the revolutionary proletarian path. With the utmost directness and clarity this pamphlet posed the question of the existence of two distinct, sharply divergent trends in the ranks of Russian Social-Democracy, two different parties in fact.

It showed that Mensheviks like Plekhanov, Martov, and others, who had formerly fought against the Economists and the Bundists, had now actually taken their stand with them. At the same time it exposed the conciliators who were aiding the Mensheviks by opposing the summoning of a new congress.

Lenin's brilliant commentaries on the Minutes of the Second Congress became the principal guide of the Bolsheviks in their struggle for the Party.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back served as a platform around which the forces of the Party united. It was eagerly read and gave rise to heated controversies.

Lenin continued to write for the broad masses of the workers also. In a leaflet which was distributed on May Day, 1904,

Lenin addressed the following words to the workers of Russia:

"The old Russia is dying. A free Russia is coming to take its place. The dark forces which defended the tsarist autocracy are perishing. But only the class-conscious, only the organized proletariat is capable of dealing a death blow to those dark forces. Only the class-conscious and organized proletariat is capable of winning for the people real, not spurious, freedom. Only the class-conscious and organized proletariat is capable of repelling every attempt to deceive the people, to curtail their rights and make them simply a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie"

Faith in the might of the proletariat, the conviction that he was right and that the working class would inevitably be victorious gave Lenin strength, and he continued to rally the Party.

Lenin knew that he was following the path indicated by Marxism, while the Mensheviks were betraying the proletariat and helping the bourgeoisie. He knew that the working masses would follow the Bolsheviks in the struggle against tsarism and capitalism. He sent scores of letters to Russia, explaining the nature of the disagreements between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. He said "The party of the proletariat demands the truth. The party of the proletariat demands the ruthlessly outspoken exposure of this chronic circle spirit."

In Russia, among the revolutionary Social-Democrats, the *Iskra*-ists, the stand taken by the Bolsheviks met with warm response and support.

Stalin, who had been active the entire time in the Caucasus, where he was at the head of the Party organizations of Transcaucasia, was in prison at the time of the congress and therefore unable to attend. His term of imprisonment lasted from April 1902 to the end of 1903. Learning in prison of the resolutions of the Second Congress he definitely threw in his lot with the Bolsheviks. He wrote a letter to Lenin, and later, in exile, received Lenin's reply.

Stalin, recalling this letter of Lenin's, says "It contained a bold, fearless criticism of the practical work of our Party, and a remarkably clear and concise outline of a whole plan of work of the Party for the immediate period. Lenin alone was able to write

about the most complicated things so simply and clearly, so concisely and boldly—so that every sentence seems, not to speak, but to ring out like a shot.”

Thus, by his letters and talks, Lenin gave guidance to tens and hundreds of prominent Party workers, Bolsheviks, and reared and rallied the Party in the most difficult years

Lenin fought resolutely against all those who adopted an unstable, conciliatory position. He sharply attacked the conciliators on the Central Committee (Noskov, Krassin and Krzhizhanovsky) who were still endeavouring to compel the Bolsheviks to compromise with the Mensheviks

At this time the conciliatory Central Committee of the Party went over to the Mensheviks and Lenin resigned from it

In the autumn of 1904, on Lenin's initiative, a meeting of twenty-two Bolsheviks was held in Geneva. The following were among those who attended V. I. Lenin, N Krupskaya, P Lepezhinsky, M. Olminsky, A. Lunacharsky, R Zemlyachka, V. Vorovsky, S Gushev and V Velichkina. The meeting adopted an appeal to the Party, written by Lenin, calling for the immediate convocation of the Third Party Congress. Lenin knew that the majority of the Party would be behind him, just as the majority at the Second Congress was. And so he appealed to the Party to prepare for the convocation of the Third Congress. A congress was the only means of overcoming the crisis. Lenin decided to publish a new Party paper which would uphold the position of Bolshevism. In a letter to Russia he pointed out that this paper must be made “the real organ of the working-class movement in Russia.” Lenin attached special importance to the publication of this paper. “This organ is now the essential thing, without it we shall meet with certain and inglorious death,” he wrote.

He co-opted Olminsky, Vorovsky and Lunacharsky on to the editorial board of the paper. He also secured the collaboration of many other Bolshevik writers.

In January 1905 the first number of the Bolshevik paper *Vperyod* (*Forward*) appeared. Lenin wrote exultantly to his comrades in Russia.

"All of the majority are exultant and heartened as never before. At last we have finished with that filthy squabbling and are working in a friendly way with those who want to work and not to kick up rows! . . . Hurrah! Don't lose heart, things are brightening up again."

The very first numbers of the Bolshevik paper met with the most enthusiastic response from the Bolsheviks S Gussev, for instance, wrote that he was "simply delighted" with the paper "and read it through from beginning to end several times." Lenin was particularly anxious that closer contact be established with the workers. He proposed that the workers communicate their addresses, in order that *Vperyod* might be sent to them in envelopes. "The workers will not be afraid," he said. He demanded that correspondence for the paper be obtained from the workers themselves.

He wrote to the Odessa committee "Why don't you put us directly in touch with the workers? Not a single worker writes to *Vperyod*. It is a disgrace. We must have scores of worker-correspondents at all costs."

In the autumn of 1904 three conferences of various Bolshevik Party Committees were held. The conference of the Transcaucasian Committees was of particular importance.

As a result of these conferences a Bureau of Committees of the Majority was set up, composed of Gussev, Zemlyachka, Litvinov, Lyadov and others. This Bureau, under Lenin's guidance, at once set to work to convene the Third Party Congress. On the direct instructions of Lenin, Party meetings were held in a number of cities and at these meetings the disorganizing activities of the Mensheviks and the conciliatory Central Committee were censured, and steps were taken in preparation for the congress. During this preparatory period Stalin did a great deal of work in the fight for the Bolshevik Party. He wrote a pamphlet, *A Few Words on Party Disagreements* wherein he told the history of the split, and advocated Lenin's views on the significance of the proletarian party. Stalin was at the head of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks and the All-Caucasian Committee. He directed the Party press, visited all districts of Transcaucasia, and carried on an

energetic struggle against the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the nationalists.

The Third Congress declared that the Transcaucasian organizations were "the most militant organizations in our Party "

The Bolsheviks fought successfully in Russia against the Mensheviks. A number of organizations went over to Lenin.

The leaders of the Second International unanimously supported the Mensheviks in their struggle against the resolutions of the Second Congress, against the Bolsheviks and their leader, Lenin.

Kautsky declared that if he had been present at the Second Congress he would have voted for Martov, against Lenin. August Bebel, like Kautsky, one of the most authoritative representatives of the Second International, declared that the formation of a Bolshevik and a Menshevik fraction in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was the result of a personal squabble and the "sectarian" irreconcilability of Lenin. Bebel suggested setting up an "arbitration board" for the purpose of reconciling the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Lenin sharply opposed the whole of international opportunism. Lenin on behalf of the Bolsheviks rejected Bebel's "arbitration board," pointing out that only the Third Congress of the Party (the Bolshevik Congress) had the right to decide all questions. Rosa Luxemburg, who belonged to the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, sided with the Mensheviks on the question of the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and came out against Lenin. The split in the Russian Social-Democratic Party at the Second Congress pointed the way for a split with the opportunists in the international working-class movement.

Comrade Stalin wrote ". . . long before the war, approximately in 1903-04, when the Bolshevik group acquired organizational form in Russia and when the Left wing in German Social-Democracy first made itself felt, Lenin advocated a rupture, a split with the opportunists here in the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and over there, in the Second International, particularly in German Social-Democracy.

“ . . The Russian Bolsheviks did everything to urge the Left wing Social-Democrats in the West, particularly the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, towards a rupture, towards a split with their own opportunists and centrists ”

But the semi-Menshevik mistakes of the Lefts, their organizational and ideological weakness, prevented them from breaking with the opportunists, and this explains the fact that on the question of the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Party Rosa Luxemburg sided with the Mensheviks, against Lenin

Only the Bolsheviks consistently and unswervingly fought against the opportunists in the Second International.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

IN THE YEAR 1904 THE THREATENING RUMBLE OF THE impending revolution was heard throughout the country

Lenin repeatedly pointed out at the time that revolution was imminent and that the Party of the proletariat should be ready for it

The year 1904 saw the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, a war of imperialist conquest, in which tsarist Russia and bourgeois-landlord Japan fought over the partition of China, Korea and Manchuria.

The tsar was relying on military successes as a means of bolstering up his prestige within the country, arousing a wave of patriotic feeling and holding back the oncoming revolution. Lenin, analyzing the situation at the time, maintained that the defeat of tsarist Russia would increase the revolutionary ferment in the country. He pointed out that "the cause of Russian freedom and of the struggle of the Russian (and world) proletariat for socialism depends very largely on the military defeats suffered by the autocracy"

The tsarist autocracy was attempting to seize new territories in Manchuria and Korea. From the very first days of the war tsarism suffered crushing defeats. One reverse followed another. This shameful war exposed to the whole world, and to the millions of working people in Russia, all the rottenness of the autocracy, the incompetence and corruption of its generals and officials. It caused profound dissatisfaction among all sections of the population and the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement

In the beginning of January 1905, the Japanese took the fortress of Port Arthur, which the tsarist generals had declared impregnable. This threatened the complete rout of the tsarist army.

Lenin wrote as follows of the fall of Port Arthur. "It is not the Russian people, but the autocracy that has suffered shameful defeat. The Russian people gained by the defeat of the autocracy. The capitulation of Port Arthur is the prologue to the capitulation of tsarism."

During this period turbulent strikes broke out in the country. In December 1904 a general strike took place in Baku. In the early part of January a strike began in the Putilov works in St. Petersburg, which soon spread to all the plants, factories and workshops in the capital. On January 9 (new style, 22) 1905, masses of workers, at the instigation of the priest Gapon, proceeded to the tsar's palace to present their demands. The petition which the workers were taking to the tsar included a number of political and economic demands contained in the program of our Party. These had been included in the petition on the demand of the revolutionary workers of St. Petersburg. The tsar's soldiers met the peaceful workers' delegations with bullets. Many thousands of workers were killed and wounded. The Russian proletariat had received a bloody lesson which it never forgot.

When Lenin heard the first news of the events of January 9, he immediately grasped their full revolutionary significance. The revolution which the Party was preparing under Lenin's guidance had come. "The revolution has begun," said Lenin. He saw plainly that the time was ripe for making direct preparations for an armed uprising.

While the Mensheviks tried to represent the January days as an isolated episode in the struggle of the working class, Lenin realized that the country was entering a new stage in its history. "The working class has received a great lesson in civil war; the revolutionary education of the proletariat made more progress in one day than it could have made in months and years of drab, humdrum, wretched existence."

Lenin, far from Russia, intently followed the course of events, closely studied the news items from Russia which appeared in the various foreign newspapers, verified them and compared them with his letters from Party functionaries. From day to day he guided the work of the Party committees in Russia, sending instructions and letters to various comrades, bringing up matters he wanted clarified in order to ascertain all the details of the situation. He followed events in every part of the country, wherever a struggle was proceeding, working out detailed concrete instructions for the Party. Nothing escaped his attention.

The proletariat and its Party were faced with new militant tasks—it was necessary to map out the future course of the struggle. It was clear to Lenin that the hour of armed insurrection had come and that preparations must be made rapidly and thoroughly.

Lenin had already spoken of preparing for a popular armed uprising in his pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?* In an article dealing with January 9 he wrote that it was now necessary not only to propagate armed insurrection but also to organize it. The immediate arming of the workers was the main task. "Only an armed people can serve as a real bulwark of popular liberty." He pointed out that the working-class movement had advanced to a higher stage, that it was beginning to develop into insurrection. He called upon the proletariat to learn the art of civil war.

"Revolution is war. It is the only legitimate, just, really great war of all the wars known to history. It is a war waged not in the selfish interests of a small group of rulers and exploiters, like each and every other war, but in the interests of the mass of the people against tyrants, in the interests of millions and tens of millions of exploited and toiling people against arbitrariness and force."

Again Lenin reread all that Marx and Engels had written on insurrection. He pored over military books. He made a careful study of the experience of barricade fighting and guerrilla warfare, the experience of past insurrections and in particular the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871. He not only

called for preparation for an uprising, but thought out all its technical details.

He himself carefully edited the translation of the pamphlet on street fighting by General Clusier, of the Paris Commune. Lenin considered this pamphlet valuable because it gave concrete instructions on how to build barricades, take possession of houses, fortify them, use bombs, etc.

Lenin organized the purchase and sending of arms to Russia for the proletarian detachments which were being formed.

In a series of articles in *Vperyod* he expounded the principles of proletarian tactics. He pointed out that organization must be developed on a gigantic scale "Organize and organize hundreds of groups" He called for the widespread enlistment of the youth, particularly in the fighting groups.

"In Russia there are hosts of people, it is only necessary to enlist the youth widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and still more widely and boldly, *without being afraid of it.*"

The leadership of the revolutionary struggle must devolve on the proletariat. The proletariat must support the struggle of the entire peasantry against the tsar and the landowners. It will support the struggle of the rural proletariat and the poor peasants against the kulak class, and against the bourgeoisie as a whole. The working class through its methods of struggle (strikes, armed insurrection) would set the peasantry an example of how to fight.

Lenin said that a successful uprising would lead to the creation of a new power. The workers should strive to establish the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in place of the rule of the tsar. The provisional revolutionary government, set up by the revolution, would destroy all traces of the autocracy and ensure political freedom for the proletariat and the peasantry. Immediately after this the working class would develop the struggle for the socialist revolution and for the complete abolition of all exploitation. Both revolutions were closely interconnected. The execution of this plan called for the consolidation of the Party

Lenin insistently urged his comrades to call the congress. He exposed the conciliators on the Central Committee who were delaying the convocation of the congress. The Third Congress was to rally the Bolsheviks and give leading directives. It was a special type of congress, to muster militant forces on the eve of decisive battles.

Lenin issued the slogan "The congress must be simple (like a war council), short (like a war council) and small in numbers (like a war council). It is a congress to organize war."

Finally, in April 1905, the congress was convened in London. Lenin's efforts had been crowned with success.

The headquarters of the congress was in a garret. Here Lenin had a long talk with each delegate, carefully questioning him about everything, however trivial, concerning the revolutionary movement in the particular locality from which he had come. At the same time, in an unobtrusive fashion, he taught them by expounding his own views to them.

Representatives of twenty-five committees were present at the Third Congress, *i.e.*, of a considerable majority of the organizations in Russia. The Mensheviks, having been elected by only nine committees, did not attend the congress, and organized a conference of their own. The Third Party Congress was a completely Bolshevik congress.

Prior to the congress Lenin had made drafts for all the principal resolutions and written articles in support of them in *Vperyod*. Lenin directed the whole work of this Bolshevik Congress, took an active part in the various commissions, carefully studied all the Bolsheviks gathered there, planning how and where each could best be utilized in the cause of the revolution.

Lenin's inspired speech on proletarian tactics in the revolution held everyone with its iron logic. He pointed out new paths of struggle for the Party, and exposed the opportunist views and slogans of the Mensheviks.

In their pamphlets and newspapers the Mensheviks voiced bitter opposition to the organization of an uprising and to all Lenin's strategic and tactical plans.

Fearing the revolution the Mensheviks repeated, parrot-like, that the revolution was a bourgeois revolution and that in the event of victory all power should be yielded to the bourgeoisie. They objected to the participation of the proletariat in a provisional government, rejected the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, and were opposed to the organization of armed insurrection.

Lenin showed that insurrection is the only path to the victory of the proletariat. He said that the victory of a proletarian uprising could be consolidated only by the formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government, which would be the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

At the congress he said "If the autocratic government is really overthrown, it must be replaced by another. And that other can be only a Provisional Revolutionary Government. It can derive its support only from the revolutionary people, *i.e.*, from the proletariat and the peasantry. It must necessarily be a dictatorship, *i.e.*, not an organization for 'order,' but an organization for war."

The congress discussed in detail all questions connected with organizing and carrying out an armed insurrection. It pointed out that the mass strike was a powerful weapon of political struggle and that it must be turned into insurrection. It was not enough merely to agitate for insurrection, technical preparations must also be made for it: arms must be accumulated, plans drawn up as to where to build barricades, what points in the city should be occupied, etc.

Lenin pointed out that the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, together with the working class, was a driving force of the revolution, for the success of the revolution would give the peasantry land. The seizure of the landowners' estates by the peasantry was a most important revolutionary act, because it would destroy the power of the landowners, who were the chief force from which tsarism derived its support. On no condition would our Party do anything to hold the peasantry back from this step. On the contrary, it would support the

peasantry and strive for the complete seizure of all the landed estates.

The congress altered the Party rules, adopting Lenin's formulation of Point 1. At the congress Lenin resolutely insisted on placing more and more workers on the committees. He proposed that for every two intellectuals on the committees there should be eight workers.

"To place workers on the committees is not only an educational but also a political task. The workers have a class instinct, and with slight political experience workers fairly soon become staunch Social-Democrats."

The Third Congress consolidated the Bolsheviks and elected the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

In his announcement about the decisions of the Third Congress, Lenin, on behalf of the Central Committee, spoke as follows on the tasks confronting the working class:

"The proletariat is not afraid of great tasks. It scornfully rejects those who predict that disaster will come to it from its victory. The Russian proletariat will be able to carry out its duty to the end. It will be able to stand at the head of a popular armed uprising. It will not be afraid of the difficult task of participating in the Provisional Revolutionary Government, if that task falls to its lot. It will be able to repel all counter-revolutionary attempts, ruthlessly to crush all enemies of freedom, to defend the democratic republic with all its strength and to attain in a revolutionary way the realization of our minimum program. The Russian proletarians must not fear, but passionately desire this outcome. Having achieved victory in the impending democratic revolution we shall thereby make a gigantic stride forward towards our socialist goal."

At the time this militant Bolshevik congress was being held, a Menshevik conference was also taking place. While the Bolsheviks were centring their activities on preparations for an armed insurrection, the Mensheviks did not even consider the questions of arming the masses and of working among the soldiers, and rejected every sort of technical preparation for insurrection.

The Bolsheviks proposed the formation of peasant committees

and the seizure of the landed estates, the Mensheviks deferred the settlement of the agrarian question until the Constituent Assembly had been convened. On other questions also the Mensheviks adopted an opportunist position. The sharp divergence of opinion between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks on all the questions raised by the revolution was fully apparent.

Immediately after the Third Congress, Lenin in his brilliant work *The Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* explained these fundamental differences. It was necessary to formulate sharply both standpoints and set the proletariat absolutely definite tasks. This pamphlet showed the working class and the peasantry the paths they had to take in order to triumph over the autocracy, and how to bring about the victory of the proletariat over tsarism and the bourgeoisie. Lenin explained in detail the essence of the differences between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks and justified his own theory of revolution. In this famous pamphlet, said Stalin, he "depicted the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution as two links in the same chain, as a single and complete picture of the sweep of the Russian revolution."

Lenin held that the leading role in the revolution belonged to the working class and its Party. The impending revolution would of course be a bourgeois and not a proletarian revolution, *i.e.*, it would not be immediately directed against the foundations of capitalism, it would be directed against the autocracy and against feudal survivals. But this bourgeois revolution was advantageous to the proletariat and the peasantry. It was necessary to the proletariat because it cleared the way for the further struggle for socialism.

Lenin said that the proletariat must lead the revolution, and would be victorious in the fight if it was joined by the mass of the peasantry. The bourgeoisie supported the revolution inconsistently, from self-interest, half-heartedly. At the first slight concession made to it by the autocracy, as soon as its narrow selfish interests were satisfied, the bourgeoisie would inevitably go over *en masse* to the side of the counter-revolution, to the side of the autocracy against the revolution, against the people.

The peasantry, on the contrary, would firmly support the revolution and the republic because the revolution would give it land.

The decisive victory of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, would lead to the conquest of power and the formation of a provisional government of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. This dictatorship would institute a number of revolutionary measures for the abolition of the survivals of feudalism.

In the course of the struggle the proletariat would organize and increase its forces, win to its side the poor peasantry, and direct its blows against capitalism—the bourgeois revolution would grow into the socialist revolution.

"The proletariat must carry out to the end the democratic revolution, and in this unite to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution and in this unite to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie."

Lenin concluded his pamphlet with the words "At the head of the whole of the people, and particularly of the peasantry—for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited—for socialism!"

Thus Lenin brilliantly mapped out the path, which our Party has travelled victoriously. What could the Mensheviks offer in opposition to these concise Bolshevik tactics?

They said: if we were entering on the period of bourgeois revolution, then the leading role must belong not to the proletariat but to the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is only the assistant of the bourgeoisie and cannot set itself its own independent tasks. The Mensheviks did not believe in the revolutionary power of the peasantry and were opposed to an alliance with it. As we have seen, they were also against armed insurrection.

While Lenin pointed out that all the conditions existed in

Russia for the immediate development of a successful bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, the Mensheviks maintained that the revolution would merely introduce a lengthy period of bourgeois supremacy. The Mensheviks thus showed themselves to be veritable agents of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin also continued his fight against the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary Party. The Socialist-Revolutionaries, like the Mensheviks, denied the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, they too were merely abettors of the bourgeoisie.

"The Achilles' heel of petty-bourgeois politics," wrote Lenin, "is its complete inability to free itself from the ideological and political hegemony of the liberal bourgeois. The petty bourgeois are hangers-on of the Cadets, not by accident, but by virtue of the fundamental economic features of every capitalist society. The chief task of Social-Democracy—a task absolutely alien to the mind of the Mensheviks—therefore, is to work steadily to destroy the hegemony of the liberal over the democrat, to work steadily to free the petty-bourgeois masses from the influence of the Cadets and to bring them under the influence of the Social-Democrats."

The developing revolution required the most intense struggle with the Mensheviks and in particular with Trotsky, who represented Menshevism in its most dangerous form.

Trotsky advanced the slogan "No tsar, but a labour government." This meant that Trotsky conceived of the revolution without the peasantry. Elaborating this "theory" of his, Trotsky said that it was futile to talk of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, of an alliance with the peasantry and of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry because the peasantry was bound to go against the working class. Trotsky maintained that the revolution in Russia could triumph only when the power of the victorious European working class was established throughout Europe, when the victorious European proletariat would assist the Russian proletariat in its struggle with the peasantry. This was the kernel of Trotsky's notorious "theory" of "permanent revolution." But if the working class did not have the peasantry as an ally and did not

lead it, then by that very fact, it was not the leader of the revolution. Without the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, both victory over tsarism and the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution were impossible.

Lenin sharply criticized Trotsky's stand and pointed out that this seemingly "revolutionary" theory of Trotsky's was essentially Menshevik, that it disarmed the working class.

The "theory" of permanent revolution showed that its supporters not only underestimated the role of the peasantry in the revolution, but also lacked faith in the hegemony of the proletariat and in the ability of the working class to win over and lead the peasantry. This anti-revolutionary "theory" of Trotsky's was directed against the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was not by chance that Trotsky had already come out against the dictatorship of the proletariat at the Second Congress in 1903.

Meanwhile the revolutionary struggle in the country was increasing.

In the May Day Proclamation of 1905 Lenin characterized the situation in the country in the following words

"Never before has Russia experienced such an awakening from slumber, oppression and bondage, as now. All classes of society have stirred, from the workers and peasants to the landowners and the capitalists, voices of indignation have been raised on all sides, in St Petersburg and the Caucasus, in Poland and Siberia. . . . The struggle for freedom is becoming a popular struggle."

The growth of the proletarian movement found its echo in the countryside. Farm labourers' strikes began to break out, the peasants refused to pay their taxes, and then real uprisings against the landowners began, accompanied by the destruction of the landowners' manors

In the summer of 1905 there was a continuous wave of workers' disturbances all over the country, which here and there developed into clashes with the police and the troops.

The continued defeats suffered at the front and the destruction of the tsarist fleet at Tsushima added further fuel to the

revolutionary struggle. The army and the navy were already beginning to be "infected" with revolutionary ideas and in part went over to the side of the revolution. In June a mutiny broke out in the Black Sea on board the battleship *Potemkin*. The red flag was also hoisted by other vessels of the Black Sea fleet.

Vassilyev-Yuzhin relates that Lenin, when sending him to Russia to the mutineers, pointed out the necessity for resolute action on the part of the revolutionary vessels

"They must make every effort to bring the rest of the fleet under their control. I am confident that the majority of the fleet will join the *Potemkin*. All that is needed is to act boldly and resolutely. Then send a torpedo-boat for me immediately. I shall leave for Rumania."

"Do you seriously think all this is possible, Vladimir Ilyich," I asked involuntarily.

"Of course, I think it absolutely possible. All that is needed is to act resolutely and swiftly," he repeated with firmness and conviction.

Although the *Potemkin* mutiny was put down, the mutiny in the fleet was a sign that the bulwark of tsarism—its army and navy—was shaky, and that the armed forces of the country were beginning to join forces with the workers.

Workers' strikes and peasant disturbances continued to take place. The revolution was spreading.

In order to bring vacillation into the camp of its adversaries and placate the bourgeoisie, the tsarist government announced that it would convene an advisory State Duma, *i.e.*, an assembly of representatives from different sections of the population to "take counsel with them" on the situation in the country. In this Duma the workers had absolutely no voice. Lenin immediately exposed this clumsy trick and called on the workers to boycott the Bulygin Duma (so called after the tsarist minister Bulygin). Lenin summoned the workers to continue the offensive against the autocracy still more resolutely and to prepare for armed insurrection.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in the country swept aside the Bulygin Duma.

CHAPTER VII

ARMED INSURRECTION

THE SMALL APARTMENT OF THE ULYANOVs IN SLEEPY petty-bourgeois Geneva was the headquarters of the Russian revolution. The inhabitants of the town, looking askance at the life of the Russian émigré Lenin, his meetings with newly-arrived Russians, and his regular work in the library, never suspected that this outwardly undistinguished and modest individual was tensely directing a gigantic struggle against Russian tsarism.

The incipient revolution swelled the influx of revolutionaries from Russia, who furnished Lenin with detailed accounts of the progress of the struggle. The number of letters and news dispatches in the paper increased. The work grew in intensity, the prospects brightened.

Each day Lenin viewed, as it were, the map of military operations of the revolution and gave instructions directing the struggle of the different detachments.

Most of the Central Committee members (Krassin, Bogdanov, and others) were in Russia. But the work of the Central Committee was proceeding sluggishly.

Lenin was not satisfied with the work of the Central Committee and considered that it did not properly estimate the new situation. He cuttingly wrote "There is no Central Committee, no one is conscious of its existence, no one takes any notice of it. . . . The political leadership of the Central Committee in the Party is not evident. . . ." And he showed the reason for this: the members of the Central Committee thought they could lead in the old way, by conversations, by personal meetings. That

was utopian. "They must lead publicly," *i.e.*, through leaflets, through the press, by speaking at district meetings, and so on. Lenin sought to have the Central Committee issue leaflets and bulletins.

Lenin insistently demanded the immediate summoning of all the Central Committee members to a meeting many questions had to be settled. He pointed out that the Fourth Congress was now not far off, and preparations must also be made for it. He called on the members of the Central Committee to get down to work properly. "Approach the workers more boldly and widely." He gave the Central Committee instructions on all questions of organizing the proletarian struggle.

In the autumn of 1905 Lenin wrote in a letter to Russia: "Our revolution is going on well in Russia. We hope to return soon." He saw plainly the path along which the struggle of the proletariat must develop. The most rapid preparation for insurrection was the main thing. Lenin proposed that the masses be organized into hundreds and thousands of fighting detachments, which should arm themselves as best they could and make all possible preparations.

In St. Petersburg a Fighting Committee was formed, subordinate to the Party Committee, to prepare for insurrection. But this committee worked placidly and Lenin chided it for merely talking of arming, but taking no practical steps. "Go to the youth. *Immediately* establish fighting detachments everywhere, among the students and especially among the workers, and so on and so forth."

In his instructions, "On the Tasks of the Revolutionary Army," Lenin thoroughly and concretely, without overlooking the slightest detail, taught how actually to prepare for armed insurrection.

Fighting detachments must be formed, beginning with two or three people. These should arm themselves as best they can—with rifles, revolvers, bombs, spades for erecting barricades, wire, nails for use against the cavalry, etc.

Lenin enumerated the methods by which these detachments should be trained. they should collect arms, engage in all sorts

of reconnoitring, get plans of the prisons, police stations and ministries, find houses suitable for conducting street fighting, etc

"The insurrection has already begun," said Lenin. And events were indeed developing at a furious pace Under the leadership of our Party the printers' strike in Moscow rapidly developed into a general strike Strikes broke out in other towns here and there barricades were erected and in some places the troops refused to fire on the workers

On October 20 (old style, 7) a strike began on the Moscow-Kazan railway. By the following day the strike had already extended to all the Moscow lines and was continuing to spread An all-Russian congress of railwaymen drew up a list of demands to be presented to the government Meetings and demonstrations took place everywhere, accompanied by clashes with the Cossacks and the troops. Factories and workshops went on strike The movement spread to the students The Bolsheviks under Lenin's guidance worked with furious energy. Scores of leaflets were issued by the Central Committee of the Party, and by local committees Party agitators and organizers worked unceasingly in the factories, workshops, and railway depots. Its representatives were tireless in speaking at meetings, explaining to the masses the slogans of Bolshevism, and calling on them to wage a determined fight against tsarism The strike continued to spread

By October 25 (12) all the railways of the Russian empire, with the exception of Finland, were on strike The general strike embraced Moscow, St Petersburg, Poltava, Kursk, Saratov, Samara and other cities

On October 26 (13) elections to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were held in all the St Petersburg factories and workshops, and the first session of the Soviet took place that night

Even the bourgeois intelligentsia began to join the workers' strike. Lawyers, civil servants, employees in state institutions, pharmacies, etc., came out

In St Petersburg the telephone and telegraph operators went on strike, strikes broke out in the State Bank and in the Ministry of Finance In Moscow the troops besieged the university, where revolutionary meetings were going on There were uprisings

in Transcaucasia, in the Baltic regions and in Poland. All through the country armed clashes with the troops occurred. Barricade fighting took place. The peasant movement swept the country, landlords' mansions were set on fire.

The autocracy was forced to make concessions to keep from losing everything. On October 30 (17) a manifesto of the tsar appeared. This manifesto promised that a State Duma, in which the people would be represented, would be summoned. The tsar promised "freedom."

The revolution had scored its first victory.

The following day, October 31 (18), the tsar's chief gendarme, Trepov, notorious for his savage methods of dealing with revolutionaries, gave the order "Spare no bullets!" Volleys were fired into the crowd at the Technological Institute in St. Petersburg. In response to orders from the capital, pogroms organized by the Black Hundreds took place throughout the country.

Lenin, the Bolsheviks, were never for a moment deceived by the promises of the government. "The government began to yield in words, but immediately set about preparing an attack in deeds," Lenin wrote in *Proletary*.

On the subject of the tsarist concessions Lenin wrote "We must win not a promise of freedom, not freedom on paper, but real freedom. We must achieve not the humiliation of the tsarist government, not the recognition by it of the rights of the people, but the destruction of this government, for the tsarist government is the domination of the Black Hundreds over Russia."

Therefore the only guarantee of freedom was the might of the armed people. The Bolsheviks were mobilizing the masses for the further struggle for the armed overthrow of tsarism.

The Bolshevik Party came out from underground. Party newspapers and proclamations began to be printed in legal printing shops. Party meetings were held almost openly.

The workers were not deceived by the tsar's promises; they knew that these were empty words. The struggle continued. The working class, under the leadership of the Party, was working for the complete overthrow of the autocracy.

But tsarism also was hastily mustering its forces. The gendarmes and police continued to organize wholesale pogroms against the Jews and massacres of revolutionary workers throughout the country, and to shoot down revolutionary proletarians and peasants

Lenin decided to return to Russia. He left Stassova in Geneva as the representative of the Central Committee, to maintain contacts and to get help for the Party abroad. Before his departure Lenin once more tried to win Plekhanov over to the side of the Bolsheviks and asked him to work on the Bolshevik paper, but Plekhanov remained with the Mensheviks

In November 1905, Lenin returned to Russia. A plenum of the Central Committee, in which Lenin took part, was immediately called.

Lenin now guided the Party and the revolutionary struggle directly on the spot. From morning till late at night he talked with the comrades from St Petersburg and other cities, giving them instructions and explaining the political situation of the country. He directed the work of the Central Committee, spoke at Party meetings, and waged a furious struggle against the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Party felt that its pilot was at the helm, guiding the struggle of the proletariat with a firm hand. The leader of the revolution was now in the midst of the revolutionary masses. The Bolshevik teachings were being tested in battle.

A Bolshevik paper *Novaya Zhizn* (*New Life*) was now being published in St Petersburg. Through this paper Lenin guided the Party, writing a number of articles appraising the situation and the distribution of class forces, and pointing out what had to be done.

In the first article Lenin said regarding the Party "The conditions of activity of our Party are undergoing a radical change. Freedom of assembly, of association and of the press has been seized." These legal possibilities must be widely utilized. But to depend on this proclaimed freedom would be stupid and criminal, the fight is still before us. "The secret apparatus of the Party must be preserved."

Workers must be drawn into the Party more boldly and on a broader scale. "Forward then boldly, take up the new weapon, distribute it among new people, extend your strongholds, rally all the Social-Democratic workers around yourselves, incorporate them in the ranks of the Party organizations by the hundreds and thousands!"

Lenin's second article expounded the policy on the peasant question

Lenin made a report in the St Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and the Soviet, on the basis of his report, adopted a resolution on the lock-out declared by the capitalists

After the organization of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in St. Petersburg, soviets were organized in other cities also. The soviets became the organizational centres of the revolution. The Mensheviks, alarmed by the extent of the movement, tried to convert the soviets into organs of self-government, similar to municipal councils.

For Lenin the soviets were organs of insurrection, the embryonic organs of popular power. Lenin pointed out that the soviets must be utilized for further strengthening and organizing the proletariat and for preparing a new offensive against tsarism.

Soviets of Workers' Deputies were formed in Moscow, Rostov, Yekaterinburg (where Sverdlov was working), Samara, Kharkov, Yeniseisk, Krassnoyarsk and other cities. The Bolsheviks stood at the head of the soviets, and guided by Lenin's instructions converted them into militant centres of revolution.

In November 1905 a general post and telegraph strike was organized through the whole of Russia. A new mutiny broke out in the Black Sea fleet. Here and there mutinies occurred in the army.

The Bolshevik Party, under Lenin's leadership, tirelessly organized the masses, increasing their fighting organizations, and actively guiding the revolutionary struggle in the country. It persistently carried out Lenin's plan of organizing a nationwide armed uprising for the defeat of tsarism.

On Lenin's initiative the First Party Conference met in Tammerfors, Finland, in December. The proposed congress of the Party could not take place, partly because a number of the com-

rades could not leave their districts, where they were leading the rapidly developing revolutionary struggle, and partly because of the railway strike. The conference was held in place of the congress.

At the Tammerfors Conference, at Lenin's suggestion, a change was made in the agrarian program of the Party, in line with the decisions of the Third Congress. The Party declared its support of the revolutionary measures of the peasantry, including the confiscation of all landed estates.

Stalin took an active part in this conference as a delegate from Transcaucasia.

Here it was that he, along with many other delegates, first met Lenin. Lenin, as usual, appeared at the session promptly, before many of the delegates had arrived, and immediately began to talk in a corner to a few of the early comers. As ever, he was simple and modest, but everyone saw and knew that this short man, so ordinary in appearance, was the great leader of the proletarian Party, and they listened to his every word.

Comrade Stalin thus describes the impression made on the conference by Lenin's speeches on current affairs and the agrarian question.

"These were inspired speeches which roused the whole conference to an outburst of enthusiasm. Extraordinary power of conviction, simplicity and clarity in argumentation, short sentences intelligible to all, the absence of posing, the absence of violent gesticulations, high-sounding phrases, and playing for effect—all this favourably distinguished Lenin's speeches from the speeches of ordinary 'parliamentary' orators. But it was not this aspect of Lenin's speeches that captivated me at the time. I was captivated by the invincible power of logic in Lenin's speeches which, though somewhat dry, nevertheless completely overcomes the audience, gradually electrifies it, and then holds the whole audience captive."

The whole country was in the throes of revolution. In the last three months of 1905 nearly a million and a half people had come out on strike. The peasant risings against the landowners took place under the direct influence of the revolutionary struggle of the working class. While in the spring of 1905 peasant

uprisings had occurred in only 17 per cent of the districts of Russia, in November 1905 peasant uprisings occurred in 52 per cent. Hundreds of landowners' manors were burned. The revolutionary struggle of the working class and the peasant uprisings shook the mainstay of tsarism—the army. While in the spring and summer of 1905 only scattered outbreaks had occurred in the army and in the navy, in the autumn 89 revolutionary outbreaks had taken place. The Bolsheviks conducted extensive agitational work in the army, publishing a number of newspapers for the soldiers.

The Mensheviks refused to prepare for an armed uprising. They declared that there was no need to make organized preparations for it, and that they would agree to recognize an uprising only if it broke out spontaneously, of its own accord.

The Menshevik Martov wrote the workers must be armed not with arms but with "a burning desire to arm themselves." The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, headed the revolutionary struggle, prepared for an armed uprising, bought arms, and armed the workers. This militant work was carried out under Lenin's instructions by the best Bolshevik organizers. Litvinov wrote in a letter to Lenin and Krupskaya:

"The thought of procuring arms haunts me. We could completely free last year's channels for the transport of munitions, but where are we to get the money? How happy are the Mensheviks! The transport of the 'burning desire to arm themselves' does not cost them a thing, but then our stubborn workers are not inclined to be content with that."

In December 1905, the government launched a determined offensive against the revolution. The St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies was arrested. The revolution went on. It returned blow for blow. At the decision of the Party a general strike began in Moscow. Stormy demonstrations and clashes with the troops took place. The strike, led by the Bolshevik Moscow Committee, developed into an uprising. Barricades were erected all over the city. The tsar sent artillery and regiments of the guard from St. Petersburg against the workers. Uprisings and barricade fighting also took place in other cities: in Krassno-

yarsk, Rostov-on-Don, Sormovo, and in the cities of Latvia, Transcaucasia, etc.

In Moscow the tsarist troops surrounded the Pressnya district, where the revolutionary detachments were concentrated. The artillery destroyed the last barricades. Mass arrests and executions of workers took place. After long and bloody battles the uprising in Moscow was crushed. It was also crushed in the other cities.

The revolutionary movement of the proletariat had advanced in these weeks to a higher plane. The mass strike had developed into insurrection. But victory was not yet within reach.

Summing up the situation, Lenin pointed out that the December uprising was a new step forward in the struggle of the proletariat, and proposed that the Party should learn from the experience of the uprising and prepare in a more organized manner for a new offensive against the tsar. "They should not have resorted to arms," declared the Mensheviks, including Plekhanov, after the defeat of the December uprising, definitely abandoning all their revolutionary positions. They vilified the heroic struggle of the proletariat.

The beginning of 1906 found the country on the eve of the elections to the State Duma. Lenin pointed out that the revolution was not over, and that the struggle of the people for power was still going on. It was necessary to prepare for a new upsurge. It was necessary to prepare for insurrection. The State Duma was a clumsy counterfeit of popular representation. The workers and peasants could not have their representatives elected to the Duma. Taking part in the elections would not increase the fighting preparedness of the proletariat, but only disorganize it. Taking part in the elections would encourage the people in the belief that the Duma might possibly do something for the emancipation of the toilers. Therefore they must not participate in the Duma. The Duma must be boycotted. The main thing was to prepare for a new offensive of the revolution.

The Bolsheviks followed Lenin's lead and boycotted the elections. The Mensheviks stood for participation in the elections. They wanted to pass quickly from revolution to peaceful con-

ditions. They envied the European reformists Parliamentary prattle was what they wanted. They sought a speedy agreement with the bourgeoisie and were ready to compromise with the autocracy

Lenin actively directed all Party work, spoke at the St Petersburg Party Conference, and travelled to Moscow to advocate his views in the Party organizations there In the elections to the Duma the bourgeois Cadet Party received a great many votes Appraising the situation which had arisen, Lenin, in his pamphlet, *The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party*, pointed out that the success of the Cadets was temporary, that they were clearing the way for the triumph of the landowners and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie The Cadets would strive for an agreement with the autocracy at the earliest opportunity in order to combat the workers and peasants. Our task was not to support the Cadet Duma, but to organize the masses for battle and victory.

In this pamphlet Lenin explains what the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is

It is "*the employment of violence by the people against those who employ violence against the people*". Unrestricted power beyond the law, resting on force in the strictest sense of the word—this is the dictatorship"

The tsarist autocracy is the dictatorship of the minority directed against the mass of the people, against the toilers The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry would be the dictatorship of the majority, directed against the exploiters, against the minority which oppresses the people

Lenin called for the continuation of the workers' and peasants' offensive against tsarism

The Party went on with its work of purchasing and importing arms Commissioned by Lenin, Litvinov, Stomonyakov, and other Bolsheviks travelled to various countries, buying arms Litvinov, passing as an officer from Ecuador, bought rifles and loaded them in Bulgaria on a yacht, ostensibly for the Armenians in Turkey A storm interfered with the shipment. But the purchase of arms did not cease.

Lenin was preparing the Party for new battles.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLUTION GOES ON

THE DEFEAT OF THE DECEMBER UPRISING IN MOSCOW DID not mean the defeat of the revolution. In the spring of 1906 Lenin wrote "The lull is not to be regarded as the defeat of the revolutionary forces, but as a period of accumulation of revolutionary energy." In 1906, 1,108,000 people went out on strike. Peasant uprisings and revolutionary outbreaks still occurred in the army and navy. Civil war continued in the country. It was necessary to prepare for a new armed uprising.

In the beginning of 1906, Lenin made preparations for the summoning of the Fourth, Unity Congress. This congress met in April 1906.

Why was this congress a "unity" congress? In Russia the workers who followed the Mensheviks were fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Bolshevik workers against tsarism. A sort of "united front" was formed from below. The congress was a "unity" congress, but the leading Party centre of the Bolsheviks and the Bolshevik leading committees locally continued to exist as independent centres.

As usual, before the congress opened, Lenin spoke at length with the arriving delegates, questioning them in detail, "sounding out" their views, and rallying his supporters. Voroshilov, the Donbas delegate to the congress, describes how at one of these meetings Lenin listened to the reports of all the delegates, made a brief résumé of the reports, and then began to talk with the delegates.

"During these conversations Vladimir Ilyich joked a great deal, between his jokes he would ask first one delegate then

another a number of varied and often unexpected questions. He was interested literally in everything. He listened with equal interest to the accounts of the elections to the State Duma, of the intrigues of the Mensheviks, of the Cadets, of our fighting detachments, their training and equipment, of the Cossacks in the vicinity of Lugansk, of the peasants who had seized landowners' estates, and so on. I vividly recall the enthusiasm with which Vladimir Ilyich seized on this or that bit of information which corresponded with his ideas, or bore out his assumptions.

Vladimir Ilyich made a tremendous impression on me. Everything about him struck me as unusual—his manner of speech, his simplicity, and, above all, his penetrating, soul-piercing eyes.”

The congress was attended by 46 Bolsheviks and 62 Mensheviks. At this congress the R.S.D.L.P. amalgamated with the national Social-Democratic Parties (the Lettish and the Polish parties and the Bund).

Stalin attended the congress as delegate from Transcaucasia. He supported Lenin and spoke vigorously against the Menshevik majority. In his speech he developed Lenin's idea of the hegemony of the proletariat, and said that “the proletariat cannot refrain from active participation in the organization of armed insurrection or from the seizure of power.”

The fierce struggle waged by Lenin against Menshevism dominated the whole proceedings of the congress. He succeeded in winning over some of the delegates of the national parties (Letts and Poles).

In his speeches Lenin set forth the whole Bolshevik program, and sharply attacked the opportunist “theories” of Menshevism. The Mensheviks directed all their fire against Lenin.

On the question of the agrarian program Lenin and the Bolsheviks proposed that the revolutionary peasantry be resolutely called upon to attack the landowners. Lenin proposed that the demand for the confiscation of the landed estates and the establishment of revolutionary peasant committees be included in the program, in line with the decision of the Tammerfors Conference. He defended the demand for the nationalization of the

land, *i.e.*, the transfer of the land to the state, in the event of the establishment of a democratic republic. In putting forward these demands Lenin had in view direct revolutionary struggle by the peasantry—a peasant insurrection.

Sharp disagreements also arose on other questions. Lenin held that the revolution was nearing a new upsurge, that the main thing was the struggle of the broad masses, that the proletariat must lead the revolution and induce the peasantry to follow it.

The Mensheviks staked all their hopes on the Duma. In their opinion the revolution was already over. They would hear nothing of armed insurrection and guerrilla warfare. The congress adopted resolutions formulated in the spirit of Menshevism. The victory of the Mensheviks at the congress did not for a moment discourage Lenin, but only increased his energy.

"I remember," Stalin says, "the Bolshevik delegates gathering together in a small crowd gazing at Lenin and asking him for advice. In the conversation of some of the delegates one detected a note of weariness and depression. I remember Lenin, in reply to such talk, sharply saying through his clenched teeth 'No snivelling, comrades, we shall certainly win, because we are right.' Hatred for snivelling intellectuals, confidence in one's own strength, confidence in victory—that is what Lenin talked to us about at that time. One felt that the defeat of the Bolsheviks was a temporary one, that the Bolsheviks must be victorious in the near future."

"'No snivelling in the event of defeat.' This is the peculiar feature in the activities of Lenin that helped him to rally around himself an army that was faithful to the last and had confidence in its strength."

This congress revealed once again not only the differences of opinion between Lenin and Plekhanov on all fundamental questions of the revolution, but also the complete difference in their natures.

Lenin talked intimately with the worker delegates, patiently clearing up their doubts. He spent a considerable part of his time during the recesses of the congress in this way. The delegates got to feel that Lenin was really one of their own, that he was

closely linked to the working masses in thought and in spirit.

Plekhanov was reserved, lofty and unapproachable. He would make his entrée at the sessions of the congress as if on a stage where he was to play a leading role. He behaved like a "general" (as was said at the time). He did not speak, he laid down the law. He adopted a lofty patronizing attitude towards those with whom he spoke, and frequently treated their remarks with contempt. When talking to workers he was utterly incapable of striking the right note. The worker delegates treated him with respect, but they did not trust him. He was not one of them.

As an orator Plekhanov was distinguished for his great wit and brilliant rhetoric, but his eloquence was marred by artificial fervour, theatrical gestures, and his inner lack of fire. He spoke "like a lawyer."

Lenin's speeches were intended not for histrionic effect, but to convince his hearers and explain to the workers the Bolshevik line. He did not strive after high-sounding phrases or witticisms. He constructed his speech like a strong, well-built edifice, where everything is in place, everything is plain and strongly cemented. His hearers were gripped by his iron logic, his passion and conviction, and his brilliant mind. They saw from the first words that his speeches were not calculated to draw the applause of the audience (as Plekhanov's often were), but were the speeches of a fighting leader, addressing the broad masses of the people, leading them into the fight for socialism.

In the spring of 1906 Lenin spoke under the name of Karpov at a huge mass meeting in the People's Hall in St. Petersburg. His speech gripped the whole audience. The workers saw that here was a genuine leader of the revolution whom they could follow boldly. After the meeting the crowd dispersed singing revolutionary songs and carrying red flags made of strips torn from their shirts.

Strikes were taking place all over the country. A new wave of peasant unrest was rising. The tsarist government organized anti-Jewish pogroms and shootings, brought troops to St. Petersburg, dissolved the State Duma, and suppressed all the socialist papers. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, were organizing the rev-

olutionary struggle of the masses. The Party appeals evoked a live response in the ranks of the soldiers and workers.

In July 1906, a sailors' and soldiers' uprising took place in Sveaborg, mutinies broke out among the sailors in Kronstadt and Reval, there were strikes and bloody conflicts with the police in a number of other towns.

Summing up the situation which arose after the dissolution of the Duma, Lenin said "The dissolution of the Duma marks a complete turn towards absolutism" Lenin called for a determined struggle against the autocracy, not stopping at insurrection. He actively prepared for a general strike in St Petersburg in support of the Sveaborg and Kronstadt revolts. He himself instructed the comrades who were being sent to Sveaborg by the Party to lead the revolt. He directed the military organizations of the Bolsheviks.

But the autocracy succeeded in crushing the uprisings. The tsarist police unleashed their fury, raids, arrests, and executions took place.

Lenin, who had been living in St Petersburg under an assumed name all this time, hiding first in one house and then in another, was now obliged to go to Finland. He moved to Kuokkala, an hour's journey from St Petersburg. From there he directed all the activities of the Bolsheviks. Every day comrades came to him with letters, papers, and material, and received his directives and commissions.

In Kuokkala, Lenin lived in a cottage with other Party comrades. He had a small room on the first floor, two beds, covered with plain cheap blankets, stood along the walls, and between them was a small table covered with a sheet of newspaper. The room was cluttered with books.

For several months the sessions of the Bolshevik Central Committee and other Party meetings were held here. Routine Party matters were discussed here also.

When the wave of revolt subsided Lenin did not lose heart. He called for preparations for a new offensive against tsarism.

At the same time he proposed that the tactics with regard to the State Duma be revised. Formerly the Bolsheviks had boycott-

ed the Duma, Lenin now proposed that they take part in it because the political situation had changed

The Party should enter the elections to the Second Duma in order to utilize the Duma as a medium of agitation and propaganda. Lenin pointed to the struggle in the Duma "as one of the ways of teaching, educating and organizing the proletariat into an independent, class party, as one of the means of political struggle for the emancipation of the workers."

However, while participating in the work of the State Duma, the Bolsheviks should devote the major part of their attention to the mass organization of the proletariat and to its immediate struggle.

Lenin defended the possibility and the necessity of guerrilla warfare. In civil war, he said, the party of the proletariat is a *fighting party*. Guerrilla warfare is one of the forms of armed struggle. It can be resorted to because it strikes at the adversary and throws him into confusion.

"Partisan warfare," Lenin wrote, "is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement has actually reached the point of insurrection and when fairly large intervals occur between 'big engagements' in the civil war."

During the election campaign the Party of the working class had to define its stand: would it conclude an agreement with any other party or would it appear independently?

Several parties had entered the elections: the Black Hundreds, who defended the absolute monarchy, the power of the police, and the landed estates, were the most savage enemies of the people, pogromists, champions of the pogromist government, the so-called Octobrists, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the champions of the merchants and of the manufacturers, the Cadets, the representatives of the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie, who were trying to come to terms with the tsar against the workers and the peasants, the Trudoviki, who defended the interests of the small property-owners, and reflected the revolutionary sentiments of the peasantry, and finally, the Bolshevik Party.

The Mensheviks endeavoured to have the workers' party come to an election agreement with the Cadets, the party of the

liberal monarchist bourgeoisie. They were eager to subordinate the working-class movement to the bourgeoisie. Lenin resolutely fought against entering into an agreement with the bourgeoisie. "Away with *blocs*!" he said. "The workers' party must be independent in fact in its election campaign, not in words alone." Only in this way is it possible to assist the formation and consolidation of an independent, proletarian party

Day after day Lenin directed the Duma election campaign, especially the campaign in St. Petersburg. There eight of the fourteen electors chosen by the workers were Bolsheviks. (The population first chose electors and these electors chose the deputies to the State Duma)

Lenin sharply attacked the disruptive activities of the Mensheviks during the elections and the Mensheviks' attempts to disrupt the independent line of the workers' party. The Menshevik Central Committee decided to bring Lenin to a Party trial for these attacks, but they did not dare to carry out this decision. Lenin exposed the Menshevik Central Committee, and the Bolsheviks won over local committees and ousted the Menshevik opportunists from the leadership

Lenin closely followed the struggle inside and outside the Second State Duma, which had been convened in February 1907. He stigmatized the treachery of the Cadets, the conciliatoriness of the Mensheviks, the wavering of the *Trudoviki*. He firmly guided the Bolshevik organizations.

The position of Lenin, of the Bolsheviks, was clear they were in favour of a "Left bloc," *i.e.*, of entering into an agreement with the representatives of the toiling peasantry in the State Duma (the *Trudoviki*) in order to influence them and prompt them to a revolutionary struggle against the autocracy, the landowners and the bourgeois parties. They stood for an alliance with and the leadership of the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle within the State Duma and outside it

The elections to the Second State Duma graphically showed the essential changes in the alignment of class forces in the country. The monarchist-landowner and bourgeois parties had increased their strength considerably. At the same time, however,

the discontent of the proletariat and the peasantry had not died down. The revolutionary ferment in the country was growing.

The Party had to take stock of the new situation, give decisive battle to Menshevism, which placed all its hopes on the State Duma, strengthen the influence of the proletariat on the revolutionary peasantry, and plan its tactics of struggle.

In order to settle these questions the Party summoned its next congress (the Fifth) in London in the spring of 1907.

At this congress the Bolsheviks, with the support of a section of the Lettish and Polish delegations, carried their point on a number of questions. The congress was attended by over 300 delegates, representing 150,000 Party members. One-third of the delegates were workers.

This congress strikingly revealed the headway made by the Bolsheviks in the ranks of the proletariat. Under Lenin's leadership the Party had trained not only tens of thousands of steeled fighters for socialism, but also scores of working-class leaders who afterwards became leaders of the proletarian revolution and the Soviet state.

All the main resolutions for this congress were drawn up under Lenin's guidance. Lenin made a number of speeches at the congress. He sharply criticized the behaviour of the Menshevik Central Committee in the period between the two congresses and its anti-revolutionary position. In his speech, then in a special article, on the attitude towards the bourgeois parties, he demonstrated the entire correctness of the Bolshevik position with regard to the bourgeoisie. The liberal bourgeoisie, Lenin said, had definitely gone over to the camp of counter-revolution. It was trying to halt the revolution. There could be absolutely no question of coming to any agreement with it. At the same time Lenin pointed out the incorrectness of the Menshevik views on the peasantry. The Mensheviks did not regard the peasantry as the ally of the proletariat. But actually, precisely the peasantry, in its fight for land, in its fight against the landowners, was supporting the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Lenin said at this congress

" . . . The bourgeoisie cannot be either the chief driving force

or the leader of the revolution. Only the proletariat is capable of carrying the revolution through to the end, *i.e.*, to complete victory. But this victory can be attained only if the proletariat succeeds in carrying with it a large section of the peasantry. The victory of the present revolution in Russia is possible only as the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

On this question the congress adopted the Bolshevik resolution which Lenin had drawn up. At Lenin's suggestion the congress passed a strong vote of censure on the Menshevik proposal to summon a non-Party labour congress, which the Mensheviks wanted to substitute for the Party. This was a Menshevik attempt to put an end to the Party as the vanguard of the working class. The congress rejected the Menshevik proposals, including their slogan "Preserve the Duma at all costs," a slogan which the Mensheviks had borrowed from the Cadets.

The congress elected Lenin to the new Central Committee. The Bolsheviks left the London Congress victorious.

Stalin, who attended this congress as the delegate of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks, gave a comprehensive evaluation of the work of the London Congress of the R S D L P in his "Notes of a Delegate to the Fifth Congress," published in the *Bakinsky Rabochy* in 1907. Stalin pointed out that Bolshevism represented the tactics of genuine proletarians, while Menshevism represented the tactics of the semi-bourgeois elements of the proletariat. Later on, with regard to his meetings with Lenin at the Fifth Congress, Stalin relates

"I then saw Lenin for the first time in the role of victor. Usually victory turns ordinary leaders' heads, makes them proud and boastful. Most frequently, in such cases, they begin to celebrate their victory and rest on their laurels. But Lenin was not in the least like such leaders. On the contrary, it is precisely after victory that he became particularly vigilant, on the alert. I remember Lenin at that time earnestly impressing upon the delegates: 'The first thing is, not to be carried away by victory and not to boast, the second thing is, consolidate the victory, the

third thing is, crush the opponent, because he is only defeated, but not yet crushed by a long way.' . . .

"'No boasting of victory,' this is the peculiar feature in Lenin's character that helped him soberly to weigh up the forces of the enemy and to ensure the Party against possible surprises"

After the congress Stalin returned to the Caucasus, settling down in Baku. Here he rallied the organization around the slogans of the congress, directed the publication of the illegal organ *Bakinsky Proletary*, and organized a successful struggle to oust the Mensheviks from the district committees in Baku. Baku became a stronghold of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks were active throughout the country.

The resolutions of the London Congress had barely reached the local organizations when the Party found itself confronted with new political tasks

CHAPTER IX

THE YEARS OF REACTION

HAVING WEAKENED THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE masses by arrests and executions, tsarism decided on a *coup d'état*. Its aim was to retrieve at one stroke the concessions made under pressure of the revolution, and to re-establish the absolute authority of the tsar and his officials. The autocracy launched a determined offensive.

On June 16 (3) 1907, the Second State Duma was dissolved, and the Social-Democratic fraction arrested and brought to trial. The electoral law of 1905, governing elections to the Duma, was revoked, and replaced by a new electoral law decreed by the tsar. The new law weakened the representation of the workers and peasants in the State Duma and strengthened the representation of the bourgeoisie and the landowners. All the Social-Democratic and Left bourgeois papers were suppressed. Mass arrests of revolutionary workers took place.

The Party which had just passed through a period of revolutionary upsurge was now faced with the need to make a retreat. Under the skilful leadership of Lenin, the Party made this first retreat with a minimum of losses and mishaps.

Once again the important question confronting the Party was whether or not it should participate in the elections to the Third State Duma. A section of the Bolsheviks favoured boycott. L. Kamenev was particularly strong in his advocacy of this policy. Lenin advocated taking part in the elections. He said that the boycott of the Duma had been correct when the paths of direct

revolutionary struggle were open. Now the situation was changed. It was necessary to strengthen the illegal Party and to utilize all legal possibilities of contact with the masses. The Third State Duma must be used as a public rostrum. Kamenev and the other advocates of the boycott did not acknowledge this.

Lenin, exposing the boycotters, wrote

“since the accursed counter-revolution has driven us into this accursed pigsty [the State Duma—*P. K.*], let us work even there for the benefit of the revolution, without whining, but also without boasting.”

At the conference of the St. Petersburg organization and at the All-Russian Conference in Finland, Lenin opposed the boycott of the State Duma. The majority of the conference supported Lenin. The Party decided to participate in the elections.

The autocracy seemed to have firmly consolidated its position. Our Party was driven deep underground. Its foremost leaders were in exile, in prison, or abroad. The workers' press was stifled. The trade unions were broken up and crushed. The strike movement had subsided: there were 3,000,000 strikers in 1905, 1,000,000 in 1906, 400,000 in 1907 and only 174,000 in 1908; and in 1909 the number had diminished to 64,000. The tsarist police had entangled the workers' organizations in a net of *agents provocateurs*. An *agent provocateur* (Malinovsky) even wormed his way into the central organs of the Party and the fraction of workers' deputies to the Duma.

Most of the intelligentsia, who not so long before had played at revolution and shouted “Down with the autocracy!” now went over to the Black Hundreds, or completely abandoned politics. The liberal bourgeoisie became more counter-revolutionary and more violent than ever in its fight against the workers' Party. In the countryside, the kulaks, taking advantage of the Stolypin decree which facilitated the purchase of land by the well-to-do peasants, increased their holdings and squeezed out the poor peasants. Even among a certain section of the working class a mood of depression set in.

In the ranks of the Bolshevik Party itself there were, as we have seen, groups of vacillators, who quailed before hardships,

groups of opportunists. Some intellectuals left the Party altogether. Lenin wrote angrily of this to Gorky

" . . . The Party is being purged of petty-bourgeois rubbish, the workers are applying themselves more to the work. The role of the professional revolutionaries from among the workers is increasing. All this is splendid "

Amid the hideous orgy of reaction only Lenin, only the Bolsheviks, held aloft the red banner of revolution. In those years of reaction heavy blows were dealt to the Bolshevik Party, but it did not surrender. Lenin was able to preserve under his leadership the main forces of the Party

" . . . The great defeat . . . gives the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary class a real and very useful lesson, a lesson in historical dialectics, a lesson in the understanding, in the skill and in the art of carrying on the political struggle. . . .

"The revolutionary parties must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they must understand that it is necessary to supplement this knowledge with the knowledge of how to retreat properly. They must understand—and the revolutionary class by its own bitter experience learns to understand—that victory is impossible without having learned both how to attack and how to retreat correctly. Of all the defeated opposition and revolutionary parties the Bolsheviks effected the most orderly retreat."

The Bolsheviks in exile, in penal servitude, and abroad, were all inspired by one idea and one sentiment: they knew that the Bolshevik banner, unblemished, was in the mighty grasp of Lenin, and that the hour of a new militant offensive was not far off. They prepared for the decisive battles with tsarism. They carefully took stock of their forces and purged the Party of all unreliable elements. They rallied to the Bolshevik slogans.

In the autumn of 1907 Lenin went abroad to attend the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart.

In his fight to win the working masses over to his side, Lenin took an active part in the international congresses and meetings of the Second International. Exposing the opportunists as agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, Lenin patiently ex-

plained to the foreign workers the essence of Bolshevism. Vital questions stood on the agenda of the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International, questions of the struggle against war, of colonial policy, etc., which were soon to split the International into two halves

At this congress the German delegation proposed that a resolution be adopted justifying a policy of colonial expansion.

Even then the German Social-Democrats had begun to take a definite stand in defence of imperialism and its policy of oppressing the colonies. After a controversy, in which Lenin led the revolutionary delegates of the congress, the proposal was defeated

Writing on this question, Lenin said that the colonial policy leads to a section of the proletariat becoming infected with colonial chauvinism, and succumbing to bourgeois ideology. The bourgeois governments bribe the upper stratum of the workers and some of the "leaders," throwing them a few crumbs from their colonial plunder, and thereby making them their servants.

Thus, even then Lenin noted the danger which faced the European labour movement, which led to the complete collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the war—to the betrayal of the interests of the working class.

Lenin raised the question of anti-militarism in its entirety, striving for a revolutionary resolution on this question. Lenin brought out that this resolution would be significant only if it indicated the inevitability of the social revolution and the readiness of the proletariat to adopt the most revolutionary methods of struggle.

Lenin together with several other delegates introduced amendments to the draft resolution on anti-militarism. These amendments stated that militarism was a major weapon of class oppression, pointed out the need for carrying on agitation among the youth, emphasized that the task of the Social-Democrats was not only to fight against war, but also to utilize the crisis generated by the war to hasten the fall of the bourgeoisie. This latter formula already contained the germ of Lenin's later slogan "Transform the imperialist war into civil war"

These amendments were adopted by the congress. And thus

a resolution was obtained, as Lenin expressed it, "rich in ideas and accurately indicating the tasks of the proletariat "

At this congress the opportunism of German Social-Democracy was especially marked, and Lenin raised this question sharply

At the congress he rallied around him a group of Lefts (Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and others) and arranged a secret meeting of the Lefts to combat the opportunism of the leaders of the Second International. While supporting the Lefts when they exposed the opportunist policy of the leaders of the Second International, Lenin at the same time criticized them when they deviated from a consistent revolutionary policy

In an article written shortly after the Stuttgart Congress Lenin wrote

"We must criticize the mistakes of the German leaders fearlessly and openly if we wish to be true to the spirit of Marx and help the Russian Socialists to rise to the present-day tasks of the working-class movement "

After the Stuttgart Congress Lenin became a member of the International Socialist Bureau as the representative of the Bolshevik Party

In the past, the opportunists of the Second International had taken every measure to keep Lenin out of this central organ of the international labour movement. They had constantly supported the Mensheviks in their fight against the Bolsheviks. This time they had to give in—it could no longer be denied that the powerful workers' Party of Russia was behind Lenin

In the International Bureau Lenin continued to combat opportunism in the European labour movement, consistently exposing the opportunist leadership of the Second International. In the article "Marxism and Revisionism" (1908) Lenin wrote that the disagreements between the revolutionary Marxists and the opportunists would inevitably become sharper in the period of direct proletarian revolution, and that the revolutionaries and the opportunists would be on different sides of the barricades

In view of the special importance of the agrarian question in the Russian revolution, Lenin in 1908 worked on a book dealing with the agrarian program of Russian Social-Democracy in which

he made a thorough analysis of the stand of the Bolsheviks and the other parties on the agrarian question

In the winter of 1907-08 the tsarist government began to arrest revolutionaries who were in hiding in Finland. Lenin was obliged to move into the heart of Finland. The tsarist police pursued him there also. A warrant for his arrest was issued, and Lenin was forced to emigrate abroad. It was impossible to board a steamer in the usual way, because all the wharves were watched by police spies. It was necessary to avoid the wharves, and board the steamer from an island. But to reach this island he had to walk about three versts over the ice. Although it was December, the ice was not yet hard. While making his way across the ice in the night, Lenin narrowly escaped drowning when it began to crack under his feet.

Lenin travelled via Stockholm to Geneva. Then began the difficult time of his second period of exile abroad, a period which lasted nine and a half years. It seemed as though the revolution were crushed and tsarism victorious. But Lenin was not one of those whom defeat reduces to despondency and inaction. He immediately set to work. On the very first day of his arrival he wrote a letter inquiring if there was a printing shop where it would be possible to start publishing a Bolshevik newspaper. He summoned Party members from other cities to form the editorial board of the paper *Proletary*. About a month later he wrote to Gorky "All is in working order, in a day or so we shall publish our announcement."

Once again the paper had to become the rallying centre of the Bolshevik forces. It had to unfurl the militant Bolshevik revolutionary banner, and by assimilating the experience of the revolution, prepare the Party and the working masses for a new offensive.

In February 1908, the publication of *Proletary*, the central organ of the Party, was resumed.

In an article in this number of *Proletary* Lenin concluded with the words "The Social-Democrats have built up a proletarian party, which is not disheartened by defeat in the first battle, does not lose its head, and is not carried away by risky ventures.

This party is advancing towards socialism, without linking itself or its fate to the issue of any particular period of bourgeois revolutions. It is for this very reason that it is free of the weaknesses of bourgeois revolutions as well. And this proletarian party is advancing to victory ”

Summing up the years of revolution, Lenin showed that the fundamental problems of the revolution had not been solved, and that the struggle against the autocracy was still proceeding. In the years of the revolution the lines of demarcation between classes in Russia had been definitely drawn. The liberal bourgeoisie had become counter-revolutionary. It was on the side of tsarism. The Black Hundred nobility and the big bourgeoisie dominated the State Duma. They were the true bulwark of the autocracy. The working class and the toiling masses had acquired practical experience of revolutionary struggle. They were still grievously oppressed and at the first opportunity would again give battle. The task of the Party, wrote Lenin, is to preserve the illegal Party organization and develop widespread revolutionary agitation among the masses. Under the difficult conditions created by the reaction, the underground party, led by Lenin, grew strong and established contact with the broad strata of the working class.

In the years of reaction the Mensheviks sought to destroy the workers' party, arguing that the illegal party ought to be liquidated.

They hastened to go over to exclusively legal forms of activity, renounced the struggle against the autocracy and the landowners and called on the workers to become reconciled to the autocracy and to refrain from revolutionary methods of struggle. They concealed this treachery behind various high-sounding, false phrases.

A large part of the Menshevik leaders became Liquidators (the term applied to those who sought to "liquidate" the illegal organization). Only Plekhanov and a few others insisted on the necessity of preserving the illegal party.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party was in a state of complete disintegration. Its Right wing was openly "adapting itself to the

interests of the prosperous peasant" (Lenin), and was actually performing the same work as the tsarist ministers.

The "Left wing" of the Socialist-Revolutionaries went in for expropriations of a semi-criminal nature, and various risky ventures.

The "leaders" of the Socialist-Revolutionaries also favoured the liquidation of the illegal Party. At the same time they did not take part in the work of the State Duma, concealing themselves behind the backs of the *Trudoviki*. Lenin fought passionately against the Liquidators, those vile traitors to the working class, and against the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The Party Conference which was called in Paris in December 1908 supported Lenin's standpoint. It censured the Liquidators, pointing out that attention should be directed mainly to the formation and strengthening of the illegal Party organization, while at the same time utilizing all legal and semi-legal possibilities (the Duma, the trade unions, various societies, the press, etc.). The conference pointed out that strong Party cells in the factories and workshops should form the basis of the Party organization.

The more tsarism raged, the more the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries veered to the Right. More and more clearly they revealed themselves as agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class and the peasantry.

The tsarist government, while continuing its policy of terror, tried at the same time to bribe the upper stratum of the peasantry, the kulaks. A law sponsored by the tsarist minister Stolypin was passed, whereby the peasants were permitted to leave the rural commune, and the purchase of land was facilitated. It was primarily the kulak elements who availed themselves of this right. They acquired farms of their own, received the best land, and bought up the holdings of the ruined poor peasants. As a result of this policy the hatred of the poor and middle strata of the peasantry for the landowners and the kulaks was intensified, but the government gained a measure of support in the countryside.

After the revolution the land question still remained the centre of attention of all classes of society. As if to supplement the

pamphlet he had just written on the agrarian program, Lenin wrote a detailed article entitled "The Agrarian Question in Russia at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in which he gave a clear political and economic analysis of conditions in the Russian countryside. These two works of Lenin's on the land question provided the Party with carefully compiled material defining the class contradictions in the Russian countryside, and marking out the way for united action by the proletariat and the peasantry under its leadership.

In these years of discord certain elements in our Party evinced political instability. An opposition group known as Otzovists (recallists) sprang up under the leadership of Bogdanov. They demanded the recall of our deputies from the State Duma on the grounds that the Duma was the instrument of tsarism. This was in substance a repetition of the tactics of boycotting the Duma. The Otzovists refused to avail themselves of any legal means of struggle. The Party would have been deprived of the opportunity of carrying on agitation among the masses and organizing them through the speeches of its deputies in the Duma. These tactics would only have resulted in the Mensheviks getting control of all the legal organizations.

Alongside the Otzovists there arose another group known as the Ultimatumists, whom Lenin termed "shamefaced Otzovists." The Ultimatumists demanded that our fraction in the Duma be presented with an ultimatum to carry out a revolutionary policy, and if this ultimatum were not fulfilled, the fraction was to be recalled from the Duma. Lenin pointed out that our deputies should be criticized for their mistakes, and at the same time be trained and instructed. Threats or ultimatums would not improve the work of the fraction.

Lenin carried on a determined struggle against the Otzovists and Ultimatumists, or, as he dubbed them, "Liquidators turned inside-out." It should be added that the Otzovists and the Ultimatumists, who jointly founded the *Vperyod* (*Forward*) group, also opposed Lenin's tactics of utilizing all possible legal means of struggle. In June 1909, Lenin called a meeting of the enlarged Editorial Board of the *Proletary*, at which a resolution to

expel the Otzovists and the Ultimatumists from the Party was adopted

The Party's differences with the Otzovists and Ultimatumists were very great. The majority of the latter (Bogdanov, Lunacharsky, and others) departed from the philosophic teachings of Marx, from materialism, and began to develop definite leanings towards idealism, some of them even inclined towards religion and "god-building". Lunacharsky, for instance, openly called for the combining of socialism with religion. The petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, which had stood with the Party in the years when the tide of revolution was at its height, withdrew from the revolutionary struggle with the first approach of the tide of reaction, and lapsed into mysticism and religion.

Seeing the necessity for resolutely combating these idealist theories, Lenin set to work on a book in defence of Marxist philosophy. To this end, Lenin made a thorough study of over 200 authors of philosophic works and made a special journey to London to avail himself of the library of the British Museum. For five months, along with his regular political activities, Lenin worked tirelessly on his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

This philosophic work of Lenin's is one of his most important writings, and ranks on a par with the philosophic works of Marx and Engels. At the very time when the leaders and theoreticians of the Second International were persistently departing from the materialism of Marx and going over to idealism, Lenin was developing and enriching the teaching of dialectical materialism, raising it to a new level.

"Perhaps the most striking expression of the great importance which Lenin attached to theory," Comrade Stalin wrote, "is shown in the fact that he himself undertook, in the realm of materialist philosophy, the very serious task of generalizing all the most important achievements of science from the time of Engels down to his own time, as well as subjecting to comprehensive criticism the anti-materialist currents among Marxists. Engels said that 'materialism must take on a new aspect with each new great discovery.' We all know that none other than Lenin ful-

filled this task, as far as his own time was concerned, in his remarkable work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

"It is well known that Plekhanov, who loved to chaff Lenin for his 'lack of concern' for matters of philosophy, did not even dare to make a serious attempt to undertake such a task."

In this book Lenin dealt a crushing blow at those who attempted to revise the philosophy of Marx. During the same period, in a number of articles on religion and in letters, he sharply attacked the effort to stultify the proletariat with religion and every form of god-seeking and god-building.

In a letter to Gorky Lenin wrote

"God-seeking differs from god-building, god-making, or god-creating, and so forth, no more than a yellow devil differs from a blue devil. To talk about god-seeking not in order to deny *all* devils and gods, all intellectual necrophilia (every god is necrophilia—even though it be the most pure and ideal god, a god not sought for but in the making), but in order to prefer a blue devil to a yellow devil is a hundred times worse than saying nothing at all.

"In the freest countries, countries in which the appeal 'to democracy, to the people, to public opinion and to science' is *entirely* out of place—in such countries (America, Switzerland, and so on) the minds of the people and the workers are most zealously blunted precisely by ideas of a pure and spiritual god, a god in the making. Every religious idea, every idea of any kind of god, even every flirtation with god, is inexpressible vileness, vileness that is greeted very tolerantly (and often even favourably) by the *democratic* bourgeoisie—and for that very reason it is the most dangerous vileness, the most abominable 'plague.' Millions of sins, evil deeds, acts of violence and *physical* contagions are far more easily exposed by the crowd, and are therefore far less dangerous, than the *subtle*, spiritual ideas of god dressed up in the most handsome, 'ideological' costumes. The Catholic priest who seduces girls (of whom I happened by chance to read in a German newspaper) is *far less* dangerous to 'democracy' than a priest without a frock, a priest without a coarse religion, an intellectual and democratic priest who preaches the making and

creating of god. For the first priest is *easily* exposed, condemned and expelled, whereas the second *cannot* be expelled so easily, it is a thousand times harder to expose him, and not a single 'frail and pitifully unstable' philistine will agree to 'condemn' him

"And you, knowing the 'frailty and pitiful instability' of the Russian (why of the Russian? Is the Italian any better?) *philistine* soul, becloud this soul with poison, with the sweetest, the most sugar-coated poison, wrapped in all sorts of coloured paper!

"Really, this is terrible!

"Enough of the self-disparagement which among us replaces self-criticism."

"And is not god-building the *worst* form of self-disparagement? Anybody who engages in building a *god*, or who even permits the idea of the building of god—*disparages himself* in the worst fashion, for instead of 'acting' he engages *in fact* in self-contemplation, in self-admiration, and, moreover, this person 'contemplates' the most filthy, stupid and servile features or futilities of his 'ego' apotheosized by god-building."

In numerous articles, letters and conversations, Lenin taught the Bolsheviks how to defend the revolutionary theory of Marx, how to strengthen the underground Party, how to take advantage of every legal possibility and carry on a steadfast struggle with Right and "Left" opportunists

In the years of reaction Lenin and the Bolsheviks continued to fight against Trotskyism

Trotsky played the part of a centrist, endeavouring by Left phrases to disguise the treachery of the Liquidators while in actual fact he helped them.

"Centrism," Comrade Stalin pointed out, "is not a concept of space on the one side, for instance, sit the Rights, on the other the "Lefts" and in between the Centrists. Centrism is a political concept. Its ideology is one of adaptation, of subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie *in the same party* This ideology is alien and contrary to Leninism."

Trotsky tried to depict himself as a man who stood "above

factions," as one endeavouring to reconcile "hostile factions," but in reality he was playing an even more harmful part than the Liquidators, and aiding the enemies of the proletarian party.

Lenin wrote that it was necessary to expose "Judas Trotsky," who was screening the opportunists behind his Left phrases. Trotsky, like the Liquidators, brought bourgeois corruption into the working class. Trotsky adopted the Liquidators' stand on all the fundamental questions of the revolution. He also employed the Social-Democratic press abroad, and with the assistance of the leaders of the Second International spread all sorts of slander concerning the Bolsheviks.

Trotsky published a paper called *Pravda* in Vienna (it was called the Vienna *Pravda* to distinguish it from the Bolshevik *Pravda* which was published in St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1914). In this paper he defended the Liquidators and conducted a campaign against the Bolsheviks. In a letter written in July 1909 Lenin characterized the work of Trotsky in the following terms: "Trotsky is behaving like a most despicable careerist and factionalist. Break with this scoundrel and expose him in the Central Organ. He chatters about the Party but behaves worse than all the other factionalists."

Lenin likewise exposed the conciliators in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party at the time—Kamenev, Zinoviev, Tomsy, Rykov, Nogin, Dubrovinsky, and others—who were endeavouring to unite the Bolsheviks and the opportunists in one party. Kamenev and Zinoviev were carrying on a base, hypocritical policy behind Lenin's back, helping the Liquidators and Otzovists in every way to destroy the Party. Lenin regarded the conciliators in the Party as agents of the avowed opportunists.

Lenin exposed Rykov for "flirting" with anti-Party groups of the *Vperyod* type, and wrote with regard to Rykov's proposed resignation from the Central Committee: ". . . This would be desertion in face of the enemy, a betrayal of Bolshevism at a critical moment."

Although a number of Party organizations were broken up and their most important functionaries arrested and exiled, Lenin steadfastly continued to rally the Party. He was assisted by the

Bolsheviks in Russia and abroad. Notwithstanding all the persecution by tsarism the Party functionaries did not surrender but persistently carried on their work.

Stalin, who was directing the activities of the Bolsheviks in Transcaucasia, was arrested in 1908 and exiled to the Vologda gubernia. Twice he escaped and resumed revolutionary activities. Hundreds and thousands of Lenin's followers and comrades displayed revolutionary tenacity.

In the spring of 1910 Lenin took an active part in the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen. There he united the Lefts in the Second International and fought with determination to have the congress decisions formulated in a revolutionary manner. At the congress he attacked the opportunists as well as the compromisers and conciliators of every hue.

The Mensheviks fought furiously against Lenin at this congress. They said that he was "ruining the Party," and wished that Lenin would disappear or die. When one of the Menshevik leaders was asked how one man could be so dangerous, he answered angrily: "Because there is not another man who for twenty-four hours of the day is taken up by the revolution, who has no other thoughts but thoughts of revolution and who even in his sleep sees nothing but revolution. Just try and handle such a fellow."

Yes, indeed, to cope with such a proletarian leader, who has the following of the masses, was beyond not only the Mensheviks, but all the exploiting classes of Russia, supported by international imperialism.

In these years a sharp struggle went on between the opportunist and revolutionary wings of the German Social-Democratic Party, and a similar struggle developed in the Second International. Lenin in his articles and speeches kept attacking the opportunist leaders of the Second International with increasing sharpness, exposing their policy of treachery to the working class. He pointed out that these leaders were working for the bourgeoisie, and not for the emancipation of the working class. He saw that at the decisive moment they would betray the proletariat.

The leaders of the Second International again tried to inter-

vene in the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks with the idea of weakening the revolutionary Bolshevik Party and lessening its influence on the Russian working-class movement.

Lenin sharply attacked the leaders of the Second International who supported the Mensheviks.

"When Germans write they usually avoid the question of differences. When Russians write in the German Social-Democratic publications, we see either an alliance of all the little groups abroad with the Liquidators for the purpose of heaping the most indecent abuse upon the 'Leninists' (such was the case in *Vorwärts* in the spring of 1912), or the writings of a Tyszko-ist [Tyszko—L. Jogiches—adopted a compromising attitude towards the Liquidators —*P K*], Trotskyite or some other person belonging to a circle abroad who deliberately confuses the issue. For years there has not been a single document, no collection of resolutions, no analysis of ideas, not a single attempt to collect factual data!

"Let us pity the German leaders who are not ashamed to listen to and repeat the tales of their liquidationist informants."

As usual, Lenin sought to lay his disagreements with the leaders of the Second International before the tribunal of the proletarian masses. In speeches and in writing he explained to the foreign workers the essence of Bolshevism. He wrote articles in the foreign socialist press, acquainting the foreign workers with the Russian revolution and with the views of the Bolsheviks.

The Russian revolution had a vast revolutionizing influence on the working-class and national-liberation movements of the whole world. The experience of the Russian general strike began to be applied by the West-European proletariat also. Under the immediate influence of the Russian revolution, bourgeois revolutions broke out in the East (in China, Persia and Turkey). In appraising these revolutions, Lenin pointed out that the national-democratic revolutions of the East were helping the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against international imperialism. The Bolshevik ideas, the ideas of Lenin, were spreading throughout all lands.

The struggle waged by Lenin in the period after the defeat of the 1905 revolution is a model of proletarian leadership. After the triumph of reaction the Party was obliged to retreat. The most brutal tsarist terror reigned. The working-class organizations were broken up. The bourgeoisie had become definitely counter-revolutionary. The intelligentsia, after flirting with revolution in 1905, entered the service of the forces of reaction. In countless articles, in books, and in literature, religious superstitions and slander of the revolution were disseminated. In conditions like these Lenin was able to lead the Party through a difficult retreat, preserving its forces, not only defeating the attempts of the enemy to disorganize our Party, but also routing the Liquidators and the Right and Left opportunists within the Party and steeling and training the Party for the new battles ahead, for the new offensive.

CHAPTER X

LENIN RALLIES THE BOLSHEVIK FORCES

AT THE END OF 1910, FOR THE FIRST TIME AFTER A LONG INTERVAL, street demonstrations were again held. In St. Petersburg ten thousand people demonstrated against tsarism. A new strike wave was rising.

Lenin wrote in December 1910:

"The proletariat, which was in *retreat* (though with considerable intervals) from 1905 to 1909, is collecting its forces and proceeding to take the *offensive*." A complete revolutionary upsurge set in in 1912. It was necessary to organize and lead the revolutionary upsurge which was beginning, and increase activities among the working class.

One of the most important tasks of the Party in this period was the organization of a legal Bolshevik press, which could spread Bolshevik slogans and lead the growing revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

In December of this same year the first number of the Bolshevik periodical *Mysl* (*Thought*) appeared as well as the revolutionary paper *Zvezda* (*The Star*), published in collaboration with Plekhanov and his adherents, who at that time opposed the Liquidators. Lenin wrote regarding *Mysl*:

"It is all ours and delights me beyond measure."

Lenin was now able to write in legal newspapers for the Russian workers, and he sent article after article to Russia. *Zvezda* and *Mysl* became very popular among the workers. Neither the Menshevik *Novsky Golos* (*Neva Voice*) nor *Luch* (*The Ray*)

succeeded in acquiring the influence among the masses which the Bolshevik workers' press enjoyed. Even the Mensheviks acknowledged this. In 1911 the revolutionary mass movement continued to grow.

In the summer of 1911 Lenin organized a Party school at Longjumeau, outside Paris, for worker-Bolsheviks arriving from Russia. This school was the embryo of the Bolshevik Party schools and Communist universities of the future. This school differed greatly from the schools organized by the *Vperyod* group in 1909-10. The Otzovists, Ultimatumists, god-seekers and god-builders, who had all united in the *Vperyod* group, organized schools at Bologna and Capri with the aim of utilizing them for strengthening their anti-Party factions. Lenin severely criticized the organizers of these schools, labelling them "offended *littérateurs*, unrecognized philosophers, and ridiculed god-builders." The fact that the schools were organized precisely at Bologna and Capri was not accidental. They were purposely harboured far from the cities where Lenin and the other leaders of our Party lived.

The method of training Party functionaries at the Longjumeau school differed in principle from that used at the Bologna and Capri schools.

While at the *Vperyod* school in Capri considerable prominence was given to the history of art, the history of Russian literature, the church and the state in Russia, at the Bolshevik school outside Paris lectures were delivered on the agrarian question, on labour legislation, and on the theory and practice of socialism. The theoretical training of the Party forces at Lenin's school in Longjumeau was always connected with the study of current political events. Lenin trained new leaders for the Party from among those who attended this school.

Lenin was strict and exacting with the students during study hours, but in the rest hours he was a simple, pleasant comrade. He conducted a chorus, taught them to sing the *Internationale*, took part in hikes and went bathing with them.

The worker-Bolsheviks studying in the Capri school soon realized that god-seeking philosophy and politics were being served

out to them instead of Marx's teachings. Some of them went to Paris, and began to study under Lenin and other Bolsheviks

Lenin tirelessly continued the work of rallying the Bolsheviks. He saw that new revolutionary battles were approaching. The Party organization had to be strengthened rapidly. And to do this it was necessary to make a complete break not only with the opportunists, but also with all the vacillators, it was necessary to win over the workers who followed the Mensheviks, and to stigmatize the Liquidators, those traitors to the working class

The conciliators (Rykov, Kamenev and others)—those "disguised Trotskyites" as Lenin called them—were delaying the rupture with the opportunists by their policy. In view of the new upsurge in the revolutionary movement it was essential to mobilize the Bolshevik Party and the Bolshevik forces as rapidly as possible and to break completely with the opportunists of every shade

Lenin decided to call a Party conference, which was held in Prague early in 1912, and united the forces of Bolshevism. This conference was carefully prepared for. It was preceded by considerable organizational activity by the Russian Organization Commission among the illegal Bolshevik committees in the industrial centres of Russia. At Lenin's insistence only representatives of the illegal Bolshevik organizations in Russia were chosen as delegates to the conference. As a result of the work of the Russian Organization Commission, twenty delegates representing twenty underground Party committees attended.

The Prague Conference was an important step in strengthening the Bolshevik Party—the Party of a new type, purged of opportunists. The conference expelled the Liquidators from the Party, pointing out that Liquidationism was a manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat. The Party definitely dissociated itself from petty-bourgeois groups and trends, revealed to the masses their anti-Party, anti-proletarian essence, and firmly consolidated the organizational independence of the Bolshevik Party. Dissociation from the Liquidators and other opportunists was made possible solely because the conciliatory attitude towards the Liquidators had been overcome within the Bolshevik Party.

The conference marked the victory over the anti-Leninist deviations within the Bolshevik Party, and left no loophole by which the Liquidators, Mensheviks, and Otzovists could enter the Party.

The Prague Conference elected a new Central Committee, which included Lenin, Orjonikidze and Spandaryan, to guide the entire life of the Party. Stalin, who was in exile at the time, was elected to the Central Committee in his absence.

The Prague Conference pointed out that the basis of the Party was the illegal factory cell, that in its work the Party must rely on the illegal underground organizations, at the same time widely availing itself of all legal forms of struggle (the Duma, the trade unions, workers' clubs and the press)

In connection with the impending elections to the Fourth Duma the Party issued its slogans "A Democratic Republic! The Eight-Hour Day! Confiscation of All Landed Estates!" (In our legal press these three slogans were called the "three pillars") The foremost tasks of the Party were to utilize the legal possibilities, and to consolidate behind the Party those workers who belonged to various legal organizations, where the Menshevik Liquidators in many cases monopolized the work.

The Prague Conference consolidated the Party and rallied it around Lenin. Lenin wrote to Gorky

"At last we have succeeded—in spite of those scoundrels the Liquidators—in regenerating the Party and its Central Committee. I hope that you will rejoice with us in this."

The Mensheviks, Trotskyites, and *Vperyod*-ists, who had been placed outside the ranks of the Party, began a fierce struggle against the conference resolutions, against the Bolsheviks, against Lenin.

Lenin popularized the resolutions of the conference and mobilized the Party around its slogans. He strove to have the resolutions thoroughly discussed in all the Party organizations. He demanded that the Party committees in Russia adopt resolutions on their attitude to the conference without delay and actively put the conference resolutions into effect.

Most of the Party organizations in Russia sided with the

Bolsheviks Stalin, on escaping from exile, made the rounds of a number of districts in Russia, on the instructions of the Central Committee, preparing for May Day demonstrations.

At this time Lenin was living in Paris in a small apartment on the outskirts of the city. His study was a tiny room, the kitchen served as dining-room, drawing room, and reception room. As usual he spent a great deal of time working in the libraries, but the Paris libraries were badly organized and did not satisfy him.

His sister relates that he lived badly, ate poorly, and dressed shabbily. He was bothered by headaches and insomnia. But Lenin did not complain. When questioned by a certain comrade as to his material circumstances Lenin replied that he lived no worse than the average French worker. Actually he lived in worse conditions. Like Marx, Lenin lived in difficult material circumstances. But also like Marx, in spite of this he devoted all his energy and strength to the cause of the working class, to the cause of the world revolution.

In his leisure time Lenin liked to go cycling or walking in the country. Sometimes, in the summer, he managed to get to the seaside for a bathe. He was very fond of bathing, the sea and the sea breezes.

Lenin liked to attend workers' gatherings and visit workers' cafes. He listened with keen interest to a revolutionary singer sing songs directed against the bourgeoisie and the government.

The remoteness of Paris from Russia hampered correspondence and contact with the Russian comrades. In the summer of 1912, Lenin moved to Cracow.

Here Lenin was considerably nearer the Russian frontier. Letters, papers and news from Party comrades arrived sooner. It was easy to get across the border from Russia. Here Lenin could react more quickly to events, and give immediate instructions to comrades working in Russia. Also police surveillance of foreign revolutionaries was not as strict as in Paris. And, most important, from here he could more directly guide the publication of *Pravda* and all the Party work in Russia.

Lenin would work from 9 o'clock in the morning till 12. At 12 the mail came in from Russia. He read the letters and com-

munications together with his comrades and promptly drafted replies, decided on subjects for articles, etc.

Dinner followed (invariably consisting of soup and meat balls). Then Lenin started to work again and worked till 9 p m, after which he himself took the mail to the railway station

Lenin worked intensively, directing from Cracow all the work of the Party, giving instructions to individual Party members and writing or editing all the main articles for the Party press

Events in Russia were developing In April 1912, the workers of the Lena gold fields, marching in peaceful procession to the public prosecutor to petition for the release of comrades who had been arrested during a strike, were fired upon Two hundred and seventy people were killed and several hundred wounded.

The Lena shootings aroused a storm of indignation among the workers throughout the country. Political protest strikes swept all the big industrial centres. Street demonstrations were held In 1912 nearly a million people took part in strikes

A new revolutionary wave had set in

In these days of militant proletarian enthusiasm a new workers' paper—*Pravda*—had come into being The first number of *Pravda* appeared on May 5 (April 22) The publication of a legal Bolshevik daily was a big victory for the working class and its Party The new paper was a true child of the working class and the costs of its publication were met by money collected among the workers. One of the founders and directors of the paper was Stalin In an article "The Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*," Comrade Stalin writes of the moment when *Pravda* was established

"One evening in the middle of April 1912, in the apartment of Comrade Poletayev, two Duma deputies, Pokrovsky and Poletayev, two writers, Olminsky and Baturin, and I, a member of the Central Committee . . . agreed on the platform of *Pravda* and drew up the first number of the paper The technical and material prerequisites for a paper were already at hand, thanks to the agitation carried on by *Zvezda*, to the sympathy of the broad masses of workers and the voluntary mass contributions

for *Pravda* in factories and workshops *Pravda* was verily the result of the efforts of the working class of Russia, especially of Petersburg

"*Pravda* was the centre which organized and rallied the masses around the Party and its Central Committee and around its underground committees. *Pravda* reared and prepared the workers for new revolutionary battles

"*Pravda* made its appearance at a period of the Party's development when the underground revolutionary work was entirely in the hands of the Bolsheviks (the Mensheviks shunned this), but the legal forms of organization—the Duma fraction, the press, the sick benefit funds, the insurance funds and the trade unions, had not yet fully been won away from the Mensheviks This was the period when the Bolsheviks waged a resolute struggle to oust the Liquidators (the Mensheviks) from the legal working-class organizations The slogan 'Remove the Mensheviks from their posts,' was then the most popular slogan of the working-class movement. The columns of *Pravda* were filled with reports of the expulsion from the insurance organizations, sick benefit funds organizations, and trade unions, of the Liquidators, who at one time had been firmly entrenched in them. All six of the seats of the workers' curiæ were won from the Mensheviks The Menshevik press was in the same, or practically the same, hopeless position. This was truly a heroic struggle on the part of the Bolshevik-minded workers for the Party."

Pravda was the very paper which Lenin had written of in 1902 It was not only a collective agitator and propagandist but a collective organizer as well Numerous worker-correspondents grouped themselves around *Pravda* Each number of *Pravda* systematically shed light on the life of the workers, on the life of the factories and workshops Every step of the workers' struggle in this or that factory found reflection and support in *Pravda* *Pravda* became the favourite paper of the workers

Lenin wrote for the paper nearly every day In his letters he gave instructions to the editorial board as to how the paper should be run, he watched how it was being distributed Several times he carefully counted the number of worker-correspondents in

Pravda, and the number of financial contributions sent in by the workers, for this showed that the paper was strengthening its contact with the mass of the workers. In one year alone 11,000 letters from workers were printed in *Pravda*. Kopek by kopek the workers collected tens of thousands of rubles for the upkeep of their paper. Lenin joyfully pointed out that in two and a half years nearly 6,000 workers' groups had made collections for *Pravda*. He commented on the fact that *Pravda* was being supported by the workers themselves while the Menshevik papers received their funds chiefly from the intelligentsia and liberal bourgeois who wanted to help the Liquidators in their fight against revolutionary Marxism.

Pravda, directed by Lenin and Stalin, became the force which helped to unite the Party and helped to bring the majority of the Russian workers to the side of Bolshevism.

The thousands of worker-correspondents, the workers who distributed the papers in the factories and workshops and collected money for the paper, served to link the paper with the masses.

Pravda reflected the workers' needs and showed them how to organize and fight against tsarism and capitalism. By its ceaseless and uncompromising struggle with the Liquidators, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the opportunists of every shade, *Pravda* educated the proletariat in the spirit of Bolshevism. It was the banner of Bolshevism.

Lenin constantly urged his Bolshevik co-workers to contribute to the Bolshevik press—the newspapers *Pravda* and *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and the periodical *Prosveshcheniye* (*Education*). He encouraged them to write, suggested topics, edited their articles and praised them for good work.

He strove unceasingly to bring Maxim Gorky (who at one time was a member of Bogdanov's group) closer to the Party. He thought highly of Gorky, the most outstanding proletarian writer, and persistently explained to him the nature of the errors of Bogdanov and the *Vperyod*-ists. In letters and conversations he demonstrated to him the correctness of the uncompromising Bolshevik position. He got Gorky to contribute to *Pravda*. He was delighted when Gorky agreed to take on the editorship of the liter-

any section of the Bolshevik periodical *Prosveshcheniye*. He wrote to Gorky in Capri: "Our cause is making headway in spite of everything, and the workers' party is being built as a *revolutionary* Social-Democratic party, against the liberal renegades, the Liquidators. It will be our turn to celebrate."

In this business-like correspondence Lenin solicitously inquires after Gorky's health and advises him to take care of himself and get well. He followed Gorky's creative work with interest.

While the working class was rallying around the Bolshevik Party and its leader Lenin, the Liquidators, Trotskyites, and other groups abroad kept up their furious attacks on the Bolsheviks. Trotsky endeavoured to unite all these groups into one single *bloc* (the so-called August *bloc*), which was in reality a *bloc* of Liquidators, enemies of the working class, abettors of the bourgeoisie. Having no influence among the workers, it made the fight against Lenin and the revolutionary policy of the Bolsheviks its main task. It was a conglomeration of all anti-Party elements, united solely in their desire to combat the Bolsheviks. The August *bloc* completely rejected the slogans of revolutionary Social-Democracy and the program of the Party. They advocated a nationalist program calling for "national-cultural autonomy," on the national question. Launching a determined attack on this "offspring" of Trotsky's, the August *bloc*, Lenin characterizes him as follows:

"Trotsky has not and never had any 'political face,' but merely wavers and flits from the liberals to the Marxists and back, with scraps of fine words and high-sounding phrases culled here, there and everywhere. Confusing the non-class-conscious workers, Trotsky defends the Liquidators by remaining silent on the question of underground political activity, and by his assertions that we have no liberal labour policy, etc., etc. Trotsky, having disrupted his own August *bloc*, having rejected all the Party resolutions, having cut himself off both from underground work and from the organized workers, has shown himself to be a splitter of the worst kind."

The centrist stand adopted by Trotsky at this time was an ill-disguised championing of the Mensheviks and Liquidators. In

his letter to the Editorial Board of *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, Comrade Stalin pointed out that Trotsky and his followers were the principal, most important group propagating centrism in Russia, forming for this purpose a special organization—the August *bloc*—as the focus of centrism in Russia. Under Lenin's blows the unprincipled *bloc* formed by Trotsky soon fell apart.

In the middle of the summer of 1912 the Third Duma ceased its work. It was the first to have lasted its full five years. The elections to the Fourth Duma were impending. The Central Committee, considering these elections of exceptional importance, instructed the local Party organizations to mobilize all the Party forces for the election campaign.

Lenin directed the whole election campaign from Cracow, utilizing all available methods of secret work. He sent articles on the elections to *Pravda*, and gave practical advice and instructions to the Party functionaries of St. Petersburg.

Stalin, who had recently escaped from exile in Narym (his fifth term), was living illegally in St. Petersburg, but this did not prevent him from assuming the direct leadership in the election campaign and carrying out Lenin's directives and instructions. He spoke at meetings in factories and workshops explaining the Bolshevik election platform. These speeches entailed enormous personal risk, but the workers' organizations and the workers themselves took measures to safeguard Stalin from the police who were on his track. Stalin wrote the workers' instructions to their deputy, which stated that the deputy in the Duma must carry on a struggle on two fronts: "Against the feudal bureaucratic regime and against the liberal bourgeoisie, who are seeking an alliance with the old regime. . . . And this struggle will be victorious only if the working class will head the people's movement. . . ." These instructions written by Stalin were approved by Lenin. In a letter to Stalin, sent to the editorial board of *Pravda*, Lenin wrote: "These instructions to the St. Petersburg Deputy must absolutely be inserted in bold type in a conspicuous place."

The Party regarded the Duma election campaign as an opportunity for widespread revolutionary agitation and propa-

ganda, as one of the ways of organizing the working masses. The Bolsheviks did not convert the election struggle into a struggle merely for seats in the Duma. The activity of the Duma fraction both in and out of the Duma was of the greatest revolutionary significance.

The electoral law was drawn up in such a way that workers had the utmost difficulty in getting their representatives elected to the Duma. The elections, as was to be expected, resulted in a considerable victory for the Black Hundreds. The workers, however, in spite of all police persecution (arrests, dismissals of worker-electors, suppression of the workers' press, etc.) elected only Bolsheviks to the Duma. Six Bolshevik deputies were elected. A few Mensheviks were elected from non-working-class districts.

Day by day Lenin assisted the group of Bolshevik deputies in their work in the Duma. Immediately after the elections, as soon as all the deputies arrived in St. Petersburg, Lenin raised the question of organizing a fraction. He took a personal interest in each deputy, inquiring about the instructions given them by the workers, how the elections had gone locally, and summing up the election campaign. All the work of the Bolshevik deputies was carried out under the immediate guidance of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin, who was in Cracow, gave them directions with regard to speeches, wrote speeches for them, and instructed them in personal talks during their visits to Cracow.

The Bolshevik fraction in the Duma, under the guidance of Lenin, acted as a vanguard of the proletarian party. Lenin never ceased explaining to the Bolshevik deputies the purpose and significance of the Party's parliamentary struggle. He told the worker deputy to the Duma, Badayev.

"The Black Hundred Duma will never pass any laws relieving the conditions of the workers. The task of the workers' deputy is to remind the Black Hundreds day by day, from the tribune of the Duma, that the working class is strong and powerful, that the day is not far distant when a revolution will rise again which will sweep away the entire Black Hundred along with its ministers and government. Of course he may introduce amendments or even some bill, but all these activities must boil down to one

thing the necessity of branding the tsarist regime, of showing up all the appalling tyranny of the government, of showing that the working class is most cruelly exploited and deprived of rights This is actually what the workers must hear from their deputy ”

The Bolshevik fraction in the Duma carried out all their work in the manner prescribed by Lenin, they used the Duma as a rostrum from which to expose the autocracy and the ruling classes, and to formulate the demands of the workers.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks were growing stronger in the trade unions also In St. Petersburg 14 out of 18 trade unions were led by the Bolsheviks. They also had the majority in the social insurance organizations

Bolshevism scored particularly striking success in the circulation of *Pravda*, which was several times greater than that of the Liquidators’ organ.

The Bolshevik deputies helped considerably both in building up the workers’ press and in Bolshevik propaganda They did not confine themselves to speaking in the Duma and writing for the legal press—they constantly spoke, unknown to the police, at illegal workers’ meetings, where everything could be said openly

At the beginning, the Bolsheviks and the Liquidators formally constituted one fraction in the Duma But though outwardly united, they came into daily conflict on various questions concerning the revolutionary movement. A violent struggle went on between the six Bolsheviks and the seven Mensheviks on practically every question discussed by the fraction.

Taking advantage of their majority of one, the Liquidators obstructed the Bolsheviks in every possible way

With every month that passed it became increasingly evident that the fraction was united only in name. On Lenin’s proposal, the six Bolsheviks formed an independent Bolshevik fraction of their own.

Lenin, while fighting the opportunists in Russia, also waged a fierce struggle against the opportunists in the international labour movement. As before, the most important leaders of the

Second International were on the side of the Liquidators Lenin's articles and the official Party documents often failed to get printed in the Social-Democratic press abroad The opportunists of the Second International strove to have the Bolsheviks unite with the Liquidators, Trotskyites, etc

Lenin made use of every possible opportunity to explain to the foreign workers the essence of Bolshevism and the import of its struggle against the Liquidators, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and others He attacked the opportunist errors of the parties abroad He supported the revolutionary elements in the German, Dutch, Italian and other parties and at the same time criticized the mistakes of these Left groups, which frequently adopted a conciliatory centrist position

At the same time Lenin explained to the Russian workers the most important events in the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat and of the oppressed peoples of the East

Lenin foresaw the possibility of a world war He exposed the infamy of the imperialists who oppressed the workers and exploited the colonial peoples He showed how much inflammable material had accumulated in the countries of Europe and in the countries oppressed by imperialism

During these years revolutions took place in Turkey and in China, and violent general strikes occurred in Ireland and in other countries.

All this signified that the oppressed peoples were beginning to throw off the chains of slavery by revolutionary methods The proletariat, despite the leaders of the Second International, was adopting revolutionary methods of struggle.

The contradictions between the imperialist powers began to lead to armed conflicts War broke out between Italy and Turkey, and also between Turkey on the one hand and Bulgaria and Serbia on the other

In view of the rapid development of revolutionary events in Russia, Lenin, in January 1913, called an enlarged conference in Cracow of the Central Committee and the Party functionaries of St Petersburg, Moscow, and the Urals Stalin, who had escaped from Siberia and was working in St Petersburg, managed

to go abroad, and took an active part in this conference. The conference pointed out that "Russia has entered upon the period of the open revolutionary struggle of the masses" It advanced the slogan of organizing revolutionary street demonstrations, and other revolutionary acts by the masses, and reaffirmed that the main strength of the movement was the illegal Party, and the Party cells, surrounded by a network of legal and semi-legal working-class societies

The increased oppression of nationalities in Russia, the national revolutions in the countries of the East, the continuance of the struggle for national liberation in Europe (the struggle of the Balkan states with the Turks, the struggle of Ireland, Hungary and Poland)—all were signs of the world war which was brewing It was necessary to indicate a clear and definite line for the proletarian party Under such circumstances the national question assumed enormous importance.

During this period Stalin devoted himself assiduously to the study of the national question, writing his famous article "Marxism and the National Question" This question had acquired great significance as a question of reserves in the oncoming world proletarian revolution Lenin, when he came to know of this work of Stalin's, was extremely delighted He wrote to Gorky "We have a splendid Georgian who is devoting himself to writing a detailed article for *Prosveshcheniye*, and has collected *all* the Austrian and other materials."

The articles of Lenin and Stalin laid down the principles of the Bolshevik policy with regard to the national question.

The party of the proletariat fights resolutely against every form of national oppression It demands equal rights for nationalities, it recognizes the right of every nation to secede, and to form an independent state (the right of self-determination). "No nation can be free, if it oppresses other nations"—Lenin was fond of quoting these words of Marx

The peoples oppressed by capitalism are a reserve of the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Lenin pointed out that the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is aimed against

the common enemy—capitalism, and is of special importance to the working class.

Lenin fought against the Mensheviks, the Bundists and the Ukrainian Nationalists as agents of their nationalist bourgeoisie, and against the Left Social-Democrats like Rosa Luxemburg who denied the right of nations to self-determination, maintaining that this destroys the unity of the working-class movement. This position of Rosa Luxemburg's actually helped the defenders of Great Russian chauvinism.

The rapid growth of the revolutionary movement within the country and the gathering war clouds in Europe called for the immediate summoning of a new Party conference.

In October 1913, the conference was held in Poronino, a small town in Galicia, where Lenin and a few other members of the Central Committee had been living during the summer months. At this conference the national question was the subject of special discussion.

In its resolutions the conference proposed that preparations be begun for a general political strike; it confirmed the revolutionary slogans previously advanced: A Democratic Republic, the Eight-Hour Working Day, Confiscation of the Landed Estates.

In 1914 the suspicion arose that Malinovsky, a member of the Central Committee and a deputy to the Duma, was an *agent provocateur*. This was subsequently confirmed. Later Lenin wrote on this subject: "In 1912 Malinovsky, an *agent provocateur*, got into the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. He betrayed scores and scores of the best and most loyal comrades, caused them to be sent to penal servitude and hastened the death of many of them. He did not cause even more harm than he did because we had established proper co-ordination between our legal and illegal work. As a member of the Central Committee of the Party and a deputy in the Duma, Malinovsky was forced, in order to gain our confidence, to aid us in establishing legal daily papers, which even under tsarism were able to carry on the struggle against the opportunism of the Mensheviks and to preach the fundamentals of Bolshevism in a properly disguised

form. While with one hand Malinovsky sent scores and scores of the best Bolsheviks to penal servitude and to death, with the other he was compelled to assist in the education of scores and scores of thousands of new Bolsheviks through the medium of the legal press." After the October Revolution Malinovsky was tried by a proletarian court and shot as a traitor.

The Malinovsky episode could not disorganize the ranks of the Party, headed by Lenin.

In 1914 the rise of the revolutionary movement continued. On May Day over a million workers in the country went on strike, in support of the slogans of the Party

In the summer of 1914 a strike began in St. Petersburg which spread to all the factories. About 300,000 workers came out. Street fighting took place between the workers and the troops, and attempts were made to throw up barricades. Violent strikes occurred in Baku and other industrial cities in Russia.

The Bolshevik Party organizations grew in numbers and in strength. Energetic steps were taken in preparation for the convocation of the next Party congress. The masses were following the Party of Lenin. The country was on the eve of a new revolutionary outbreak. Meanwhile the autocracy was making feverish preparations for war with Germany.

The tsar was preparing to crush the revolutionary movement by this means.

CHAPTER XI

THE WORLD WAR

FOR MANY YEARS THE CAPITALIST POWERS HAD BEEN PREPARING for a world war and a new division of the world. Secret military pacts had been concluded, plans of attack worked out, and huge supplies of arms and munitions accumulated.

On July 28, 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia. On August 1, Germany declared war on Russia and then on France. On August 4, England declared war on Germany, and in a week or so nearly the whole of Europe was at war.

A bloody massacre had begun in which millions of workers and peasants were slaughtered for the sake of the redivision of the world among the capitalist powers.

More than once Lenin had pointed out the approach of a world war. He had outlined the tactics of the workers' parties in the event of war. At international congresses and conferences he had repeatedly drawn the attention of the working masses to the danger of war, to the necessity for revolutionary work in the army and the preparation of the proletariat for a struggle against war.

When the news of the outbreak of war first reached Poronino, the small town in Galicia where he was living at the time, Lenin anxiously waited to see how the workers' parties would react to the slaughter which had begun. He feared that the opportunists, the leaders of the Second International, would betray the working class. Press telegrams confirmed his fears.

Lenin clearly saw the line to be followed by the revolutionary

proletarian party no support whatever for the war and the bourgeois governments, transform imperialist war into civil war

The Austrian authorities arrested Lenin as a Russian; they suspected him of espionage. When Lenin was being searched statistical tables were taken from him in the belief that they were coded entries. Spies reporting on his walks in the environs of the town stated that "he went up the hills and made surveys of the roads."

The police of the belligerent countries, roused by the frenzied articles in the bourgeois newspapers, saw spies everywhere. The military courts disposed of suspect and undesirable persons without ceremony. Suspicion alone was enough to have a person condemned to be shot or subjected to lynch-law.

It was necessary to take immediate measures to save Lenin. Comrades living in Poronino sent telegrams to deputies they knew in the Austrian parliament, stirred up the local authorities, demanding Lenin's immediate release, and succeeded in obtaining an interview with him in jail.

There were many peasants in the jail. Lenin helped them with legal advice, writing out various depositions for them. He soon won great respect there and the peasants called him the "sturdy fellow."

Some newspapers managed to reach the jail. When comrades (Krupskaya and others) came to visit him, Lenin questioned them in detail on the behaviour of the Socialist Parties of the warring countries.

Lenin's case had by this time been handed over to a military court. He was kept in prison eleven days, and it was only after energetic intervention on the part of Russian, Polish and Austrian friends that Lenin was set free. He immediately left for Bern, Switzerland.

By the time Lenin was released from jail the treacherous behaviour of the Socialists of the Second International was fully revealed. The German Social-Democrats had voted for the granting of war credits to the government. The French Socialists sided with their bourgeoisie, the same thing happened also in other countries. The Socialists, the officials of the trade-union

movement, the socialist newspapers took their stand with the bourgeoisie and became defenders of the bourgeoisie.

It was especially disheartening to learn that many Socialists who, before the war, were regarded as belonging to the Left wing of the labour movement (for example Guesde) supported the war.

Opportunism had triumphed in the Second International

The day after his arrival in Bern, Lenin gathered together the Bolsheviks who were living there. He read his theses on the war, which were the basis of all the further tactics of the Bolsheviks.

Of all the leading figures in the Second International Lenin was the only one to come out sharply against the universal treachery of the Socialists, against their going over to the side of the bourgeois governments, and against the slogans of peace with the bourgeoisie. He was the only one to stigmatize this betrayal of socialism and call for the continuation of the proletarian struggle.

Lenin pointed out that the war was an imperialist and predatory war, that it was a war for markets and for the plunder of other countries. The wage slaves of one nation were being incited against the wage slaves of another for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. A vote in favour of the war was a direct betrayal of socialism. It showed that the Second International had collapsed. The collapse had been brought on by the tactics of the opportunists who had rejected the class struggle and continually followed the line of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Socialists, who in supporting the war on the pretext that it was necessary to defend the fatherland were in effect assisting in the plunder, had deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie.

The slogans of the Bolsheviks were: spread propaganda for the socialist revolution, call upon the soldiers to turn their weapons, not against their own brothers, the proletarians of the "enemy" countries, but against their own bourgeois governments, wage a ruthless struggle against chauvinism and against the leaders of the Second International who have betrayed socialism.

Lenin's theses were endorsed at this meeting and forwarded to Russia.

A few days after his arrival in Bern, Lenin learned of Plekhanov's treachery. Like the majority of the Mensheviks, Plekhanov had become a defencist, a social-chauvinist, *i.e.*, calling upon the workers to support the tsarist government in the war. Shortly after, Lenin went specially to hear a lecture on the war by Plekhanov. When it was over Lenin was the only one to put his name down to speak in the discussion. He vigorously attacked Plekhanov's stand and expounded the stand taken by the Bolsheviks.

After he broke with Plekhanov Lenin spoke on the war in several towns in Switzerland. In these speeches (and in letters to Party comrades) he set forth his views in detail. The essential thing, he said, was to transform the imperialist war into civil war. Mass propaganda of this slogan was necessary. For the success of the revolution it was necessary to assist in the defeat of one's own government in the present imperialist war. It was necessary to conduct a determined and consistent struggle against nationalism in one's own country, *i.e.*, against the slogan of defence of the fatherland, etc.

In the Second International the opportunists, the enemies of the proletarian revolution, who strove to conciliate the proletariat with the bourgeoisie and thereby subject it to the bourgeoisie, had triumphed. These adherents of class collaboration now went directly over to the bourgeoisie. They became social-chauvinists. Screening themselves behind talk of socialism, in actuality they became loyal servants and supporters of the bourgeois governments. They began to further the war, and struggled more fiercely than ever against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

Lenin wrote "The bourgeoisie has already begotten, fostered and secured for itself 'bourgeois labour parties' of social-chauvinists in *all* countries."

While combating social-chauvinism, Lenin also sharply attacked those "socialists" of the type of Kautsky and Trotsky, who remained in the "centre," *i.e.*, who ostensibly kept aloof both from the revolutionary Social-Democrats and from the social-chauvinists. The Centrists took shelter behind revolutionary

phrases and made a pretense of being opposed to their own government and even against the war. But in actual fact they supported the entire policy of the social-chauvinists and helped them to deceive the working masses. The Centrists were just as much abettors of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin wrote "The opportunists are an open evil. The German 'Centre' led by Kautsky, is a hidden evil, diplomatically camouflaged, which blinds the eyes and confuses the mind and conscience of the workers, the most dangerous of all."

In letters written at this time, Lenin said "Kautsky is the most hypocritical, the most disgusting, the most harmful of all!" "I hate and despise Kautsky now more than anyone else: he is a vile, contemptible, self-complacent hypocrite."

The conduct of the Bolshevik Party in Russia stood out in sharp contrast to the universal treachery and betrayal. Even before Lenin's theses were received, the St. Petersburg Committee had issued a leaflet with the slogans "Down with the War!" "War on War!" A leaflet in the same spirit was also issued by the Central Committee.

The Bolshevik fraction in the Duma denounced the war. The theses of the manifesto received from Lenin were discussed by the Bolshevik deputies and unanimously approved by the Central Committee. Thus the Bolsheviks abroad and in Russia were completely in accord in these critical days. Lenin's followers and comrades firmly held aloft the revolutionary, Bolshevik banner. The Bolshevik Party was the only party in the Second International which remained true to the working class and to proletarian internationalism.

On receiving the reply from the Central Committee members in Russia, Lenin drafted the final text of the manifesto on the war on behalf of the Central Committee. But it was not so simple to publish this document. The Party funds amounted to only 160 francs. There was no paper. There were difficulties about a printing shop. Lenin undertook to attend to the matter himself. With his inherent exactitude Lenin figured out what type to set it in so as to use less paper, the make-up, how many copies should be printed, etc.

At last No. 33 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* appeared, containing the text of the manifesto. The manifesto was also published separately.

"The transformation of the present imperialist war into a civil war—is the only correct proletarian slogan, it was indicated by the experience of the Commune." This was the main appeal of the manifesto.

The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism, the manifesto stated. "The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish. In spite of all obstacles the masses of the workers will create a new International."

The struggle which Lenin had waged for many years against the leaders of the Second International had reached the crucial point. The leaders of the Second International, as Lenin had foreseen, betrayed the working class and the revolution. It was necessary to break with the Second International and unite the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat in a new organization.

Lenin had long been preparing for a split with the Second International. He knew that it was possible to weld the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat only by making a sharp break with the conciliators and opportunists, the henchmen and servants of the bourgeoisie. Just as the Bolshevik Party had broken with the Mensheviks, so was it also necessary to break with the opportunists within the workers' parties of other countries.

He said: "We revolutionaries cannot despair. We are not afraid of a split. On the contrary we recognize the necessity of a split, we explain to the masses why a split is inevitable and necessary, and summon them to work against the old party, to a revolutionary mass struggle."

During the period of disintegration of the socialist parties, only the Russian Bolsheviks openly came out against their government, undaunted by threats, and did not fall prey to the universal "patriotic" intoxication. Tsarism took savage revenge on the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik fraction in the Duma was arrested. The deputies were threatened with court-martial and execution. After a few months of imprisonment they were tried in court.

At the trial the worker-deputies, Petrovsky and Muranov, made speeches exposing the tsarist government, but Kamenev, who had been arrested with the Duma fraction, funkcd disgracefully and tried to prove that he was not in agreement with the Central Committee but was a good social-patriot. Lenin, writing of this trial, said that "the class slogan of the workers of Russia has now reached the broadest masses, as a result of the trial." At the same time he stigmatized the treacherous stand taken by Kamenev at the trial.

While the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and other would-be socialists offered every assistance to the tsarist government, declaring the war to be inevitable and necessary, and calling for "defence of the fatherland," the Bolsheviks continued their struggle against the government.

A considerable number of active Bolsheviks were arrested and exiled. Stalin, who had been arrested immediately after his return from abroad (in 1913), was exiled to the worst spot in tsarist Russia—the Turukhansk region.

In spite of this persecution, however, all the class-conscious workers in Russia rallied around Lenin's slogans in the very first months of the war.

No efforts on the part of tsarism and the bourgeois press could drive a wedge between the proletariat and the Bolshevik Party, and win the former over to the side of the "patriots."

Lenin's slogans showed the working class the real road to victory. Lenin knew that he was right and that the Bolshevik slogans would win. "It does not matter that we are few in number," he said, "*millions will be with us.*"

During the whole course of the war Lenin lived in Switzerland, and from there, in numerous articles, letters and conversations, he directed the rallying of all the Bolshevik, revolutionary forces. Lenin carried on his work with passionate persistence, never for a moment doubting of the complete success of the Bolshevik ideas.

In each number of the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the central organ of the Party, Lenin wrote articles developing the views of the Bolsheviks on the war and on the tasks confronting the prole-

ariat. He carried on an extensive correspondence with the Bolsheviks who were living abroad and with the representatives of the Left trend in the international socialist movement, persistently explaining and interpreting the Bolshevik outlook. In letters to Litvinov, Berzin and Kollontai he gave directions as to what to say on the war question at the international socialist meetings.

Persistently and tirelessly he gave guidance to the Bolsheviks scattered all over the world. He held in his hands all the threads uniting individual revolutionaries and the revolutionary organizations fighting against war.

And revolutionaries everywhere knew that there, in the mountains of Switzerland, lived the brilliant proletarian leader, who closely followed the course of world events and guided with a firm hand the preparations for new revolutionary battles of the proletariat, ceaselessly fighting against all traitors and betrayers of the working class.

Lenin persistently endeavoured to win over every prominent Socialist who had not followed the opportunists of the Second International. Lenin grudged no time spent in lengthy conversations with comrades whom he hoped to win over to the side of revolutionary Marxism.

Lenin devoted particularly great attention to the socialist youth. At the foundation conference of the Socialist Youth International in Bern in 1915, the Bolshevik slogan of civil war still perplexed even the most advanced representatives of the youth. They did not join with the Bolsheviks, but Lenin did not give up hope. He knew that the younger generation, being less infected with social-chauvinism, could be won over to his side. He promised the newly-formed Youth International the support of the Bolshevik Party and by means of lengthy discussions and personal talks began to correct the political line of the leaders of the youth movement, criticizing their errors in conversation and correspondence. One of the leaders of the youth movement—Münzenberg (who, under the influence of Lenin, became a Communist)—says. "His criticism never offended us, we never felt ourselves reproved, and even when subjecting us

to the severest criticism he always found something praiseworthy in our work. This encouragement had a most salutary effect, and we set to work with greater zeal than ever."

The revolutionizing of the youth movement and its Zurich International Bureau went on under the direct influence and guidance of Lenin. At the congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, the representative of the youth defended Lenin's position on the war.

Lenin also gave advice and political guidance to the international women's movement which was struggling (though timidly and half-heartedly) against the war. When a Women's Conference was held in Switzerland during the war, Lenin sent representatives from the Bolshevik Party, who spoke there in defence of the Bolshevik standpoint. He personally spoke to a number of the delegates to the conference, developing his views to them.

In order to consolidate the Bolshevik forces, Lenin in the spring of 1915, in spite of all the difficulties of intercourse between countries in wartime, called a conference in Bern of the foreign sections of the Bolsheviks. This conference was a demonstration of the fact that the Bolsheviks were solidly united around the slogans advanced by Lenin.

The conference pointed out the necessity of forming illegal organizations of the workers' parties, it demanded that all agreements with the bourgeoisie should be broken completely, that fraternization between the soldiers on the various fronts be encouraged, and that support be given to the revolutionary activities of the masses.

Recognizing the complete collapse of the Second International, the resolution called for the organization of a Third International on the basis of a split with the social-chauvinists.

The resolutions of the Bern Conference, which were drawn up under Lenin's guidance, served as a basis for uniting the adherents of Bolshevism throughout the world.

In the autumn of 1915 the Italian Lefts raised the question of calling an international conference of revolutionary Marxists. Lenin seized upon this suggestion, and succeeded in calling a

conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, of the representatives of all the revolutionary organizations which were to any extent opposed to the policy of the Second International.

Lenin was perfectly well aware that there would be Centrist elements at the conference, but he considered that this international conference should be utilized for the propaganda of the Bolshevik slogans.

Most of the participants in the conference held unstable, wavering positions, but Lenin succeeded in forming a Left group which adopted, although not in full, the revolutionary slogans. A heated struggle took place at the conference between the Lefts rallied around Lenin and the majority of the conference. Although only a minority of the conference followed Lenin, it nevertheless helped to rally the revolutionary Marxists.

In spite of tsarist persecution the Russian Bolsheviks (the St. Petersburg Committee in particular) carried on intensive underground activity. Lenin summarizes this activity in an article, "A Few Theses," in which he speaks of the current tasks confronting the Social-Democratic Party in Russia.

The most essential thing was to strengthen and extend socialist activities among the proletariat and to support the leadership of the strike movement which had begun. "The task of the proletariat of Russia," wrote Lenin, "is to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, *in order* to kindle the socialist revolution in Europe."

"Now we are again advancing towards revolution," wrote Lenin in the autumn of 1915.

The bourgeois governments believed that the war would crush any and every revolutionary movement for a long time to come. The leaders of the Second International did everything to subject the proletariat to the will of the bourgeoisie. The whole bourgeois press shouted about the patriotism of the workers. But Lenin in these years of rabid chauvinism had the genius to foresee that the revolution was at hand, and boldly and confidently prepared for the victory of the proletariat.

Here was the real leader of the masses, one who was capable of estimating correctly the relation of class forces, the readiness

of the masses for the struggle, capable of divining the course of history.

In the beginning of 1916 Lenin moved from Bern to Zurich. He and Krupskaya took a room in the household of the shoemaker Kammerer. The room was not very comfortable, and there were many people living in the apartment. Krupskaya relates that the Kammerer family were international in their outlook and that Kammerer's wife exclaimed on one occasion "The soldiers ought to turn their weapons against their own governments" "After that," says Krupskaya, "Ilyich would not listen to any suggestions about changing quarters" They lived in this apartment up to the time of their departure for Russia.

The room that Lenin and Krupskaya occupied was long, narrow, and ill-lighted. Along one wall stood two beds. Along the other wall was a table at which Lenin worked. There was also a tiny stove for heating the room and cooking food, Krupskaya prepared the meals.

In April 1916, on Lenin's initiative, the Bolsheviks called a second international conference in Kienthal. At this conference Lenin succeeded in rallying considerably more supporters than at the Zimmerwald Conference. In this way Lenin gradually paved the way for the formation of the Third International.

The imperialist war had created an entirely new world situation. It clearly demonstrated that capitalism had entered on a new phase in its existence. It was necessary to make an analysis of the new stage in world history in order to establish the tactics of the proletarian parties and demonstrate the inevitability of the rapid advance of proletarian revolutions.

Lenin had already begun an intensive study of the literature on imperialism in the autumn of 1914. In the beginning of 1916 he set to work on his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. For this work he consulted hundreds of books in all languages, and made copious notes. His preparatory work and rough drafts comprised three volumes. He did not overlook a single book or article of any importance on the subject of imperialism which had appeared in the European press.

In this book Lenin showed that capitalism had entered its last,

imperialist stage The epoch of socialist revolutions, which would give victory to the proletariat, had set in. Imperialism is decaying, moribund capitalism The chief role in the imperialist countries is played by consolidated, large-scale enterprises (trusts, syndicates, etc.), which gained complete control over, and the monopoly in, separate industries (*e g*, the oil, chemical and coal syndicates, etc) In these countries finance capital, which had come into being as a result of the merging of industrial capital with bank capital, was supreme. The imperialist countries exported capital chiefly to the backward countries and to the colonies, and exploited them in every way In world economy, combinations of industrialists had sprung up which divided the world market between them The whole globe was parcelled out among the imperialists. The imperialist war had broken out owing to the desire for a new division of the world.

Lenin showed how the imperialists had succeeded in corrupting the upper layer of the working class and splitting the working-class movement He showed how Kautsky and his like glossed over the contradictions of imperialism and played into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

This book of Lenin's showed that "imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limits, beyond which revolution begins" (Stalin) Thus by this theoretical book Lenin gave a new weapon to the proletariat, proving the inevitability and the necessity of the outbreak of the social revolution in the near future.

Clearly perceiving the approach of the proletarian revolution, Lenin reverted more and more frequently to the question of the course to be taken by the socialist revolution. He argued that as capitalism develops in different countries at a different rate, unevenly and spasmodically, the victory of socialism in a single country is quite possible

Lenin wrote "The victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in a single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would *confront* the rest of the capitalist

world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and, in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states ”

This proposition became one of the central points in Lenin's teachings. Developing this idea, Lenin pointed out that the first proletarian revolution may take place in a country which forms a weak link in the chain of imperialism and where the revolutionary movement is developing with particular force. Therefore, in the epoch of imperialism, the victory of socialism is quite possible (under certain conditions), even in a less developed capitalist country.

This teaching of Lenin's showed the proletarian masses of Russia and other countries that their victory was not far distant, that socialism was a near reality. It brilliantly foretold the path along which the proletarian struggle throughout the world actually did develop, it foresaw the future victory of socialism in Russia.

Even then, in 1915, the Menshevik Trotsky opposed Lenin's theses on the uneven development of capitalism, on the possibility of the imperialist front being broken at its weakest link, on the possibility of the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in one country.

Later, a fierce struggle was waged against these propositions of Lenin's by the Trotskyite opposition, the Zinovievites and opportunists of every shade. Stalin not only developed Lenin's teaching on the building of socialism in one country, not only defended this teaching against opportunists of all hues, but also brought this teaching to a victorious realization.

In the beginning of 1916 Lenin wrote "The socialist revolution may begin in the very near future." Lenin mapped out the following future for Russia: the proletariat will fight with the utmost devotion for a republic, and, drawing the peasantry into its struggle, will fight for the confiscation of the landed estates and for the complete overthrow of tsarism. The proletariat will immediately utilize this victory over tsarism in order to carry out a socialist revolution in alliance with the proletariat of Europe.

A little more than a year after Lenin made these predictions on the basis of a careful study of facts, his plan was fully realized in Russia

Analysing in detail the nature of the socialist revolution Lenin pointed out that it is not a single battle but a whole epoch of battles, the epoch of revolution and of revolutionary wars. The socialist revolution will be the struggle of the proletariat and all oppressed peoples. National wars against imperialism, against the imperialist powers will also take place, these wars will be waged by the oppressed countries against their imperialist masters. This struggle will undermine imperialism.

These tactics of the proletariat in the epoch of wars and revolutions, which had been laid down in detail by Lenin, and the theoretical theses which he had developed were opposed by certain pseudo-Lefts (Bukharin, Pyatakov). Their stand was essentially Trotskyite. Bukharin and Pyatakov denied the right of nations to self-determination, not appreciating the full import and inevitability of the national-liberation movement in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. These views, if acted on, would have meant that the proletariat, having prepared to transform the imperialist war into civil war, would have alienated its allies—the peasantry and the oppressed peoples. Bukharin and Pyatakov fought against Lenin's slogans: "The transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war," and "The defeat of 'one's own' government in the imperialist war." Lenin combated these opportunist views with the utmost energy.

Bukharin also expressed semi-anarchist views on the state. He denied the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition period. Moreover, the Bukharin group attempted to set up its own factional centre, and worked for an agreement with Trotsky.

In a number of speeches and articles, Lenin subjected the anti-Marxist mistakes of the Bukharin group to detailed analysis, and characterized their position as a "caricature of Marxism."

The hypocritical behaviour of Zinoviev with regard to the Bukharin-Pyatakov group was characteristic.

While Lenin demanded that the Central Committee pursue a completely independent line and insisted that it have nothing to do with the *Communist*, published by Pyatakov and Bukharin, Zinoviev (who had subscribed to this refusal at Lenin's demand) was corresponding with the opportunist Shlyapnikov without the knowledge of Lenin, in order to get the former to bring pressure to bear on Lenin and convince him to make concessions. Lenin described this double-dealing of Zinoviev's as a "repudiation of our whole policy."

Since the question of the proletarian state would be placed on the order of the day in the event of the victory of the revolution and was, moreover, causing vacillation among some Bolsheviks, Lenin began to reread all that Marx and Engels had written on the state, in order to formulate the Bolshevik position on this question. He reread their writings on the Paris Commune, making notes and extracts. A few months later these extracts provided the basis for the work—*The State and Revolution*—which showed the Bolsheviks the form the Soviet state would take.

Lenin was expecting revolutionary battles in the near future and was preparing the Party for a new revolution. He followed the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in Russia and gave concrete instructions as to how the masses were to be won over and how the social-chauvinists and Centrists should be exposed.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were still in the minority in the international movement. But the revolutionary forces of all countries had already begun to rally round them.

The first Russian revolution showed that the representatives of the revolutionary class, who at first were an insignificant minority, quickly won the adherence of millions and tens of millions of people. Why? "Because this minority really represented the interests of these masses, because it believed in the coming revolution, because it was ready to serve it with the utmost devotion."

Lenin knew that the Bolshevik teachings represented the interests of the masses and must therefore triumph.

PART TWO

CHAPTER XII

IN PETROGRAD

NINETEEN-SEVENTEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY of Russia were wearied by the long drawn-out war. High prices and shortage of food supplies prevailed in the country. The autocracy suffered one defeat after another at the front. Discontent was rife among the troops. The strike movement had been growing all through the years of the war. The peasantry was restless. The whole autocratic machine was falling apart.

In February a strike began in Petrograd, accompanied by turbulent demonstrations.

The workers in revolt were joined by the soldiers, and a militant union of the proletariat and peasants in soldiers' uniforms came into being. The attempts of the government and the bourgeoisie to quell the incipient revolution were of no avail.

The revolutionary movement spread rapidly in the capital and other cities. In a few days the tsarist government was overthrown. A Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies sprang up. But its Executive Committee was headed by representatives of the conciliatory parties—the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. With the aid of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leadership of the Soviets the bourgeoisie took power into its own hands. The Provisional Government was formed—a government of the landowners and bourgeoisie. It tried to halt the revolution, to preserve the monarchy and the Romanov dynasty, and continue the war. The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries helped the Provisional Government to maintain and consolidate the power of the bourgeoisie.

News of the revolution reached Lenin in Switzerland, and he immediately gave instructions as to what should be done. "The main thing now is the press, and the organization of the workers into a *revolutionary* Social-Democratic Party. . . . *Under no conditions* should it again be of the type of the Second International! *Under no conditions* with Kautsky! Without fail, a *more revolutionary* program and tactics." In his letters of March 1917 he enumerated various slogans the fight for a republic, the fight against imperialism, "propaganda agitation and struggle for an *international* proletarian revolution and for the conquest of power by the 'Soviets of Workers' Deputies' (but not by the Cadet fakers)" Lenin opposed all attempts at unity with the social-patriots and vacillators such as Trotsky. He declared that the most important thing was to organize the masses, to rouse new strata of the population, and to prepare for the "seizure of power by the *Soviets of Workers' Deputies*. Only this power can give bread, peace, and freedom" Now, "*armed watchfulness armed preparation* of a broader base for a higher stage."

In the first days of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917, Lenin precisely defined the Bolshevik position. He called on the people not to trust the Provisional Government and not to give it any support. He showed that this government would not give the people peace or bread or freedom. It was helping the imperialists and would continue the predatory war.

The party of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party, was the main force, the force which would decide the issue of the struggle. The party of the proletariat must remain independent and enter into no agreements with other parties, it must make the widest preparations for complete victory, carrying on broad organizational work in town and country.

In March 1917, Lenin wrote from Zurich to Lunacharsky on the main line of struggle to be followed by the Party. "The independence and individuality of our Party, *no rapprochement with other parties*, is what I insist on. It is impossible otherwise to help the proletariat to proceed through a *democratic* revolution to the *Commune*, and I would not serve any other end."

From abroad Lenin wrote letters to *Pravda*, under the head-

ing *Letters From Afar*, wherein he set forth in detail the tactics of the Bolsheviks. In these letters he said In Russia there are three camps, three political forces. The first—the tsarist monarchy, the mainstay of feudalism, of the landowners, of the bureaucracy and of the military caste, the second—the bourgeoisie and landowners of Russia headed by the Octobrist and Cadet Parties, with the petty-bourgeoisie trailing behind, the third—the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, behind whom are the proletariat and the poor peasantry

Tsarism had received a mortal blow. The tsarist government was smashed. Power had passed to the bourgeoisie. But alongside the bourgeois Provisional Government there existed a new, as yet weak, workers' government—the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The tsarist monarchy was not yet completely crushed and the bourgeoisie through its Provisional Government was trying to preserve the monarchy.

Dual power existed because the proletariat was not yet strong enough to take power into its own hands, while the bourgeoisie was not sufficiently strong to disband the Soviets and form its own dictatorship.

The Provisional Government could give the people nothing. The task of the workers was to prepare for a decisive struggle and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. In this struggle the Russian proletariat would have an ally, the tens of millions of the semi-proletarian, small-peasant population, who wanted peace, bread, freedom, and land.

Lenin wrote in an appeal to the proletariat of Russia "*Workers, you have displayed marvels of proletarian heroism, the heroism of the people, in the civil war against tsarism, you must display marvels of organization, organization of the proletariat and the people, in order to prepare for victory in the second stage of the revolution.*"

In his *Letters From Afar*, Lenin showed that the Provisional Government was a pro-war government. The workers should not give it any support, but to overthrow it immediately was impossible. Preparations should be made for a new struggle, it was necessary to organize and to arm.

Lenin pointed out that when the proletariat had overthrown the bourgeoisie and proceeded to form its own state, this state would be of the type of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. The proletarian state must smash and do away with the old state machine, with its army, police, and functionaries. The proletarian state would derive its support from the organization of the armed people. Such a government would be supported by the peasantry, because it would give it land, and it would establish control over the production and distribution of the most important supplies. It would be able to make peace, because it would address itself, not to the imperialist governments, but to the warring peoples. Thus the new power would make an enormous stride towards socialism.

Even before his arrival in Russia Lenin had clearly and precisely formulated the whole plan of the struggle of the proletariat for power. He had mapped out in detail all the stages of the struggle, all the main paths leading to victory. With the foresight of genius, he had outlined the road to the October Revolution, which the Party, under his leadership, carried out so brilliantly.

The members of the Bolshevik Central Committee and the leaders of our Party returned to Petrograd from prison and exile. Stalin, returning from Siberia, assumed leadership of the Central Committee and of *Pravda*.

As soon as he received news of the revolution Lenin began to devise all sorts of plans to get back to Russia as quickly as possible. It was impossible to travel through France and England, as the governments would not allow revolutionaries through. Could he travel on a Swedish passport? But he did not know Swedish. He could pretend to be deaf and dumb, perhaps? But this was not very feasible. Should he travel on someone else's passport? This was also difficult, as it would be easy to get caught.

Then the idea was broached of travelling through Germany in exchange for German prisoners held in Russia.

Lenin realized quite clearly that going through Germany would be utilized by all the enemies of the proletarian revolution for the purpose of vilifying him and the whole Bolshevik

Party He foresaw the possibility of the subsequent campaign of slander which the bourgeois scribblers and *provocateurs* actually did conduct regarding his journey in an allegedly "sealed" railway car But he saw that there was no alternative—he had to get to Russia at once to lead the revolutionary struggle of the toilers, and so he decided to travel through Germany

With the assistance of the Swiss Socialist Platten, negotiations were begun to permit him to travel through Germany After lengthy negotiations news arrived that permission had been granted Lenin decided to go by the first train, which was leaving in two hours' time In these two hours all preparations were made, books and belongings packed, library books returned, the landlady's bill paid, and all matters settled

Lenin and his comrades were in the train, bound for Germany The Mensheviks muttered angrily They decried the "madness" of such a journey As the train was leaving Zurich they arranged something in the way of a hostile demonstration. Shortly after, the Mensheviks made their way to Russia by the very same route

In his farewell letter to the Swiss workers Lenin wrote "The transformation of the imperialist war into civil war *is becoming* a fact Long live the proletarian revolution *which is beginning* in Europe!"

Lenin and his comrades travelled through Sweden At the Swedish border Lenin was met by Russian and Swedish comrades In the train to Stockholm he talked till late in the night with his Russian comrades, questioning them on the latest news from Russia, pointing out the necessity of having a foreign bureau of the Central Committee in Stockholm in readiness "for any event" He would not hear of remaining in Stockholm a single hour more than was necessary. On to Petrograd!

The route lay through Finland They had to cross the border at Tornio on sleighs over the frozen river Now they were at the border—there were the Russian border-guards The newly-arrived travellers fell upon the latest Russian newspapers In the train, going through Finland, Lenin spoke animatedly all through the night with a group of soldiers. He questioned

them closely and in detail on their life in the army, the sentiments of the soldiers, their relations with the officers.

Then it turned into a regular meeting. They all went into a more roomy car, where Lenin gave a short talk "on land, freedom, and ending the war" (as one of the soldiers recalls)

At the station in Byelo-Ostrov Lenin was met by workers, some of whom had come from Sestroretsk

One of these workers relates

"Just as Lenin was about to get out, I shouted at the top of my voice 'Let's carry him on our shoulders!' I seized him by the leg, so that he lost his balance and caught me round the neck. The other comrades came over, we hoisted Ilyich up in spite of his protests and bore him along. The people around made way (the platform was crowded with people of all descriptions). We carried Ilyich into the station and set him down, he stood there, nobody seemed able to utter a word. We were all overcome with joy and stood around as if in a daze. Ilyich stood and just looked, workers were all around him. I remember it as if it were today—this was no dream: there was Vladimir Ilyich, in a grey suit, standing on the plank floor of the Byelo-Ostrov railway station.

"It was something inexplicable. I saw that Ilyich too was strongly moved. But all this lasted only for an instant, he immediately 'came to himself,' seized us and kissed us, first one, then another, a third, and so on. One of our comrades began a welcoming speech in the name of the Sestroretsk workers."

Lenin made a short speech in reply.

In Byelo-Ostrov Lenin was met by Stalin and other Bolsheviks who had come from Petrograd.

The train pulled into Petrograd that evening. The Finland Station, the square, and the nearby streets were packed with tens of thousands of workers and soldiers who had gathered to greet their beloved leader. A guard of honour was stationed on the platform. The workers and soldiers met Lenin with shouts of welcome; many of them wept.

The workers carried Lenin on their shoulders from the platform to the main waiting room of the station (formerly the tsar's)

and here he spoke his first words of revolutionary greeting to the Petrograd proletariat.

The square and the streets were a sea of red flags, illumined by hundreds of torches and searchlights. Military companies and detachments of Kronstadt sailors filed by, armoured cars rumbled past

They set Vladimir Ilyich down on an armoured car. He stood there high above the throng, hatless, with his overcoat flung back, the rays of the searchlights playing upon him. He raised his hand and made a short speech ending with the words 'Long live the World Socialist Revolution!' The armoured car proceeded between enthusiastic cheering lines of workers and soldiers, to the house where the Central Committee of the Party was quartered. Here also a host of people had gathered to welcome Lenin. He spoke to them from the balcony. His words were greeted with a stormy ovation. Lenin was once more among the proletarian masses.

Lenin and the leading Party comrades talked till morning. He severely criticized Kamenev and the other opportunists, who had adopted a wavering position, who proposed supporting the Provisional Government and refused to believe that the proletarian revolution was near at hand.

On the following day, Lenin spoke at a meeting of the Bolsheviks and set forth his famous April Theses, which proclaimed

No support for the defencists. Defencism is the betrayal of socialism. The war can be ended not by a peace imposed by coercion, but only by the overthrow of capitalism.

Now is the moment of transition from the first stage of the revolution, which gave the power to the bourgeoisie, to the second, which must give the power to the proletariat and the poor strata of the peasantry.

No support for the Provisional Government.

The Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the only possible form of revolutionary government.

The Bolshevik Party is a minority in the Soviets, it must carry on patient and persistent agitation explaining the incor-

rectness of the tactics of the opportunist majority. It must win over the masses, it must capture the Soviets.

We must have, not a parliamentary republic, but a republic of Soviets of workers', soldiers', peasants' and farm labourers' deputies. The army, the police and the bureaucracy must be abolished. The experience of the Paris Commune must be taken into consideration.

The Bolshevik agrarian program calls for the formation of Soviets of farm labourers' deputies, the confiscation of all landed estates, the nationalization of all the land, the creation of model farms on the large estates under the control of the Soviet of farm labourers' deputies.

The banks must be amalgamated into one national bank, and placed under the control of the Soviets.

A new, revolutionary International must be created. The Party must adopt the name "Communist Party"—the old Marxian name of the proletarian party.

In his rough draft for this report Lenin wrote as follows on the main tasks confronting the workers: "We must skilfully and carefully, by clearing their minds, lead the proletariat and the poor peasantry *forward* from the 'dual power' to the supreme power of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and that is the Commune as Marx understood it, as understood by the experience of 1871."

It required great revolutionary audacity and brilliant foresight to place the task of the struggle for power before the proletariat so squarely and plainly. At this time the so-called socialists, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, were in the majority in the Soviets. The whole press, with the exception of the Bolshevik press, was unanimous in calling for support of the Provisional Government and the continuation of the predatory war. All parties but the Bolshevik Party firmly opposed all revolutionary measures, such as expropriating the landowners, control of banks and production, etc. The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries formed a united front with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary workers and peasants. The majority of the soldiers and peasants, and in some places even

workers, did not yet understand the situation, they supported the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

It appeared that considerable masses of the toilers were opposed to the Bolsheviks and to Lenin's theses. But Lenin was a leader who knew that the masses of toilers, at the time "sincere defencists," would soon come over to the Bolsheviks. He saw where the only path to victory lay.

Lenin's theses evoked tremendous enthusiasm in the Party. They blazed new paths and supplied a definite program of action. The workers caught up Lenin's slogans eagerly. Stalin and the Party as a whole resolutely supported Lenin's stand. Only a small group of Right capitulators (Kamenev, Rykov, and others) urged an agreement with the Mensheviks and the defencists in support of the Provisional Government, and sharply opposed Lenin's position. Kamenev, for example, the very next day after the publication of Lenin's theses, wrote that Lenin's general scheme was unacceptable. He called on the Party to complete the bourgeois revolution, but not to fight for its transformation into a socialist revolution.

On this point Lenin wrote:

"The question of the 'completeness' of the bourgeois-democratic revolution is wrongly *formulated*. It is formulated in an abstract, simplified, monochromatic way, if we may so express it, which *does not* correspond to objective reality. Those who formulate the question *thus*, those who *now* ask, 'Is the bourgeois-democratic revolution completed' and *nothing more*, deprive themselves of the possibility of understanding the real situation, which is extraordinarily complicated, and at least, 'bichromatic.' This—as regards theory. In practice, they impotently capitulate to *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*.

"And, indeed, in reality we find *both* the transfer of power to the bourgeoisie (a 'completed' bourgeois-democratic revolution of the ordinary type) *and* the existence, side by side with the actual government, of a parallel government, which represents a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.' This 'also-government' has *voluntarily* ceded

power to the bourgeoisie and has *voluntarily* chained itself to the bourgeois government."

Lenin pointed out that Kamenev, Rykov and the other opportunists see "only the *past* of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, when, *as a matter of fact*, its *future* has already begun, for the interests and policies of the wage earner and the master have already become sundered *in fact*, and, moreover, on such an important question as 'defencism,' the attitude towards the imperialist war." Lenin severely attacked the opportunists, the opponents of the socialist revolution.

Lenin worked with tremendous energy. He directed the activities of the Central Committee, talked with and instructed comrades who had arrived from the provinces, made speeches to the workers, and personally received delegations of workers, soldiers and peasants. He directly guided the work of *Pravda*.

The editorial offices of *Pravda* at the time consisted of two rooms. One was the secretariat and the other, which was quite small, the editor's office. Here Lenin spent several hours daily with the comrades most closely associated with him. From here he directed the work of the Party. Short meetings were held here on current Party questions. Lenin's hearty laugh was heard from time to time. Cheerful and animated, he infected everyone with his energy and confidence in victory.

Lenin persistently explained his position to the workers in articles in *Pravda*, in reports and speeches. He pointed out that at the time there were actually two powers in the country—the Provisional Government, which supported the bourgeoisie, and the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, where the majority were defencists and which therefore supported the Provisional Government. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies, said Lenin, were the embryo of the new power, but for the present they had voluntarily handed over the power to the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government. They had made an agreement with the latter. In this transitional period the Bolsheviks should pave the way for the transfer of full power to the proletariat, to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. The Soviets would create a new form of state—a state akin to the Commune. As yet we could not

aim at the immediate "introduction of socialism," but we could take practical steps towards socialism by introducing, for example, control over production, amalgamation of the banks, etc.

Lenin directed his main attack against the petty-bourgeois parties—the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who were for the moment "the most dangerous social support of imperialism" (Stalin), inasmuch as they conducted a policy of agreement between imperialism and the toiling masses. ". . . Without isolating these parties it was impossible to count on a *rupture* between the toiling masses and imperialism, and without making sure of this rupture the victory of the Soviet revolution could not be expected."

The main tactical slogans had been advanced—it was necessary to rally the Party around them. Lenin hastened to call a general Party conference. At the end of April the conference of the Petrograd organization was held and then the All-Russian Conference.

At the All-Russian Conference, which was summoned by telegraph, all the leading Bolshevik forces in the country assembled. The Bolsheviks, coming together for the first time after long years of underground work, imprisonment, exile and emigration, joyfully welcomed their leader. They saw that the Party was strong and powerful. It had the support of the proletarian masses. Lenin's reports and speeches aroused an enthusiastic response from the conference.

Lenin was opposed at the conference by the opportunists Kamenev, Rykov and Nogin. Like the Mensheviks, they held that socialism would come to Russia from other, more advanced countries, that Russia could not begin the socialist revolution, they were against the victory of the socialist revolution, and the victory of socialism in our country. But the overwhelming majority of the Party agreed with Lenin and rallied to his position. Stalin emphatically supported Lenin's theses. He was Lenin's loyal helper and staunch, close comrade-in-arms, and in a number of articles and speeches he developed and defended Lenin's slogans against the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the capitulatory Kamenev group.

Lenin's line at the conference (Lenin called for a complete break with the Centrists) was opposed by Zinoviev, who proposed that the Bolsheviks should again participate in a conference of the Zimmerwaldists, although it was attended by people who openly supported the line of the social-chauvinists Zinoviev was utterly opposed to a sharp and decisive break with the Second International, he was in fact opposed to the immediate organization of the Third International.

The Bolsheviks, following Lenin's instructions, spoke daily at workers' meetings and in the soldiers' and workers' barracks. The chief activities of the Party were in the working-class districts. Lenin spoke several times at meetings.

The workers of Leningrad remember to this day the wonderful impression created by Lenin's speeches.

One worker at the Putilov factory recalls

"Suddenly, from among the people, from among the mass of forty thousand, he mounted the tribune . . . I do not know if words can be found to convey his tremendous hold, the peculiar force with which he captured his audience . . . What he said seized them and fired them with enthusiasm. Fear and weariness vanished. And it seemed as though not Ilyich alone were speaking, but that all those forty thousand workers, sitting and standing, were speaking their innermost thoughts. It seemed as though everything the workers felt was being voiced by Ilyich. All that each one had thought and experienced but had been unable to find the words or the opportunity to expound clearly and fully to his comrades—all this suddenly received form and utterance.

"It seemed as if this mass of people wanted to shout out something at the top of their voices . . . And on April 21 the Putilov workers on the Nevsky were shouting 'Down with the ten capitalist ministers! Down with Milyukov and Guchkov, and their demand for the Dardanelles!'"

During this period, Lenin also spoke to a meeting of soldiers, sailors and workers at the navy yard. One of those present writes of this meeting: "His words united the people and showed them

the way, telling them what each worker was to do and how he was to do it

"When he finished, many of us had tears in our eyes .

Three thousand future fighters were armed by the words of Lenin at that meeting And Lenin's ideas fired the hearts of all those workers, sailors and soldiers . . Inspired by Lenin's enthusiasm, each of us burned with the desire for battle "

The Party, under the leadership of Lenin, was preparing for revolutionary battles. It continued its persistent struggle to win the working class and the peasantry away from the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who were the direct abettors of the bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie recognized Lenin as their irreconcilable foe and began a fierce campaign of slander against him. The bourgeois newspapers of all shades of opinion, the speakers, including both Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, attacked Lenin and the Bolshevik Party day in and day out They maligned and slandered him They did not conceal their savage hatred for the leader of the working class. But this slander only served to draw the workers still more to Bolshevism, and increased their love for the proletarian leader

In the factories, at workers' meetings and in the trenches heated discussions on the Bolshevik slogans took place. The workers, soldiers and peasants came to regard Lenin as the real leader of the people's revolution The adherents of Bolshevism constantly increased in number

CHAPTER XIII

PREPARING FOR VICTORY

IN MAY 1917, LENIN DREW UP A PLAN OF A PAMPHLET on the April Conference, in which he wrote "On to socialism Be firm as a rock in the proletarian line against petty-bourgeois vacillations. Influence the masses by *persuasion*, by '*elucidation*.'" Prepare for a débacle and a revolution "*a thousand times more powerful than in February*."

Lenin threw himself wholeheartedly into this campaign of elucidating the Bolshevik slogans and paving the way for the revolution. He explained the teachings of the Bolsheviks at meetings, gatherings, and congresses. He wrote daily in *Pravda*. He talked with hundreds of Party members, workers, soldiers and peasants.

Three main questions were agitating the mass of the workers, soldiers and peasants: the war, the land, and the structure of the state. To these questions Lenin gave clear and definite answers. The war must be ended by a general peace, but peace could be obtained only by the complete transfer of all the state power to the Soviets, the land must belong to the people, the landed estates must immediately be turned over without compensation to the peasantry. The state must be organized as a republic of Soviets.

On June 4 (May 22), Lenin spoke at the First All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies. The following description of that memorable evening was given by one of those present

"It was raining outside. Ilyich entered the hall in a wet

overcoat and wet shoes and sat down unobtrusively in a corner of the vast Taurida hall. No one noticed his entry. When one of the speakers had finished, we announced 'Lenin is here. If the deputies want to hear him, he will speak.' Our enemies tried to interfere, but the peasants shouted in unison 'We want Lenin, we want Lenin!' Ilyich was given the floor. Lenin ascended the tribune and began to speak. Clearly and simply he began explaining to the peasants the tasks of the revolution."

He called for the immediate seizure of the landed estates. He spoke of the necessity for the independent organization of the farm labourers and poor peasants. He pointed out the necessity for forming model state farms on the large estates.

The peasant deputies listened carefully to the speech of the Bolshevik leader, despite the opposition of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

In June the First All-Union Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies met. The Bolsheviks were in the minority. Lenin made two reports at this congress. He sharply criticized the compromisers and defencists, who were assisting the bourgeoisie. He accused the defencists (the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries) of prolonging the predatory war and of giving direct aid to the imperialists. Interrupting the words of the Menshevik minister Tsereteli that there was no party in Russia which was ready to assume the entire power, Lenin exclaimed "I say there is! No party can refuse this, and our Party does not refuse it, it is prepared at any minute to take over the entire power." The Bolsheviks applauded these words. Their opponents laughed ironically.

But the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the other champions of the bourgeoisie laughed too soon! The majority of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd were inclining more and more to the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks set June 10 as the date for a mass demonstration, but the Congress of Soviets, in session at the time, controlled by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, knew that this demonstration would reveal that the Petrograd workers had rallied around the slogans of Lenin.

The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries succeeded in carrying a resolution forbidding the demonstration

Under the pressure of the masses, however, the congress was forced to set the date of the demonstration for June 18. The demonstration of June 18 was turned into a display of the strength of the revolutionary proletariat which followed Lenin. The overwhelming majority of the placards bore the Bolshevik slogans "All Power to the Soviets!" "Down With the Ten Capitalist Ministers!" "Down With War!" Crowds of workers, soldiers and sailors demonstrated their readiness to follow Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. The bourgeoisie took to cover, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were panic-stricken.

In numerous letters sent to Lenin and to *Pravda* from the villages, factories and trenches, sentiments in favour of the Bolsheviks were expressed more and more frequently. A group of soldiers wrote to Lenin: "It is constantly being drummed into our ears that you are an enemy of the people and of Russia, and the like. But the soldiers do not believe all this and are in sympathy with you."

In another letter we read: "Lenin, our comrade and friend. Remember that we, the soldiers of the N Regiment, are prepared as one man to follow you everywhere, and that your ideas are the genuine expression of the will of the peasants and workers."

The Provisional Government, in order to crush the revolutionary movement, and carry out its agreement with the imperialist governments, announced preparations for a general offensive at the front.

Kerensky was the head of the Provisional Government at this time. Under the pressure of turbulent proletarian demonstrations the Provisional Government was forced to part with the most notorious leaders of the bourgeoisie, Milyukov and Guchkov, who fought furiously against the toilers and were particularly insistent on continuing the war.

Kerensky pursued the same policy under cover of pseudo-revolutionary phrases. He provided a suitable democratic screen for the bourgeoisie. Kerensky conducted agitation for the renewal of hostilities, and restored the death penalty in the army. The

Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries supported him. The bourgeois press unanimously favoured an offensive.

The offensive launched by the Russian troops, at the order of the Provisional Government, ended in complete disaster. This defeat further increased the revolutionary temper of the masses. The counter-revolutionary generals threatened to surrender the capital to the Germans. The Cadet Ministers, seeing the growth of the revolutionary movement, sent in their resignations, demanding that the revolutionary proletariat be crushed once and for all.

On July 1 delegates from a machine-gun regiment came to the Central Committee headquarters of the Bolsheviks, where a city conference was being held, and notified it that they had sent delegates to all the army units calling for an uprising. The Bolsheviks considered the uprising premature and argued against it.

That evening two regiments bearing the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" marched to the house of Kshesinskaya, where the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party had its headquarters. They were followed by workers' delegations.

On July 16-17 (3-4), demonstrations were held throughout the city in which more than half a million workers and soldiers took part. Sailors' detachments arrived from Kronstadt. At the corner of the Nevsky and Sadovaya, officers' detachments fired on the demonstration. The demonstrators thronged to the Taurida Palace and demanded that the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets take power. The Central Executive Committee, which was controlled by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, refused.

Lenin, who had been summoned by telegraph from Finland, was at the Central Committee headquarters. He took the leadership of the movement in his hands. The mass of the workers had risen and the Party of the proletariat had to stand at their head in order to guide the movement along the necessary path. The time for the seizure of power had not yet arrived. The Party put forward the slogan of a peaceful demonstration.

The panic-stricken bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary generals decided to destroy the Bolshevik Party. A savage cam-

paign of slander began. The following day, *Zhruoye Slovo* (*Living Word*), a yellow sheet, published a statement by Alexinsky and a certain ensign Yermolenko accusing Lenin of being a spy acting on the instructions of the German General Staff. The same accusation was brought against other Bolsheviks. The Minister of Justice hurriedly cooked up all sorts of forgeries in order to have the "right" to arrest Lenin.

At the same time Kerensky recalled counter-revolutionary units and Junkers from the front. Arrests, raids, and pogroms began. The editorial office and printing shop of *Pravda* were smashed up. The Junkers just missed Lenin, who had dropped in to the editorial office on business only a half hour before.

The following morning Sverdlov, one of the most prominent Bolsheviks, secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and subsequently Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, came to Lenin, told him of the destruction of the *Pravda* office and insisted on his going into hiding immediately. He threw his own waterproof coat around Lenin's shoulders and they went off unobserved.

That evening the Ulyanov apartment on Shirokaya Ulitsa was raided. A crowd of armed Junkers and soldiers ransacked the apartment looking for Lenin, running their bayonets through the contents of baskets and trunks.

The assistant chief of the intelligence service carefully looked through Lenin's papers, and with a vicious expression on his face read letters from soldiers at the front, expressing their approval and gratitude to Lenin for his struggle against the Provisional Government.

On July 19 (6), the Provisional Government issued a warrant for the arrest and trial of Lenin and other Bolsheviks. The house of Kshesinskaya was occupied by government troops specially summoned from the front. Workers were arrested.

Again the intelligence service and Junkers ransacked Lenin's apartment, and searched the vacant lot next door and the neighbouring apartment.

Lenin was in hiding among the workers. Stalin firmly insist-

ed that Lenin should not appear for trial. He plainly saw that appearance in court would mean certain death for Lenin. The Provisional Government and the counter-revolutionary Junkers were only waiting for the opportunity to kill the leader of the proletariat. The Junkers would not even take him as far as the prison, but would kill him on the way

The Central Committee decided that Lenin was not to appear in court, and that he must leave the city. Stalin arranged Lenin's departure

Alliluyev, who hid Lenin in those days, mapped out the route by which to reach the railway station in order to leave the city. Lenin asked for a map of Petrograd and himself verified the route designated. He shaved off his beard, trimmed his moustache and changed his clothes. In this guise he looked like a Finnish peasant.

In the evening of July 24 (11), Stalin came to see Lenin. That night Lenin set out for the station with several comrades. They walked in two groups, in pairs.

Lenin boarded the train without mishap. Stalin stood on the platform, acting as though he and Lenin were total strangers. The train moved off.

Lenin went as far as Razliv, at first he lived in the hayloft of a cottage that belonged to a worker, an old revolutionary, then it was decided that he move to a meadow beyond the lake.

It was a wild region of woods and swamps. There were no villages in the vicinity, and it was a long way to walk. One had to know the paths to avoid the bog. Part of the way one had to go by boat. The workers often used such places to hide their comrades, and as caches for guns, dynamite, and illegal literature. They took Lenin to the far side of the lake. There they built a hut of branches, covered it with hay and provided it with scythes, rakes and axes, in order to create the impression that Finnish hay-makers were living there.

Here Lenin worked on his book *The State and Revolution*, wrote articles and pamphlets, and gave directives to comrades who came to see him.

Towards autumn, when it got cold, he left for Helsingfors on

the passport of a Sestroretsk worker. As a disguise his face was clean-shaven and he wore a light-blond wig

On the way to the station, Lenin and his escort got lost. When they finally reached the station they found it filled with armed men. Lenin barely had time to hide in the bushes along the embankment

When the train pulled in, Lenin under cover of darkness boarded one of the last cars and rode as far as Udelnaya. Here he spent the night at a previously arranged meeting-place with the idea of resuming the journey a day later. Once in the apartment, among close friends, Lenin recalled the exciting moments he had just gone through and laughed heartily over them. But at the same time he thoroughly upbraided those who had arranged his trip for making inadequate preparations, for their lack of precaution, and for not having secured either a map or a timetable

In order to convey Lenin from Udelnaya to Finland, he was taken on a locomotive disguised as a fireman. This was how Stalin had crossed the border in 1912

Rolling up his sleeves, Lenin threw log after log into the fire-box. At the border point, Byelo-Ostrov, where the train was held up for twenty minutes for a careful examination of documents, the engine-driver Yalava, in order to avoid this, uncoupled the engine as soon as the train stopped and took it to a siding as though to take water. While the documents were being examined the engine stood on the siding and only just before the third bell was rung it drew up to the train, coupled on, and immediately moved off. In a few minutes Lenin was on Finnish territory, where Kerensky's police could not reach him

From his hiding place Lenin directed the work of the Party and of the Sixth Party Congress which was in session at the time, the decision to convene the congress had been made in June by the Central Committee

After an interval of so many years, caused by the reaction and the war, it was necessary to muster the Bolshevik forces for the storming of capitalism

The congress was preceded by a number of regional and

provincial conferences. In spite of the terror against the Bolsheviks, in spite of the fact that many Bolsheviks were under arrest or in hiding, the Central Committee called the congress at the appointed time (the end of July), 177,000 Party members were represented. At the congress Stalin and Sverdlov strictly carried out Lenin's line.

Stalin was Lenin's right-hand and directly carried out his instructions in the Party and at the congress. He delivered the political report of the Central Committee at the congress and made a report on the political situation. In the period between the July events and the October Revolution, Stalin virtually directed the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, which, owing to police persecution, appeared under various names: *Rabochy y Soldat* (*Worker and Soldier*), *Proletary* (*Proletarian*), *Rabochy* (*Worker*).

Even then, at the Sixth Congress, Comrade Stalin, in reply to Preobrazhensky's Trotskyite assertion that if the world revolution were delayed we could not build socialism in our country, declared "The possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the very country that will pave the way to socialism. We must abandon the antiquated idea that only Europe can show us the way. There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism, I stand by the latter." Stalin developed this Leninist line in the struggle against all enemies of the working class.

At the congress Stalin also exposed the opportunist stand taken by Bukharin, who in Menshevik-Trotskyite fashion denied the role of the allies of the proletariat in the socialist revolution, particularly that of the rural poor. Denying the significance of reserves, Bukharin thereby regarded the victory of the socialist revolution impossible.

The congress appraised the existing situation and pointed out that the Party must prepare itself and the masses for the seizure of power. The congress pointed out that power was virtually in the hands of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, and that the proletariat could now seize power only by force.

The Sixth Congress mobilized the Party for a determined offensive. It pointed out the necessity for active preparations for

armed insurrection. Stalin stated at the congress "The peaceful period of the revolution has come to an end, a period has begun which is not peaceful, a period of collisions and upheavals."

Meanwhile the counter-revolution was consolidating itself. Kerensky was merely a puppet in the hands of the General Staff, the Cadets and the counter-revolutionary officers. General Kornilov was making energetic preparations for a monarchist *coup d'état*. After a number of conferences with the leaders of the Cadets and the Moscow industrialists, Kornilov, with the consent of the Provisional Government, moved one of the army corps, the Cossack units, and the "Savage" Division to Petrograd.

The counter-revolution had mobilized The landowners and the bourgeoisie, the tsarist generals and the gendarmes, all the Black Hundred elements in the country gave every possible assistance to the Kornilov rebellion. The Right Socialist-Revolutionaries (Savinkov) flirted with Kornilov and rendered him active assistance. The bourgeois press of Petrograd and Moscow was already glorifying Kornilov as the man who would suppress the Bolsheviks and restore order.

The revolution was passing through a critical period. The forces of counter-revolution were well consolidated and ready for a decisive blow.

In reply to this offensive the Bolshevik Party energetically mobilized the masses and organized companies of Red Guards. The influence of the Bolsheviks grew perceptibly.

The detachments in the army and navy which sympathized with the Bolsheviks were ready to defend the revolution. The whole country was roused by the call of the Bolsheviks to repulse the counter-revolution. Kornilov's troops were demoralized under the influence of revolutionary agitation.

In spite of the counter-activity of the Provisional Government and the *laissez-faire* attitude of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, the revolutionary forces succeeded in quelling the Kornilov revolt. Kornilov was arrested, but soon escaped from custody and fled to the South in order to organize the forces of counter-revolution there. But he did not succeed, his forces were scattered.

The Kornilov rebellion plainly showed the broad masses how correct Lenin was, how correct the Bolsheviks were, in saying that the Provisional Government was clearing the way for the tsarist generals. It showed everyone that the Cadets, in conjunction with the counter-revolutionary generals, were striving to disperse the Soviets and restore the monarchy.

Lenin, from his hiding-place, intently followed the course of events, constantly guiding the Party, and considering all the paths which the struggle of the proletariat for power must take. He was also engaged on a detailed analysis of how the workers' state should be organized after the victory of the proletariat, and what form the dictatorship of the proletariat would take. To this end he wrote his book *The State and Revolution* (which he had begun abroad). In this book Lenin showed, on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Engels, the form of state the proletariat required. He showed that the proletariat cannot use the apparatus of the bourgeois state for its purposes. It must smash the bourgeois state machine. The proletariat, having seized power, would create a dictatorship *i.e.*, a power which it would share with none, and which would rest directly on the armed force of the masses. The dictatorship would help the proletariat to crush the resistance of the exploiters and lead the great mass of the population, in the first place the peasantry, in organizing socialist society.

Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the main point in the teachings of Marx.

Reviewing the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, Lenin said that the proletarian state would for the first time be real democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat would guarantee real freedom for the toilers. In the proletarian state the toilers themselves would govern the country. Only in communist society, when classes had disappeared, would the state wither away. In the transition period from capitalism to communism a strong proletarian power would be necessary—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's book *The State and Revolution* is of worldwide im-

portance. Lenin brilliantly developed further the teachings of Marx and Engels on the state and on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Exposing the distortion of Marxism permitted by the leaders of the Second International, Lenin pointed out that path along which the building of the Soviet state must proceed.

On the eve of the proletarian revolution Lenin armed the proletariat with a militant theory on the construction of the proletarian, Soviet state. He popularized this theory in a number of articles. He explained to all the toilers how the country must be organized on the morrow of victory. As always, Lenin's scientific researches proved a fighting weapon for the proletariat.

CHAPTER XIV

AT THE HELM OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY GREW MORE AND MORE complicated. Railway transport had broken down. A serious food shortage prevailed in the cities. Unemployment was increasing. The Provisional Government was coming out more and more openly on the side of counter-revolution.

The death penalty had been reintroduced at the front. Not one of the measures demanded by the workers and peasants for the betterment of their conditions had been adopted. In many places the peasants were seizing the landed estates. The Provisional Government sent punitive expeditions against them. Discontent was growing in the country.

In the elections to the district and municipal councils in Petrograd, Moscow and other cities, the Bolsheviks succeeded in having a large number of their supporters elected and in some districts of the capital they obtained an overwhelming majority. In the elections to the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets the Bolsheviks obtained a majority. In many other towns also the Bolsheviks increased their influence in the Soviets. In Petrograd, Kronstadt, Moscow and elsewhere Red Guard detachments were organized.

Lenin was in Finland. He was unable to participate directly in the work of the Central Committee. Very few comrades went to see him lest his whereabouts be discovered. He was obliged to give his instructions in articles, letters, and notes.

In a letter on insurrection dated September 25-27 (12-14) sent by Lenin to the Central Committee and the Petrograd and

Moscow Committees, he wrote. "Having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of both capitals, the Bolsheviks can, and must, take over the power of government . . . The majority of the people are *on our side*." He proposed that the Party place the question of an armed insurrection in Petrograd and Moscow on the order of the day. ". . . We shall win *absolutely and unquestionably*," he declared.

In another letter addressed to the Central Committee, dated September 26-27 (13-14), Lenin reviewed the conditions for a victorious insurrection and pointed out that all the prerequisites were there.

Lenin proposed that all the leading forces of the Party be concentrated in the factories and the barracks "The pulse of life is there, the force that will save the revolution is there." He mapped out a detailed plan of insurrection. A general staff of the insurgent detachments must be organized immediately, forces must be distributed, reliable regiments must be sent to the most important strategic points, Petrograd must be occupied, the general staff and the government arrested, armed workers mobilized, the telegraph and telephone exchanges occupied, etc.

At a meeting of the Central Committee, Lenin's proposals were sharply opposed by Kamenev, who tried to disrupt the offensive against the bourgeoisie, but the majority of the Central Committee supported Lenin. At Stalin's suggestion Lenin's letters were sent out to the organizations for discussion. Lenin's slogans were spread among the masses.

In his articles and letters Lenin constantly insisted that the time for insurrection had arrived, that it was impossible to delay any longer. The eve of a new revolution was at hand, the peasant movement was growing, the majority of the workers had gone over to the Bolsheviks.

Lenin sharply opposed Trotsky, who denied the need for organizing an armed insurrection and proposed that the Bolsheviks wait for the Congress of Soviets. This would amount to " . . . utter idiocy, or sheer treachery," Lenin said. "To wait would mean losing *weeks* at a time when weeks and even days decide *everything*. It would mean faint-heartedly *renouncing* the seiz-

ure of power, for on November 1-2 it will have become impossible (both politically and technically, since the Cossacks will be mobilized for the day of the revolt so foolishly 'appointed') ”

Lenin said that if a sudden blow were struck simultaneously in Petrograd, Moscow and the Baltic fleet, victory would be assured. The workers, the soldiers and the peasants were with us. We had armed workers and soldiers on our side. The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were completely disorganized.

In these same days Lenin wrote the pamphlet, *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*, where he pointed out that the strength of the proletarian state would lie in the fact that it would attract to the work of governing the state hundreds of thousands and millions of people. “This magic means is to get the toilers, the poor, to share in the day-to-day work of governing the state.”

The proletarian state would be supported by the workers and poor peasants. The program of the Soviet power would guarantee it the sympathy and support of all the toilers.

Lenin wrote “When every labourer, every unemployed worker, every cook, every ruined peasant sees—not from the newspapers, but with his own eyes—that the proletarian government is not cringing to wealth, but is helping the poor, that this government does not hesitate to adopt revolutionary measures, that it takes surplus products from the parasites and gives them to the hungry, that it forcibly installs the homeless into the dwellings of the rich, that it forces the rich to pay for milk, but does not give them a single drop of it until the children of *all* poor families have received an adequate supply, that the land is passing into the possession of the toilers, and the factories and banks are passing under the control of the workers, that immediate and severe punishment is being meted out to millionaires who conceal their riches—when the poor see and feel this, then no forces of the capitalists and kulaks, no forces of international finance capital which manipulates hundreds of billions of money, will be able to defeat the people’s revolution. On the contrary, the people’s revolution will conquer the whole world, for in every country the socialist revolution is ripening.”

From his hiding place Lenin directed the conference of the Petrograd organizations

At this time, the Provisional Government, seeking a way to strengthen its tottering position, called a special conference of the representatives of the various parties and organizations—the so-called Pre-Parliament. In this conference the Provisional Government gave the preponderance to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and organizations, in order to ensure support for its activities. The Pre-Parliament was to create the illusion among the people that everything could be settled in a peaceful way, and that the Provisional Government had support among the people.

Kamenev and Zinoviev were ardent advocates of the proposal that the Bolsheviks participate in this farce, as before, they wanted to assist the bourgeois parties and the Provisional Government in every way. At the insistence of Lenin, vigorously supported by Stalin, the Bolsheviks withdrew from the Pre-Parliament. They pointed out to all the working people that the only way out was to fight for the seizure of power.

The Pre-Parliament was "an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to lead the country from the path of the Soviets on to the path of bourgeois parliamentarism" (Stalin), and participation in it might have led astray the revolutionary masses, who were marching to the slogan "All Power to the Soviets."

In a letter dated October 16-20 (3-7) Lenin again wrote to the Central Committee, the Moscow Committee and the Petrograd Committee, proposing that they should immediately proceed to insurrection. "Delay becomes positively a *crime*," he said, and several times repeated in the same letter "The Bolsheviks have no right to wait for the Congress of Soviets, *they must take power immediately*." "To wait is a crime." "Victory is assured, and there are nine chances out of ten that it will be bloodless. To wait is a crime against the revolution."

In his next letter to the Party organizations Lenin explained the principles of the art of insurrection on the basis of Marx's writings on the subject.

Lenin applied the rules of insurrection to the situation in Rus-

sia. He proposed that the three main forces—the workers, the navy and the army—be co-ordinated so as first to occupy and hold the telegraph and telephone stations, the railway stations and bridges. The most resolute elements (the shock troops, the young workers, and the best sailors) should be divided into small detachments to occupy the most important points. The best detachments should be sent to take the central position of the enemy, having as their watchword “We shall all perish to a man rather than let the enemy pass”

Lenin concluded his letter with the words: “The success of the Russian and world revolutions depends on two or three days of fighting.” On the same day he wrote a letter to the Bolsheviks attending the Regional Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region. He repeated that procrastination in the matter of insurrection would be a crime, it was impermissible to delay any longer. “The fleet, Kronstadt, Viborg, Reval, can and must advance on Petrograd, they must smash the Kornilov regiments, rouse both the capitals, start a mass agitation for a government which will immediately give the land to the peasants and immediately make proposals for peace, and must overthrow Kerensky’s government and establish such a government.

“Verily, procrastination is like unto death”

Lenin realized that failure to seize the favourable moment for insurrection would mean the ruin of everything. With intense energy, iron determination and ardent conviction, he rallied the Party ranks for the decisive battle and persistently carried on agitation for an immediate armed uprising.

At this time active Bolshevik propaganda was being carried on at the front. In spite of all government persecution the Bolsheviks were constantly winning new supporters in the army. The people were weary of the war and the soldiers did not want to fight. They eagerly listened to the Bolshevik slogans to end the war, seize the land, take power.

The Provisional Government felt the ground shaking under it. In obedience to the will of the bourgeoisie and the tsarist generals it made haste to repeat the Kornilov rebellion. It sought to draw “reliable” troops (Cossacks) to Petrograd, and send

those regiments which were "infected with Bolshevism" out of Petrograd to the front, it organized counter-revolutionary women's detachments, various reinforcements and other military units, ostensibly to send them to the front but in reality for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. The counter-revolution was hastening to launch the attack on the proletariat before the latter had time to strike.

By this time it was clear that the struggle of the Bolsheviks with the Socialist-Revolutionaries for the support of the peasantry had borne fruit.

The support of the imperialist war by Kerensky and the Provisional Government, the refusal of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks to confiscate the landed estates, the re-introduction of the death penalty at the front, the double-faced policy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Provisional Government, the Kornilov revolt—all these factors served to revolutionize the broad masses of the peasantry and impelled them to accept the Bolshevik slogans.

Stalin said "The Kerensky period was therefore a great object lesson for the toiling masses of the peasantry, as they could see with their own eyes that with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks in power the country would never extricate itself from the war, that they, the peasants, would get neither land nor liberty, that the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries differed from the Cadets only in that they used honeyed phrases and false promises while in reality pursuing the same imperialist, Cadet policy, that the only power that could lead the country on to the proper road was the power of the Soviets."

In order to be closer to the leadership of the armed uprising, Lenin, with the consent of the Central Committee of the Party, now moved from Viborg, where he had been living, to Petrograd.

On the day of his arrival Lenin summoned Stalin to meet him in the apartment of a worker, an old Party member. He warmly shook hands with his loyal follower and assistant. He questioned him on the situation within the Party and the senti-

ments of the workers, and discussed measures for carrying out an armed insurrection and the seizure of power.

Lenin moved into a large house in the Viborg district, inhabited exclusively by workers. His address was kept a strict secret. Lenin was obliged to be especially careful because Kerensky's police and secret service continued to search for him high and low. At his secret lodgings Lenin worked intensively, issuing directions to the Party organizations and to individual comrades. He never left his lodgings, lest he attract the attention of the police.

Only a very few of the responsible Party workers came to see him at this time. His most frequent visitor was Stalin.

On October 23 (10), after a long period of enforced absence, Lenin attended a Central Committee meeting. His appearance evoked general rejoicing, all jumped from their seats and clustered around him, greeting him with shouts of welcome. He was still clean-shaven and wore a wig, so that it was difficult to recognize him.

Lenin made a speech on armed insurrection, pointing out that it was now necessary to make technical preparations. The Central Committee supported Lenin. Only Zinoviev and Kamenev spoke against insurrection. The Central Committee passed a resolution to the effect that armed insurrection was on the order of the day, and proposed that all the organizations be guided by this slogan in all their practical activities.

An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee together with responsible Party functionaries was held on October 29 (16). At this meeting Lenin made an impassioned speech in favour of immediate insurrection. "The situation is clear," Lenin said, "either a dictatorship of Kornilov or the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor strata of the peasantry." The peasantry would follow the proletariat. Zinoviev and Kamenev again opposed Lenin, urging that the Bolsheviks should bide their time and run no risks, as no forces or organization for insurrection were available.

Stalin strongly supported Lenin, correctly pointing out that the course suggested by Kamenev and Zinoviev would help the

forces of counter-revolution to organize. Kamenev and Zinoviev were defeated by an overwhelming majority, the Central Committee passed a resolution calling for the most strenuous and thorough preparations for armed insurrection.

The Central Committee organized a revolutionary military centre to direct the insurrection, which was headed by Comrade Stalin.

Having been defeated in the Central Committee, Kamenev and Zinoviev treacherously wrote against the decision of the Central Committee in the bourgeois press. They betrayed the Party's plan for insurrection to the bourgeoisie. Lenin branded this as an act of unexampled strike-breaking, "unspeakable baseness." He wrote that to come out publicly, and in the bourgeois press, against a decision adopted by the Central Committee, is treachery, strike-breaking. "I should consider it disgraceful on my part," Lenin writes, "if I were to hesitate to condemn these former comrades because of my former close relations with them. I declare outright that I no longer consider either of them comrades and that I will fight with all my might, both in the Central Committee and at the congress, to secure their expulsion from the Party."

Demanding the immediate expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Party, Lenin wrote in his next letter "That is the only way to restore the workers' party to health, to rid ourselves of a dozen or so spineless intellectuals, to rally the ranks of the revolutionaries, to go forth to meet great and momentous difficulties and to march hand in hand *with the revolutionary workers*."

Trotsky, who afterwards was fond of boasting of his supposed leading role in the October insurrection, in reality went into the insurrection by compulsion, as though to destruction, having no confidence of victory. He held that it was necessary to wait until the Constituent Assembly was convened, that the conditions for socialism in Russia had not matured, and would not mature soon, that without a victorious revolution in the West the cause of the proletarian revolution in Russia was doomed to failure.

This cowardly position brought Trotsky close to the strike-

breakers Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin contemptuously repudiated all the strikebreakers and traitors to the socialist revolution.

On November 6 (October 24) Lenin sent a letter to the members of the Central Committee in which he proposed that the uprising begin immediately "We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, first disarming (defeating, if they offer resistance) the Junkers and so forth.

"We must not wait! We may lose everything! . . . The matter must be decided without fail this very evening, or this very night . . .

"The government is wavering. It must be *destroyed* at all costs!

"To delay action will be fatal."

These days of revolutionary crisis fully revealed the genius of Lenin as a leader of the masses, confidently and boldly directing the battle and clearly seeing where the paths of revolution led.

Stalin, writing of this time, says. "Raising an insurrection in such circumstances meant staking everything on this one card. But Lenin did not fear to take the risk, because he knew, he saw with his prophetic eye, that insurrection was inevitable, that insurrection would be victorious, that insurrection in Russia would prepare for the end of the imperialist war, that insurrection in Russia would rouse the tortured masses of the West, that insurrection in Russia would transform the imperialist war into civil war, that insurrection would give rise to a republic of Soviets, that a republic of Soviets would serve as a bulwark for the revolutionary movement of the whole world."

On November 6 (October 24) Lenin decided to move to the Smolny. First he wanted to send for Stalin, but when it was ascertained that it would be difficult to inform Stalin and that he could not come before midnight, Lenin said: "Then let us go to the Smolny."

Lenin disguised himself somewhat, changed his clothes, tied a bandage around his face, and donned a battered-looking cap.

On the way to the Smolny he had to pass several sentry

posts and just missed a Junker patrol party. He had trouble entering the Smolny as he had no suitable passes or documents. In the Smolny Lenin immediately got in touch with Stalin. Other comrades were also summoned.

That day the Provisional Government had issued a decree committing the members of the Bolshevik Revolutionary Military Committee for trial. It called out the Junkers to the Winter Palace. It was preparing an offensive.

But the Central Committee, following Lenin's instructions, had already summoned the proletariat to insurrection. On the night of November 6 (October 24), Red Guard detachments began to occupy the railway stations, the telegraph and telephone exchanges and other points as planned by Lenin.

On the morning of November 7 (October 25), Lenin wrote the first address "To the Citizens of Russia," in the name of the Revolutionary Military Committee, wherein he declared that the Provisional Government was deposed and that the cause for which the people had fought was assured.

On the afternoon of November 7 (October 25), Lenin spoke at a special meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies. He was greeted with a stormy ovation. Fighting was still going on in the city at the time. The Winter Palace, the quarters of the Provisional Government, had not been taken, but the main strategic points in the city were in the hands of the proletariat. In a brief, inspiring speech Lenin spoke of the revolution that had been accomplished, a revolution which would establish a Soviet government, the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Today begins a new phase in the history of Russia," he said. We have begun to build a socialist state.

The resolution of the Soviet contained a condensed résumé of Lenin's speech, outlining the most important immediate tasks of the new government: the confiscation of the landed estates, workers' control of production, etc.

During these days of the proletarian revolution the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets was convened in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had fought stubbornly to have this congress summoned at once, because it was to be one of the means of rallying

the Bolsheviks, who by this time had gained a majority in a considerable number of the Soviets throughout Russia. The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries tried by every means to postpone the summoning of the congress.

This congress was attended by delegates from every part of the country, 650 in all, approximately 400 of whom were Bolsheviks. At Lenin's instructions, the Bolshevik delegates, on their arrival in Petrograd, proceeded immediately to the districts, to factories and workshops to take an active part in the uprising. Lenin endeavoured to have the main task—the seizure of power—carried out without delay. All the forces of the Party were mobilized to this end.

The Congress of Soviets opened at about 11 p. m. on November 7 (October 25), the very hour when the struggle in Petrograd was entering the final stage—the bombardment of the Winter Palace. The Mensheviks, the Bundists, and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, seeing that they were an insignificant minority, withdrew from the congress.

The only ones, in addition to the Bolsheviks, to remain at the congress were the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, who reflected the sentiments of the more revolutionary section of the peasantry.

Late that night tidings were brought to the congress of the taking of the Winter Palace and the arrest of the Provisional Government Representatives of the troops arrived with the news that the detachments sent by Kerensky against Petrograd had come over to the side of the revolution.

The revolution was victorious

Lenin worked intensely all through the night of November 7 (October 25), 1917, directing the struggle, receiving reports from various sections of the city, issuing instructions. He outlined the immediate measures to be carried out the next day. He drafted the decree on the land.

On November 8 (October 26), Lenin was almost wholly taken up with the question of the defence of Petrograd.

The counter-revolutionaries would not surrender without a fight. The Junkers, the Cossacks and individual military units tried to offer resistance to the proletarian revolution.

Lenin edited the final drafts of the first decrees of the proletarian government

On November 8 (October 26), at 9 p m , the historic night session of the Congress of Soviets began The congress greeted the leader of the proletarian revolution with a prolonged ovation. Lenin devoted the first words of his speech to the question of peace

He suggested that an appeal be sent to the peoples and governments of all the Allied countries proposing immediate negotiations for "a just, democratic peace," without annexations and without indemnities The appeal proposed an immediate armistice on all fronts It stated that the Soviet government would publish all the secret treaties concluded by the tsarist and Provisional Governments with the imperialists of Western Europe The appeal was unanimously adopted by the congress

Now the land question had to be settled. The landlords had to be deprived of their lands It was necessary to show plainly that the workers' government was helping the peasantry. The alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasantry had to be provided with a sound economic basis

Lenin formulated the task as follows the land must immediately be transferred to the peasants, and the property rights of the landowners abolished Lenin made public the decree on the land, including the Model Instructions compiled from 242 local Peasant Instructions on the land

The decree on the land abolished forever the landowners' title to the land The landed estates were to be placed under the control of the *volost* land committees and the *uyezd* soviets of peasants' deputies.

The Peasant Instructions stated that private property in land was to be forever abolished. Land could not be bought or sold All land became the property of the whole people, and was placed entirely at the disposal of the toilers. Estates with advanced farming methods would be transformed into model farms under state control.

When Lenin was told at the congress that this decree had been drawn up by the Socialist-Revolutionaries (actually the decree

had been entirely drawn up by Lenin and only a supplement, an "instruction" based on genuine peasant representations, had been taken from a Socialist-Revolutionary document), he replied: "Does it matter who drew it up? As a democratic government we cannot ignore the decision of the rank and file of the people, even though we may disagree with it . . . Experience is the best teacher, and it will show who is right. Let the peasant solve this problem from one end and us from the other. . . . We must follow experience, we must allow complete freedom for the creative faculties of the masses. . . . The point is that the peasant should be firmly assured that there are no more landlords in the countryside, that the peasants themselves must settle all questions, that they must themselves arrange their own lives."

Lenin's forecast has been completely justified. The "levelling" policy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, *i.e.*, the tendency to build not on socialized, collective husbandry, but on small, individual farming, remained an empty formula. The agrarian program actually carried into effect was the one which the Bolsheviks wanted. The land became the property of the state, and then the collective farm system became consolidated in our country.

The decree on the land was adopted amid loud applause. A peasant from the Tver gubernia spoke words of greeting and gratitude to Lenin "as the staunchest defender of the poor peasantry." The speech was greeted with an ovation.

During the day, before the session of the congress, Lenin led the discussion on the composition of the new government. Lenin proposed to the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries that they participate in the government. Since the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries had the support of some of the peasant Soviets, since they recognized the Soviet power, although inconsistently, and agreed with the Bolsheviks on a number of questions, Lenin considered it important to include them in the government, and thereby influence and lead them in a more organized manner. The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries wavered and refused. The congress was asked to endorse the new government—the Council of People's Commissars headed by Lenin.

Stalin was appointed *People's Commissar of Nationalities*. In addition to his other work Lenin entrusted him with the complicated task of carrying out the Bolshevik national policy. Stalin also took Lenin's place on the Council of People's Commissars when for some reason Lenin was unable to attend its sessions.

Towards morning the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets came to a close. It had carried out the task set by Lenin.

The armed struggle was still going on. Kerensky mustered army units near Petrograd and took Gatchina. It was necessary to strain every effort in defence of the proletarian power. Lenin himself had to direct the organization of Soviet Red Guard regiments and the struggle against Kerensky's bands. The position of our units was fairly critical. Lenin went with Stalin to the district military headquarters, summoned those in charge of military operations, and demanded a detailed report on the situation. Podvoisky relates "To my question as to what was the meaning of this visit, whether it was due to lack of confidence in us or to something else, Lenin answered plainly but firmly 'It is not lack of confidence, but simply that the government of the workers and peasants wishes to know how its military authorities are acting'.

"At that moment I felt for the first time that we had a dictatorship, that we had a strong, firm, workers' government."

Lenin demanded detailed information and pored over the map. He asked why this or that position was not defended, why this or that movement of the troops had been planned.

Lenin called in the representatives of the factories to his office in the Smolny and ascertained what each factory could do in the matter of defence, he gave instructions on the mobilization of workers and on supplies, he involved everyone in the work of defence.

Lenin summoned the representatives of the Baltic fleet and established in detail which vessels could defend Petrograd and where they must be stationed. He asked to be shown on the map what part of the coast the vessels could bombard. He gave instructions on what action the navy should take. He demanded that an additional detachment of Kronstadt sailors be summoned.

Lenin himself made the round of the Petrograd factories, where detachments were being formed for the fight against Kerensky's troops. He went to the Putilov plant to see for himself how armoured trains and armoured cars were being placed in readiness.

"It was at night," one Putilov worker recalls. "He drove into the factory without a pass, and was stopped in the courtyard by Red Guards who did not recognize Ilyich in the dark. The 'suspicious person' was escorted to the factory committee. Imagine the confusion of all present when the 'suspicious person' entered the room.

"'Fine, vigilance is absolutely necessary to us now,' Ilyich began, so as to dissipate the embarrassment

"And immediately he got down to business. 'How is the work with the armoured cars going on, how soon can they be sent out?'

"Our work seemed too slow to him. He hurried us up, demanding that we exert every effort to have the work finished a few hours earlier than was proposed."

In a few days Kerensky's troops around Petrograd were defeated

Skilfully utilizing all forces, Lenin achieved the victory of the proletarian revolution

A new epoch had opened in world history

CHAPTER XV

THE FIRST WEEKS OF SOVIET POWER

THE PROLETARIAT HAD TRIUMPHED. THE GOVERNMENT OF the proletarian dictatorship had been established

The first meeting of the Council of People's Commissars was held around a feebly-lighted table in a small room in the Smolny, coats and caps were heaped on the chairs

In these first days the Soviet government, in addition to the main decrees—on the land, on peace, on the formation of the Soviet government—adopted Lenin's draft statutes on workers' control of production and on the storing, purchase and sale of all raw materials and foodstuffs. The elected representatives of the workers and employees were authorized to supervise all affairs in their enterprises and not to allow the stoppage of work or the closing-down of these enterprises. Thus the working class made its first step towards taking over production.

Lenin continued to lead the armed struggle against the adherents of the overthrown Provisional Government. On November 11, the Junkers, who had been released on parole after the capture of the Winter Palace, revolted. In Moscow the fighting was still going on.

At this difficult time a small group of capitulators (Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and Nogin) continued to fight Lenin. They demanded that not only Left Socialist-Revolutionaries as Lenin had suggested, but also representatives of other parties—Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and People's Socialists—be included in the government. They proposed, in a word, voluntarily to surrender the hard-won victory to the agents of

the bourgeoisie. They maintained that we could not hold out in a prolonged civil war, that we could not retain power. The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were brazen enough even to propose a new chairman for the Council of People's Commissars. Chernov or Avksentyev. At a meeting called by the Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Union Kamenev and Rykov agreed to this also. Lenin pointed out that Kamenev and his adherents, that group of opportunists "completely depart from all the fundamental positions of Bolshevism and the proletarian class struggle in general, repeating utterly un-Marxian phrases about the impossibility of a socialist revolution in Russia." By its criminal vacillations this group was disrupting the work of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Central Committee adopted a resolution proposed by Lenin characterizing the behaviour of the opposition as petty huckstering and as a betrayal of the slogans of Soviet power. The Right opportunists even voted against the decision of the Central Committee at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The Central Committee called them to order and threatened to expel them from the Party. The capitulators (among whom were Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov) announced their withdrawal from the Central Committee, several of them resigned their posts as People's Commissars. They declared that they could not accept responsibility for the "ruinous policy" of the Central Committee. They demanded coming to an agreement immediately with all parties. This actually meant rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

This resignation at a most critical moment was a treacherous stab in the back to the Soviet government. But their desertion caused neither Lenin, the Central Committee, nor the proletariat to falter for a moment.

These wavering intellectuals, opportunists and opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat were an isolated group, and met with no support in the Party. The struggle continued victorious. All over the country power was passing into the hands of the Soviets led by the Bolsheviks.

In a special address to all the toilers, telling of this desertion, Lenin wrote that certain Party members "flinched in face of the pressure of the bourgeoisie and fled from our ranks. The bourgeoisie and their supporters are jubilant over this fact and are maliciously rejoicing, prating of collapse and predicting the fall of the Bolshevik government"

Lenin brought up the fact that even before the uprising Kamenev and Zinoviev had acted as deserters and strike-breakers by attempting to disrupt the proletarian uprising. Now once again they sided with the bourgeoisie against the proletarian state

He pointed out that these deserters would not shake the unity of the masses. "*There is not the slightest hesitation among the mass of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd, Moscow and other places.*

"Therefore, let the toilers remain confident and resolute"

This treachery on the part of Kamenev and Zinoviev was not accidental, Lenin said. As is known, later on also, they constantly opposed the Bolshevik line of the Party, opposed the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the possibility of building socialism in one country and ended their career of duplicity in the mire of counter-revolution, as instigators and organizers of terrorist bands, as fascist secret service agents, spies and diversionists.

The struggle for the consolidation of Soviet power continued. Kerensky's bands were defeated. Soviet power was established over the greater part of Russia. After some hesitation, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries entered the government—the Council of People's Commissars.

The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries continued to vacillate. One day they favoured Soviet power, the next day they sided with the Mensheviks. Lenin persistently sought to bring under his influence the more revolutionary elements among the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, hoping through them to win over to Bolshevism that section of the revolutionary peasantry which followed the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Joint meetings were held of the Central Committees of the Bolsheviks and of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. Lengthy negotiations were conducted on various questions.

The officials and a considerable section of the intelligentsia refused to recognize the Soviet power and sabotaged its work in every possible way. The party of the proletariat began to build its own, new, Soviet apparatus. The fact that the broad masses were for Soviet power gave the Soviet government unprecedented strength. In an appeal to the population Lenin wrote

"Remember that *you yourselves* are now governing the state. Nobody will help you unless you unite and take *all the affairs* of the state into *your own* hands. *Your* Soviets are now the organs of state power, organs with full competence to decide all questions. Rally around your Soviets."

The Smolny was the seat of the government. The leading organs of the Party and the Soviet power were quartered there. It was the armed camp of the proletarian dictatorship. Cannon stood in its courtyard and machine guns were stationed on its steps. Day and night a constant flow of people—soldiers, Red Guards, working men and women, peasant delegations—streamed up and down its stairways and along its corridors. It was from the Smolny that the fight was led. It was here that the fighting detachments of the revolution were formed and armed. It was here that the supply of provisions for the capital was organized. It was at the Smolny that the proletarian state was created.

The reception room of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin, was a large ante-room, partitioned in two by two high-backed sofas. At a small desk sat a secretary who inquired as to the object of each person's visit, nearby were a few plain chairs and a table. Further on was a room with several tables and a coat rack, and beyond that Lenin's study. Workers, peasants and members of the government entered without special formalities. The place hummed with activity.

"Lenin was the centre and guiding force of all this activity," writes Krupskaya. "The work was not merely intense work, it was work that absorbed all his strength, taxed his nerves to the utmost, he had to overcome extraordinary difficulties, and carry on a most desperate struggle, often with comrades who were closely associated with him in their work. It was small wonder that late at night when he entered the room we occupied in the

Smolny, Ilyich simply could not get to sleep; he would get up and phone someone, give some urgent orders, and then finally, when he did fall asleep, keep on talking in his sleep of his work.

"Work in the Smolny went on not only during the day, but all through the night. In the beginning everything went on in the Smolny—Party meetings, sessions of the Council of People's Commissars, and the work of the People's Commissariats. Telegrams and orders were sent out from there. People streamed to the Smolny from everywhere. And what kind of staff did the Council of People's Commissars have? In the beginning, four utterly inexperienced people, working without a respite, doing everything that was required. It never entered anyone's head to specify and fix their functions, they were indefinite and all-embracing. They worked at full swing, but were unable to handle everything, and Ilyich often had to do the most routine work, making phone calls, etc."

The Party was faced with tremendous tasks.

The country had to be got out of the war as quickly as possible. General Dukhonin, the Commander-in-Chief, was ordered to open negotiations immediately for an armistice. The general staff refused to comply. Lenin and Stalin spoke to Dukhonin over the direct wire and in the name of the government removed him from his post. Krylenko was appointed in his place. Lenin appealed to the soldiers over the heads of the generals to start negotiations for an armistice immediately. "The cause of peace is in your hands," he wrote.

On November 27 the Germans agreed to an armistice and a Soviet delegation was sent to the front to conduct peace negotiations. The counter-revolutionary General Staff was disbanded and an armistice declared.

Peace negotiations began, they were broken off and reopened several times.

Meanwhile, the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the bourgeois parties, the counter-revolutionary generals and officers, the profiteers and saboteurs were waging a furious struggle against the Soviet government. Lenin instructed the Revolutionary Military Committee to take drastic measures to eradicate profiteering.

and sabotage. At the end of December the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage headed by Dzerzhinsky was set up by a government decree. The Cadets were declared enemies of the people.

Measures had to be taken quickly to destroy all remnants of tsarist power, all support of the bourgeoisie and the landowners. The whole country had to be shown how to destroy the old order and build the new.

Lenin drafted a number of historic decrees. A declaration signed by Lenin and Stalin proclaimed the equality of all the peoples of Russia and their right to free self-determination, including secession and the establishment of independent states.

In this way Lenin's national policy began to be carried out. A decree demobilizing the army was promulgated. The division of people into estates was abolished, designations of rank were done away with, together with all the titles and privileges of the possessing classes. A special Supreme Economic Board was established to direct the national economy; this Board was afterwards transformed into the Supreme Council of National Economy. The right of private property in urban real estate (lands and houses) was abolished. Sick benefit and unemployment insurance were introduced. The banks were nationalized. A decree on civil marriage was issued.

With the close collaboration of Stalin, Lenin drew up the "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People." The declaration stated that the Soviet Russian Republic was constituted on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics. The fundamental aim of the republic was "to abolish all forms of exploitation of man by man, to put a complete end to the division of society into classes, mercilessly to crush the resistance of the exploiters, to establish a socialist organization of society and to achieve the victory of socialism in all countries."

The Declaration proclaimed "the arming of the toilers, the creation of a socialist Red Army of workers and peasants and the complete disarming of the propertied classes. . . There can be no place for exploiters in any of the organs of government

'The power must be vested solely and entirely in the toiling masses. . . .'

Thus Lenin formulated the principles of socialism in words which were intelligible to all the toilers

The guns of civil war were still booming, peace had not yet been concluded and the army was still at the front, although hostilities had ceased, yet Lenin was already engrossed in thoughts of socialist construction. For a new socialist system of economy had to be created, ways and means had to be found to assist the proletariat to run the economy of the country in a new manner. For this it was necessary, first of all, to arouse the initiative and the creative abilities of the masses themselves. And Lenin drew up the first draft of the plan of struggle on the economic front

He wrote an article on the organization of socialist competition

"Socialism does not extinguish competition, on the contrary, it for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really *wide* and on a really *mass* scale, for drawing actually the majority of the population into an arena of labour in which they can display their abilities, reveal their talents, which are an untapped spring among the people, and which capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions

"Now that a socialist government is in power our task is to organize competition"

Lenin pointed out that now that they had begun to work for themselves, the proletariat and all the toilers would be able to make a bold showing in the way of enterprise, mass competition and revolutionary creativeness

There is a great deal of this organizational talent among the people "It is merely suppressed. It must be given an opportunity to display itself. It, *and it alone*, with the support of the masses, can save Russia and save the cause of socialism"

As usual, Lenin maintained close contact with the mass of the workers. New people had to be drawn more boldly into the work. Lenin constantly spoke at meetings and public assemblies. Krupskaya recalls one of his speeches on New Year's Eve

"We arrived at 11 30 p m. The big 'white' hall of the Mikhailovsky College resembled a riding school. Ilyich was joyfully greeted by the workers when he mounted the tribune. The audience aroused his ardour. And though he used simple language, without any high-sounding phrases or exclamations, he spoke of the things that had occupied his thoughts of late, he told how the workers must organize their whole life along new lines through the Soviets. He also told how the comrades who were going to the front must carry on work among the soldiers. At the end he was given a real ovation. Four workers grabbed the legs of the chair on which he was sitting, hoisted it up and carried him about."

Workers' and peasants' delegations, Party functionaries from the provinces, soldiers' and sailors' representatives came to Lenin in the Smolny. Lenin carefully questioned them, gave them instructions, and explained the Soviet decrees to them.

The workers recall many such meetings with the proletarian leader.

Comrades from the Putlov factory relate that Lenin immediately put two questions to their delegation. "'How many guns can you give us?'" For civil war was approaching. The second question was "'And how are things at your place? Are the workers plundering the property, or stealing? The working class is now faced with the task of properly organizing production and enforcing proletarian labour discipline. Is that clear to you, comrades?'"

"Whereupon one of the delegates answered 'There have been individual cases of stealing'."

Lenin reproved them saying

"'Bear in mind, comrades, that this must be stopped at all costs'."

A worker in a metallurgical plant tells how Lenin received their delegation in the Smolny at midnight.

"When we entered the reception room Vladimir Ilyich was not there. Just as we had taken off our caps we saw him come in. He greeted us and began to get us chairs. 'We'll get them ourselves, Vladimir Ilyich,' I told him. But he handed me a chair too, saying, 'Sit down, sit down.' We sat down, and began a cursory account of the factory. He stopped us. 'Which of you is the

chairman of the shop stewards' council?' I spoke up. 'Well then, tell me, Lazhechnikov, what are the mass of the workers like in your factory? Have you any influence among them? Do the workers follow you?' I replied that our factory could be relied on. We talked to him for ten or fifteen minutes."

Lenin maintained close contact with the working masses and carefully studied their sentiments

At the Smolny Lenin lived in a small room divided by a partition. One could reach his office by elevator. The charwoman Vorontsova tells of these days in the Smolny

"I had a sick little girl of six who walked on crutches. Her leg was in a plaster cast because of tuberculosis of the bone

"What's your name, little one, and what's the matter with your leg?" asked Vladimir Ilyich, giving me his hand, but looking at the little girl, consoling her .

"I began to see Vladimir Ilyich several times a day. He never once passed without saying a kindly word to the child, one time patting her, another time giving her a candy or a lozenge from his pocket, saying 'I saved that for you. Eat it, Tanya! It's the best we've got now, but the time will come when people will laugh at such a gift' .

"Vladimir Ilyich often played with her, he would stand the little girl next to the lift and tell her to listen to the speaking tube

"Tanya, stay here and listen,' Vladimir Ilyich would say and go up to the third floor

"Then he would shout something down. Tanya would shout into the tube to him, and call him .

"I recollect another instance. I was getting bread for fifteen people, on a ration of one-eighth of a pound per person. Once by mistake I was given rations for 25 people. I noticed it, then I thought oh well, we need it. I thought of Vladimir Ilyich, who worked day and night and scarcely ate anything. So I brought him tea and more bread than usual, and lingered around, not leaving the room. I thought he'd praise me. Vladimir Ilyich noticed the bread and, having glanced through the paper, turned to me.

"'Comrade Vorontsova, why did you serve such a lot of bread? There should be only one-eighth of a pound. Where did you get it?'"

"He gave me such a look that I had to come out with it. I told him that the girl who gave out the bread had made a mistake."

"'Don't you worry,' said I, 'they have plenty of bread, all the shelves are piled up with it. Eat it.'"

"'Do you think, Comrade Vorontsova,' said Vladimir Ilyich, 'that they only worry about us and the people you take care of?'"

"And he cut off the extra bread. 'Return this and never do it again.'"

On January 14 (1), 1918, the first attempt on Lenin's life was made. On this day Lenin was speaking in the Mikhailovsky riding school to a detachment which was leaving for the front. On the way back his car was fired on by a group of counter-revolutionary terrorists. Platten, who was sitting in the car grabbed Lenin's head and drew it to one side to shield it from the bullets.

"After the shots the chauffeur speeded up," writes M. I. Ulyanova, who was in the car with Lenin, "then, having turned the corner, he stopped and opening the door of the car asked, 'Are you alive?' 'Did they really shoot at us?' Lenin asked him. 'They sure did,' answered the chauffeur, 'I thought you were all goners. You had a narrow escape. If they had hit a tire, we couldn't have got away. And besides, it was impossible to drive fast in the fog. As it was, we ran a great risk.' Everything around was white in the thick Petrograd fog."

"On reaching the Smolny we examined the car. We found that the hood had been pierced in several places by bullets, some of which had gone right through the windshield. We also discovered that Platten's hand was bleeding. A bullet had evidently grazed him when he pulled Lenin's head aside, and had skinned his finger."

In December 1917, Lenin had outlined the policy to be pursued with regard to the Constituent Assembly. The Bolsheviks had previously put forward the demand for convoking the Constituent Assembly. This demand was contained in the old

program of the Bolshevik Party, but as far back as 1903, at the Second Party Congress, Lenin, and even Plekhanov, had defended the thesis that a revolutionary proletarian government should disperse the Constituent Assembly if the latter proved to be counter-revolutionary. Lenin had already pointed out in April 1917 that a republic of Soviets was a higher form of democracy than a bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly were held at a time when the majority of the people could not as yet realize the entire scope and significance of the October Revolution. In the meantime the alignment of class forces had changed radically. A number of the parties participating in the elections, such as the Cadets, had begun an armed struggle against the Soviet power.

It was well known that the allies of the bourgeoisie—the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, etc.—had a majority in the Constituent Assembly. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who in the October days had joined with the other counter-revolutionary parties to form an illegal government—the so-called Committee for Saving the Fatherland and the Revolution—made no secret of their plans to make the Constituent Assembly the rallying point of all the opponents of the Soviet power for the struggle against the proletarian dictatorship. In Lenin's words, the Constituent Assembly reflected "the yesterday of the revolution" and had become an obstacle in the path of the workers' and peasants' movement.

Lenin proposed that the Constituent Assembly be convened with the ultimatum that it recognize the Soviet government and all the decrees of the October Revolution. In case of refusal to do so, the Assembly was to be dissolved.

In order to dispel the illusions of the masses with regard to the Constituent Assembly it was necessary to let them become convinced from their own personal experience that the Constituent Assembly was counter-revolutionary and would not support the people's demands for land, peace, and Soviet power.

The Rights (Kamenev, Rykov, Ryazanov and others) opposed Lenin's proposal. As before, they sought paths of compro-

mise with the counter-revolutionary Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties.

The Constituent Assembly was convened on January 18 (5) and opened by Sverdlov who read Lenin's "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People." Availing themselves of their majority the Socialist-Revolutionaries elected Chernov chairman.

In view of the refusal of the Assembly to discuss the declaration, the Bolsheviks demanded a recess. During the recess a meeting of the Bolshevik fraction was called. At this meeting Lenin proposed that a statement written by him be read in the Constituent Assembly stigmatizing as counter-revolutionary the majority of the Assembly, which had gone against the workers and peasants, and that thereupon the fraction should withdraw.

After reading their statement, the Bolsheviks withdrew from the Constituent Assembly. That night the guard requested the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who were still holding forth, to leave the hall.

Thus ended that "hard, tedious, and wearisome day in the splendid rooms of the Taurida Palace, which differs from the Smolny about as much as the elegant but lifeless bourgeois parliamentary system differs from the simple proletarian Soviet machinery of state, which, though as yet imperfect and not functioning properly, is alive and full of vitality."

The next day the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution proposed by Lenin on the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. Thus ended ingloriously this assembly of "corpses and lifeless mummies," which Chernov represented as "the most vital union of all the peoples of Russia."

The attempt of the counter-revolutionaries to rally their forces around the Constituent Assembly had failed. But for many years to come the counter-revolutionaries toyed with the words "Constituent Assembly" in order to rouse their detachments against the Soviets.

Only ten weeks had elapsed since the seizure of power, but in that time tremendous changes had taken place in the country. In his appraisal of these heroic weeks of Bolshevik struggle,

Lenin said that in ten weeks the Bolsheviks had done a thousand times more than the Provisional Government had done in eight months. "We cleaned out all that monarchist garbage as nobody had ever done before. We left not a stone standing of that ancient edifice, the feudal orders . . . We brought the bourgeois-democratic revolution to *completion* as nobody has done before."

In the space of a few weeks we had done away with ownership of land by landlords, division into social estates and inequality of women. We had separated the church from the state, had put an end to the oppression of nationalities, had concluded an armistice and opened peace negotiations

And at the same time, in those same weeks, we had established workers' control over production, had nationalized the banks and smashed the old state apparatus

Referring to this time, Lenin said "We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, as a 'by-product' of the main and real *proletarian*-revolutionary socialist work"

The victory of the proletariat of Russia in October was fraught with world significance. It marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind. From the old world of exploitation, from capitalism, man was beginning to pass over to a new, socialist world.

Previous revolutions had only changed the form of exploitation, they had transferred power from those who had previously stood at the head of the state to other classes of exploiters. The October Revolution for the first time in history gave power to the oppressed class—the proletariat. By so doing it eliminated all exploitation in the country and all the exploiters.

The October Revolution wrought a radical change in the organization and methods of struggle of the toilers, in their culture, life, and ideology.

Having won power for the first time, the proletariat opened a new epoch, the epoch of proletarian revolutions.

The October Revolution struck a blow at imperialist domination in the colonial and other oppressed countries. The epoch of "*colonial* revolutions, which are carried out in the *op-*

pressed countries of the world *in alliance* with the proletariat, and *under the leadership* of the proletariat" (Stalin), had begun.

The October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on capitalism and challenged its very existence

The victory of the proletariat was achieved under the banner of Leninism which is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The victorious proletarian revolution in October signified that Leninism had triumphed over the ideas of Social-Democracy. The ideas of Marx and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat became a living reality. The theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country was realized. The era of the predominance of Leninism had begun.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

THE MIDDLE OF JANUARY 1918 IT HAD BECOME EVIDENT that despite the Soviet government's repeated proposals, England and France had definitely refused to conduct any peace negotiations. The conclusion of peace with Germany had to be hastened in order to end the war and demobilize the army. In Germany the war party, which aimed at the complete destruction of Russia, was in the ascendant. The German government appointed as chairman of its peace delegation the rabid monarchist and militarist, General Hoffmann.

Detailed information which Lenin received from the front showed that the army was demoralized and in no condition to fight, the soldiers were anxious to get home. The workers and peasants were weary of the long drawn-out war. The national economy had completely collapsed.

In the Central Committee Lenin firmly insisted on concluding a separate peace with Germany as quickly as possible. However, in the Party and on the Central Committee, the Bukharin opposition group of "Left Communists" (Bukharin, Radek, Ossinsky and others) was formed which, disregarding everything, opposed peace and advocated the continuation of the war. The oppositionists had no faith in the possibility of building socialism in one country. Trotsky, with his characteristic "diplomacy," pretended to hold a position "of his own," but in reality he supported the Bukharinites. All these enemies of Bolshevism proceeded from the Trotskyite contention that the Soviet republic would inevi-

tably meet with disaster if the state support of the international revolution did not come on time.

The Moscow Regional Bureau of the Party, led by the "Lefts," even demanded that peace negotiations be broken off and that all diplomatic relations with the imperialist countries be severed

Lenin was absolutely opposed to the slogan of a revolutionary war, which, under the existing circumstances, he held to be an empty and dangerous phrase, capable of wrecking the revolution. He pointed out that the Russian peasantry was supporting the working class, but that it was unable at the time to embark on a revolutionary war. The old tsarist army was demoralized and in no condition to fight. A new army had not yet been created. The revolutionary movement of the European workers would triumph, but many months might yet elapse before that triumph. Hence, for the time being there was only one way out: the earliest possible peace, the demobilization of the tsarist army, the restoration of the national economy, and the creation of a new socialist army of workers and peasants. If a few months' respite could be secured, it would be possible to reorganize the country. "And such a reorganization will make socialism invincible both in Russia and throughout the world, by creating at the same time a firm economic basis for a mighty workers' and peasants' Red Army."

Lenin explained that the safeguarding of the victories of the socialist revolution in Russia would also guarantee the future success of the world working-class movement. The international policy of the Soviet government must take into consideration the importance of preserving the dictatorship of the proletariat within the country.

At a meeting of responsible Party functionaries, held on January 21 (8) (consisting mainly of the delegates to the Third Congress of Soviets), Lenin proclaimed his theses on the immediate conclusion of peace, pointing out in detail the necessity for concluding peace as quickly as possible, so as to consolidate the victories of socialism and the further successes of the world revolutionary movement. The majority opposed Lenin and favoured an immediate revolutionary war.

On January 24 (11) a meeting of the Central Committee was called. Lenin insisted on the immediate conclusion of peace "Unquestionably, the peace which we are compelled to conclude at the present time is a despicable one, but should war be renewed, our government will be swept aside and peace will be concluded by another government," he said. Stalin firmly supported Lenin. At this time the majority of the Central Committee supported Trotsky's stand: the war should be ended, but peace should not be concluded, and the army should be demobilized.

At a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks and the Central Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries the same proposal was adopted. These instructions were given to our peace delegation in Brest.

At the end of January 1918, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets was convened. This congress had been called for the purpose of consolidating the Soviets and giving directives to the local bodies on conducting the struggle. At this congress Lenin made a report on the work of the Council of People's Commissars—the first report of the Council of People's Commissars to the Congress of Soviets.

He pointed out that a great deal had been done in the two months and fifteen days of the Soviet government's existence, *i e.*, five days longer than the existence of the first workers' government, the Paris Commune of 1871. The chief thing was that the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established, which "managed to organize the working class and the majority of the peasantry, all the toiling and exploited classes, in a single, inseparably linked force fighting against the landlords and the bourgeoisie."

After hearing Stalin's report "On the Federative Soviet Republic and the National Question," the congress adopted resolutions which embodied the fundamentals of the Leninist national policy. In the very first months of the Soviet government's existence, Lenin and Stalin had succeeded in introducing measures which provided a basis for a mighty union of all the toiling peoples against their oppressors. This policy, by dispelling the mistrust with

which all the nationalities oppressed by tsarism formerly regarded everything Russian, helped to consolidate the Soviet power in the Ukraine, in Transcaucasia and in Central Asia, and to unite the toilers in their struggle against the nationalist bourgeoisie.

The Third Congress gave the government wide powers in the matter of concluding peace.

In February peace negotiations with the Germans were renewed in Brest

In reply to a query by the Brest-Litovsk peace delegation, Lenin wrote "I should first like to consult with Stalin, before replying to your question" Shortly after that Lenin informed the delegation "Stalin has just arrived, I shall discuss the matter with him, and we will immediately send a joint reply" Then followed the reply, signed by Lenin and Stalin, stating that they held to their former position—the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty

On February 10 (January 28) the Soviet peace delegation announced to the Germans that Soviet Russia would end the war, but would not sign a peace treaty.

As Lenin had foreseen, Trotsky's tactics proved to be disastrous. They helped the German imperialists Within a few days the German military command announced that the armistice was over, and on February 18 a new offensive began

Immediately after receiving the communication on the termination of the armistice, Lenin stated before the Central Committee that Germany must be invited to begin new peace negotiations at once Stalin and Sverdlov supported him in this, but the majority (Trotsky, Bukharin, Uritsky and others) were opposed

On the morning of February 18 (5), at a meeting of the Central Committee, Lenin renewed his proposal—not a single hour must be lost, peace must be proposed immediately Lenin was again in the minority In the course of the day news came of the rapid advance of the Germans With their officers' storm detachments the Germans rapidly took town after town In the evening a second meeting of the Central Committee was held. Lenin and Stalin firmly insisted that peace must be immediately proposed to Germany.

"We cannot play with war . . ." Lenin said, "the Germans will now take everything. Things have reached such an *impasse* that the collapse of the revolution is inevitable if we pursue this middle course any further."

At the same meeting Comrade Stalin declared "An end must be put to this muddle I do not agree with Trotsky. . . We must now weigh everything and declare that we are for the renewal of the peace negotiations"

At a meeting of the Central Committee on February 23 Lenin's proposal was adopted by a majority A telegram was sent to the Germans proposing that peace be concluded at once In reply the Germans set new conditions which were much worse than the previous ones, and gave 48 hours for a reply They proposed that Finland and Livonia be evacuated and that peace be concluded with the bourgeois Ukrainian and Finnish governments.

A special meeting of the Central Committee was called. One of those present writes "Ilyich rushed into this decisive meeting of the Central Committee He was like a huge lion shut up in a cage He paced the room angrily, with grim determination written all over his face, all the muscles taut 'I won't stand for any more, not for a single second. Enough of this playing around! *Not a single second!*' His 'Not a single second' was uttered with a certain decisive, earnest and at the same time thoroughly angry sibilance, through his teeth—a characteristic sign that Ilyich was feeling in a 'fierce' mood. And Ilyich laid down his ultimatum"

Lenin declared that the German conditions, no matter how oppressive, must be accepted at once There was no other alternative, any other decision meant the death sentence of the Soviet power He declared that if the policy of revolutionary phrasemongering (*i.e.*, empty declarations about a revolutionary war with no forces to wage it) continued, he would resign from the government and from the Central Committee He would appeal to the Party, which would support him. He would fight for his line

In his speech at the meeting of the Central Committee Stalin firmly supported Lenin " We must sign on these terms

immediately. To assume that there will be no respite, but perpetual ultimatums, is to assume that there is absolutely no movement in the West. We hold that the Germans cannot do everything."

By a majority vote the Central Committee accepted all the German terms. The Bukharin group tried to sabotage this decision and to bring confusion into the ranks of the Party. Uritsky announced on behalf of Bukharin, Pyatakov, and others, that they were all resigning from their Party and Soviet posts. Trotsky handed in his resignation at the same time.

But Lenin remained adamant, like a rock in a raging sea. These resignations did not alarm him. He firmly pursued his policy of immediately concluding peace.

The Soviet delegation proceeded to Brest-Litovsk, and on March 3 the Brest peace was signed.

Subsequently, when the delegates made an attempt to show Lenin the official text of the Brest treaty, he protested emphatically and declared "I will neither read it, nor abide by it, if I can in any way avoid it."

Throughout these first months of Soviet power the headquarters of the proletarian dictatorship were in the Smolny. The Central Committee of the Party, the Council of People's Commissars, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, all the leading People's Commissariats, the editorial offices of the Party and government organs, etc., were all located there. Lenin and a number of other responsible workers lived there as well.

Life in the Smolny was one incessant round of activity, day and night. From here Lenin guided the proletarian struggle throughout the country. A thousand threads led to Lenin. People looked to him for help, support, counsel and guidance. Here is how a Finnish comrade describes the Smolny and a visit to Lenin.

"Fires were burning outside the Smolny, which was guarded by several lines of sentries. Armoured cars stood in complete readiness before the gates and on the square. The Smolny was all bustle and din. The fires smouldered and crackled. A bluish haze hung over Petrograd.

"We were halted by sailors armed to the teeth with rifles, revolvers, and hand grenades. After an hour's examina-

tion we passed unchallenged through three doors, past a countless number of comrades armed from head to foot.

"Having proceeded some two hundred steps through a long corridor, we found ourselves at the door of Lenin's office.

"There were no nameplates on any of the doors. . . .

"In the room were six old-fashioned desks. Three people were lying on desks, evidently they had gone without sleep for a long time. Lenin was sitting in an armchair, he too was probably dozing.

Notwithstanding the late hour and his weariness Lenin listened attentively to what the delegation had to say and instructed them how to proceed (they were discussing the disarming of the Cossacks awaiting demobilization, who were roistering in Finland).

"We left his room in high spirits . . . The sentries looked at us and smiled they had seen us go in to Lenin brooding and downcast, bewildered and excited, and in ten minutes we had come out gay and buoyant, ready to face the world."

In order to settle a number of highly important political questions (on war and peace, the program of the Party, etc.) and establish the necessary unity in the Party, which had been impaired by the factional struggle of the "Lefts," the Central Committee, at Lenin's suggestion, summoned an extraordinary congress—the Seventh Party Congress. Its sessions began in the first days of March. Nearly 300,000 Party members were represented.

The congress was confronted with a problem of supreme importance—how to extricate the country of the proletarian dictatorship from the imperialist war. In his report to the congress Lenin sharply and distinctly pointed out what the tactics of the proletarian party must be. He said that the revolution in the West would be harder to begin, but easier to continue, whereas here in Russia it was easier to begin but harder to continue. The peasantry and all the working people understood why we had been obliged to sign such an oppressive, humiliating peace. We had no army, the soldiers were unwilling to fight and we were surrounded by imperialist robbers who were armed to the teeth.

The army was the sick spot in the country; the sooner it was demobilized, the better. Lenin said. peace will give us a respite. "We shall take advantage of this respite to urge the people to unite, to fight, to say to the Russian workers and peasants: 'Create self-discipline, strict discipline, otherwise you will have to lie under the German jackboot.'"

Lenin declared that the workers and peasants would understand the full necessity for peace. "Every serious peasant and worker will say I am right, because they understand that peace is a means of gathering strength"

To declare war on Germany would be to yield to the provocations of the Russian bourgeoisie, would be to ruin the Soviet government and forfeit all that had been won by the workers and peasants during these last months. We must know how to retreat, we must bide our time, we must use this respite to consolidate our strength.

Lenin's policy was sharply opposed by the "Lefts," headed by Bukharin, Pyatakov, Radek, and others. Their speeches showed that they followed Trotsky in denying the importance of the alliance of the proletariat with the poor peasantry and the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country. The Trotskyites and Bukharinites were playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. The congress supported Lenin against the Bukharinites and Trotsky.

The second important question before the congress was the revision of the Party program.

It may seem strange to some why at such a moment when the situation was so tense politically, when the very existence of the Soviet government was at stake, the Party should concern itself with questions of program. But one of the characteristic features of Bolshevism in the whole course of its history was the particular stress it laid on theory. For Lenin and his Party theory was a most important weapon of struggle.

At Lenin's suggestion the April Conference had already noted the points in the program which required amending, and had instructed the Central Committee to present a new draft program in two months' time.

In the summer and autumn of 1917 a lively discussion on the program had gone on in the Party, a great many pamphlets on this subject were published, and a number of articles appeared in the Party periodicals.

In the busy days of preparation for armed insurrection (October 18, 1917), the Central Committee had appointed a commission to revise the program of the Party. Before the Seventh Congress the question of the program was again reviewed.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the beginning of the building of socialism called for radical changes in the old Party program. The old program had been drawn up for the period of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his report at the congress, "On the Revision of the Program and Our Tasks," Lenin enlarged on his rough draft of the program in which the main features of Soviet power as well as the immediate tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat were indicated. The congress adopted a resolution containing instructions to the commission drawing up the program (Lenin and Stalin were members) with the view to having the program finally ratified at the next congress.

The old name of the Party, "Social-Democratic," was not only obsolete, but had been besmirched by the base treachery of the reactionary leaders of the Second International, who had gone over to the bourgeoisie.

The Bolshevik Party had to show by a change in name that it was breaking completely with the Second International. Having begun the task of socialist transformation the Party was proceeding towards the creation of a communist society, therefore the name "Communist Party" was more exact and scientifically correct.

During the congress, the "Lefts" (Bukharin, Radek, Ossinsky, Uritsky, Joffe, and others) sharply opposed Lenin on the main points on the agenda. On the question of peace Bukharin delivered a counter-report. After the congress the "Lefts" announced that they would not enter the Central Committee. Bukharin and others elected by the congress to the Central Committee refused to work in it. The congress consolidated the

Party, the "Lefts" remaining an isolated group having no backing in the Party.

At this time the "Lefts" had actually created their own factional centre and had their own press organs. They acted as a separate party. In some of the large Party Committees (in Moscow, Petrograd, and the Urals), they had a majority up to the time of the congress. Bukharin carried on negotiations with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries concerning a *coup d'état*, the arrest of Lenin, and the establishment of a new government to be headed by Pyatakov, the traitor, murderer, wrecker and spy, who was shot in 1937.

After the Party Congress the Soviet government moved to Moscow. There was the danger that the Germans might take Petrograd. It was necessary for the government to establish itself in the centre of the country, from where it would be easier to direct the revolutionary struggle and the defence.

Lenin took up his quarters in the Kremlin, in the rooms of the former court of justice. The Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee were in the same building. Here, on the third floor, Lenin spent the succeeding years of his life. Next to his apartment was his office and the hall where the Council of People's Commissars met.

Lenin's apartment consisted of five small rooms. His own room was 16 square metres, and had one window, it contained a small desk, an iron bed and one or two armchairs. In 1918 a telegraph apparatus was installed in the corridor leading from Lenin's apartment to his office and to the Council of People's Commissars. Day and night, telegrams were received and sent out and conversations were carried on by direct wire. News came in from all the fronts and orders were sent out.

Next to the office stood a booth containing the Kremlin telephone switchboard. This booth had direct lines to all the People's Commissariats, to the apartments of Lenin's closest assistants, to Petrograd and other cities.

An Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets was summoned in Moscow to ratify the peace treaty. After Lenin's report

the congress ratified the treaty which had been signed with the Germans.

Lenin said at the congress that the peace which had been concluded was an oppressive one, but it gave the country an opportunity for economic revival and reconstruction. He said "We are not just a weak and backward people, we are a people who, not owing to any special merit or historical predestination but because of a special combination of historical circumstances, were able to take upon ourselves the honour of raising the banner of international socialist revolution" And he added "A people which was able to create Soviet power cannot perish"

Peace with Germany had been concluded and ratified. The Soviet republic received a short respite. It was necessary to utilize this respite to strengthen the national economy and lay the foundations of socialist construction. For the first time in the history of mankind the victorious proletariat was beginning economic construction. Lenin was burdened with an enormous number of tasks, he guided the daily work of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, personally checked the fulfilment of decisions on practical questions and looked into all small points and details. At the same time he was working out a plan for the building of socialism, tracing the general line of the Party for the years to come. Lenin gave the Party an extensive program of socialist construction. He wrote a special pamphlet, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, and made a long report, outlining his program, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (April 1918). The main problem, he said, was one of organization. In the bourgeois revolution the chief task of the toilers had been the destruction and elimination of feudalism and the autocracy. In the proletarian revolution the chief task was construction, creative activity. "The principal difficulty lies in the economic sphere, *viz*, the introduction of the strict and universal accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, raising the productivity of labour and *socializing* production in *actual practice*. We, the Bolshevik Party, have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. Now we must *administer* Russia."

In order to administer, one must know how to organize. This was a task of the utmost difficulty because it meant the organization of the economic basis of life of tens of millions of people. "The most decisive thing is the organization of the strictest and nation-wide accounting and control of production and of the distribution of goods" Now that the bourgeoisie was overthrown, the Bolsheviks put the following slogan before the toilers "Introduce accurate and conscientious accounting of money, manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest discipline during work"

We had taken the factories and the workshops from the bourgeoisie. We now had to organize production And to do so we had to utilize the bourgeois specialists We would pay them well and make them work for us. "Without the guidance of specialists in the various fields of knowledge, technology, and experience, the transition to socialism will be impossible, because socialism calls for the class-conscious and mass advance to greater productivity of labour compared with capitalism, and on the basis of what has been achieved by capitalism."

The conquests of socialism would endure if the working class achieved a higher productivity of labour than existed under capitalism ". There necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system that is superior to capitalism, *viz*, raising the productivity of labour, and in this connection (and for this purpose), securing better organization of labour."

And Lenin pointed out the main prerequisites for raising labour productivity The first prerequisite was the development of large-scale industry, increasing the output of the fuel, iron and steel, machine-building and chemical industries The second prerequisite was the improvement of labour discipline, the capacity to work quickly and intensively and organize the work properly. And this required the introduction of the piece rate, making wages correspond to labour productivity, and the organization of competition "The task that the Soviet government must set the people in all its scope is—learn to work."

Competition between separate factories and communes would

help to raise the productivity of labour and to bring out talented organizers from among the masses, there was plenty of organizing talent, it was only necessary to bring it out and apply it properly. Lenin also pointed out the importance of introducing one-man management

Only the dictatorship of the proletariat could lead the country to socialism. Only it could overcome and eliminate the exploiters, give leadership in the civil war, rally the working class and lead the peasantry.

Lenin pointed out that the small property owners have only one idea in mind. Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. These small property owners gravitate towards the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. A considerable section of the peasantry vacillates between the proletariat and these small property owners. We must overcome this petty-bourgeois element or else it will crush us. "The Soviet government in many cases did not display sufficient determination in the struggle with the counter-revolution, and in that respect it was not iron but jelly, and you won't build socialism on jelly." We must be ruthless with our enemies—the kulaks and the bourgeoisie—and with all the waverers in our own midst.

"The only class that can lead the toilers and the exploited masses is the class that unswervingly marches along its path without losing courage and without dropping into despair even at the most difficult, severe, and dangerous crossings. Fits of hysteria are of no use to us. What we need is the steady march of the iron battalions of the proletariat."

Thus Lenin elaborated the great program of economic construction.

The "Lefts" advanced their own theses in opposition to this plan of Lenin's. They (Bukharin and others) adopted as their point of departure the theory of the impossibility of building socialism in Russia. They opposed the Party's efforts to improve labour discipline, to introduce state management in industry and to utilize the bourgeois specialists. They rejected all the principles of Lenin's plan of economic construction.

It was quite clear that the "Lefts," who represented petty-

bourgeois tendencies in our Party, were urging the Party on to the path of ruin. Their struggle with Lenin and with the Party on the question of concluding peace had already placed Finland, Latvia and Esthonia in the hands of bourgeois governments, supported by the Germans.

The enemies of the Soviet power began to regard the "Letts" as their supporters in the struggle against Bolshevism. It was indicative that the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries even attempted to draw Bukharin into a plot to arrest Lenin and form a government of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and "Left Communists."

In a number of articles and speeches Lenin inflicted such crushing blows on the "Lefts" that they rapidly lost their supporters. The "Lefts" were obliged to dissolve their faction.

The Party followed Lenin. It enthusiastically adopted the program of socialist construction mapped out by Lenin, and proceeded to carry it into practice.

But military intervention interrupted constructive work. All forces had to be mobilized for the country's defence. The imperialists, the counter-revolutionary generals, the landowners who had lost their lands, and the bourgeoisie who had been deprived of their enterprises furiously hurled themselves on the Soviet republic.

CHAPTER XVII

CIVIL WAR

IN THE MONTHS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION the Soviet power firmly established itself in Central Russia and its industrial centres, Moscow and Petrograd. The proletariat of these sections were the chief organizing force of the proletarian dictatorship in its struggle against the counter-revolution.

The landowners, the manufacturers, the kulaks, the tsarist generals and officers refused to accept the victory of the working class. Defeated in the first battles of the October Revolution, they began to muster and consolidate the military forces of the counter-revolution, chiefly in the outlying districts, where the industrial proletariat was small and the kulak element was strong (the Don, the Kuban, the Ukraine).

Up to the middle of February 1918, the Soviet government was victorious throughout the country and was everywhere forming the organs of proletarian dictatorship. The counter-revolution appeared to have been crushed, as indeed it would have been if not for the assistance rendered it by the bourgeois states.

The imperialist powers were unwilling to accept the victory of the Russian proletariat over the landowners and the bourgeoisie. They realized that this would kindle a revolutionary fire, the flames of which might easily spread to the other countries of Europe. Moreover, England and France had several billion gold rubles invested in Russian industry, which they were unwilling to lose.

The Soviet government, at Lenin's behest, several times repeat-

ed its peace proposals to the "Allies." But the imperialist powers refused to recognize the Soviet government; they gave their active assistance to all the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia, and prepared a plan of attack on the Soviet republic. At the end of 1917 England and France had already concluded an agreement for a joint attack on Russia and for the partition of the country. And in 1918 the bourgeois governments opened an offensive on the Soviet republic.

The German government, while conducting peace negotiations with the Soviet government, occupied Finland and the Baltic States and organized the seizure of the Ukraine, in order to procure there the food and raw materials it required.

In face of these war dangers Lenin took steps for the formation of a new, socialist army.

The Party had been victorious in October by relying on the armed detachments of Red Guards. The Red Guard detachments had fought valiantly against the bourgeoisie and its lackeys within the country, but were entirely inadequate for fighting at the fronts since they were poorly organized and badly armed.

The old tsarist army was utterly demoralized, and had no fighting strength. Only small sections here and there, which were more proletarian in composition and more class-conscious, could be useful in the revolutionary struggle, as for example the detachments of Baltic sailors, and the Lettish riflemen. But the bulk of the old army was, in Lenin's words, "the sick spot in the Russian state organism." The sooner it was demobilized the better.

The republic of Soviets must create its own new socialist army—such was the slogan issued by Lenin. This army must be built up from new cadres, with new discipline and new commanders.

When opposing the "Lefts," who called for an immediate revolutionary war against Germany, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that a revolutionary war would cease to be merely an empty phrase only when the land of the Soviets had disbanded the old tsarist army and formed a new socialist army.

In the middle of January 1918 Lenin introduced the first decree on the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which was promulgated on January 28. This was to be a

volunteer army, "of the most class-conscious and organized elements of the toiling classes." Supreme control of the Red Army was vested in the Council of People's Commissars, while direct control was vested in the Commissariat for War

The appeal of the Party for recruits for the Red Army met with an immediate response, and in two and a half months approximately 100,000 volunteers had enlisted in the Red Army.

But by now this was not enough Civil war was developing apace and the counter-revolution was rapidly advancing.

Rumania occupied Bessarabia The German and Austrian troops, with the support of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, of the followers of Petlura and of the Mensheviks, occupied most of the Ukraine and the Crimea On April 4-5, 1918, Japanese troops landed in Vladivostok On May 25 the Czechoslovakian detachments on the Volga and along the whole Siberian railway (approximately 40,000 in all) began an uprising

The bourgeois governments directly assisted and led these military activities against the Soviet republic They furnished money, arms, equipment and instructors to the Whiteguard generals who had begun war against the Soviets With this support, the Whiteguard armies began to grow rapidly The Whiteguards occupied the Kuban, the Don, part of the Ukraine and Orenburg.

In this critical situation Lenin closely applied himself to the formation of a strong Red Army He saw that the time had arrived for transforming the volunteer army into a regular army War commissariat departments were established in all gubernias and uyezds In May and June, on Lenin's instructions, the first conscription for the Red Army took place—of workers, and of peasants who did not exploit the labour of others Lenin carefully selected the districts where conscription should begin, and established the conscription procedure

Thus, under Lenin's leadership, the Red Army began to change over from a volunteer army to a regular conscripted army. Only in this way could an army be formed large enough to fight against the counter-revolution The Red Army began to grow rapidly

In order to strengthen discipline the Central Committee at

Lenin's proposal adopted a resolution doing away with the election of commanding staffs.

The question of commanders presented enormous difficulties, for the proletarian army had to have its own commanders.

At Lenin's suggestion the first schools for commanders were organized. These afterwards developed into a whole system of military training schools. Workers, many of whom had not even undergone military service, and revolutionary peasants, who had held the lowest ranks in the tsarist army, became the core of the commanding staff of the Red Army.

In spite of the "Lefts," Lenin sought to draw the old military experts into the work of the Red Army. He realized how necessary it was to utilize the rich experience of previous armies. Our young commanders received their first military training from these old experts.

Lenin proposed and introduced a system of political commissars. In addition to the commander (frequently a non-Party expert, a former officer), each army unit had a commissar, who was responsible for the political leadership and who supervised and controlled the work of the commander. The newly-created post of commissar was held by Party members.

The Red Army had to be an army of class-conscious fighters for the cause of the proletarian revolution. It was the duty of the commissars to conduct political work in the army units, to answer for the class-conscious performance of their duties by the Red Army men, to acquaint the masses with the decisions of the Party and see to it that they were carried out, to assist the commanders in raising the efficiency of the army units. At the same time the commissars had an opportunity to acquire military training from the experts, and later on they themselves often became outstanding revolutionary commanders.

The Party created a Supreme Military Council to direct all the military operations of the Red Army.

Thus the Bolshevik Central Committee, under the leadership of Lenin, laid the foundations for the powerful and invincible Red Army of the present. Stalin and Voroshilov actively assisted Lenin in this work.

The struggle with the counter-revolution was complicated by a serious food shortage. The kulaks were waging a fierce struggle against the Soviet government and instigated the middle peasants to withhold grain deliveries to the state. In the spring of 1918 the bread ration of the workers in Moscow and Petrograd was reduced to a quarter of a pound and then to an eighth of a pound per day. Lenin kept daily track of the transport of provisions to Moscow, Petrograd and other industrial centres and personally directed matters pertaining to supplies.

The struggle against famine, Lenin said, was a political task. The poor peasantry must be united against the kulaks, a ruthless and determined struggle must be waged against the kulaks. "Everywhere the avaricious, bloated and bestial kulaks joined hands with the landlords and capitalists against the workers and against the poor generally. The kulaks are rabid foes of Soviet government. Either the kulaks will massacre vast numbers of workers, or the workers will ruthlessly suppress the uprisings of the predatory kulak minority of the people against the government of the toilers. . . ."

"The kulaks are most brutal, callous and savage exploiters. . . . These bloodsuckers have grown rich on the want suffered by the people in the war, they have raked in thousands and hundreds of thousands of rubles by screwing up the price of grain and other products. These spiders have grown fat at the expense of the peasants who have been ruined by the war, at the expense of the hungry workers. These leeches sucked the blood of the toilers and grew richer as the workers in the cities and factories starved."

The fight for grain was above all a fight against the kulaks. "This struggle seems to be only a struggle for bread, but as a matter of fact it is a struggle for socialism."

Lenin pointed out that in order to carry out the slogan of Soviet government, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," it was necessary first of all to prohibit all private trading in grain, to institute compulsory delivery of grain to the state at a fixed price, to wage a resolute struggle against speculation in grain and food supplies, and to introduce equitable state-controlled distribution of grain among the toilers. He called upon the

workers to form Food Detachments, to go to the country, to become the leaders of the village poor, to fight the kulaks, to secure all the surplus grain for the state reserve and to organize grain supplies for the toilers.

Lenin proposed that "committees of the poor" be formed in the countryside. With the support of these committees the Party would defeat the kulaks and secure the grain. This proposal of Lenin's was embodied in a law. At the same time, at Lenin's behest, a number of other decrees were adopted on the organization of supplies throughout the country.

In response to Lenin's appeals, hundreds of Food Detachments were formed, and left for the country to fight against the kulaks for grain. The Central Committee sent the best Party members there also. Lenin himself constantly spoke at meetings, explaining the policy of the Soviet government to the workers, and calling upon them to struggle.

Lenin's impassioned, convincing appeals aroused the working masses.

A worker in the AMO plant (now the Stalin Automobile Plant—*Ed. Eng. ed.*) recalls one of Lenin's speeches: "He spoke for about an hour and a half passionately, clearly, precisely and straightforwardly. I remember it as if it were now—he spoke in such a way that at those burning words I was ready to rush straight into the fight. We were hungry, ill-shod and poorly clothed, but we listened to his every word with eager enthusiasm and class-consciousness. Why? Ilyich had set us an example by his superhuman work. He had grappled with great difficulties, he had set the example—and together with him the working class surmounted all obstacles and overturned the existing order."

During the period of kulak rebellions, counter-revolutionary attacks, and food shortage, the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party continued its struggle against the Bolsheviks. It tried to smash the Brest peace, and plotted the overthrow of the Bolshevik power. The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries came out openly against Lenin's food supply policy, and against the formation of committees of the poor in the countryside. The kulaks regarded the Socialist-Revolutionaries as their champions.

Early in July 1918, the Party convened the Fifth Congress of Soviets which was to ratify the measures taken on Lenin's initiative with regard to the food supply policy, and the organization of a regular Red Army, and to ratify the Constitution.

At the congress, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries made vehement hysterical speeches against the Bolsheviks and against Lenin in particular. They repeatedly interrupted Lenin's speeches

While the congress was in session the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries started a counter-revolutionary uprising against the Soviet government.

Hoping to provoke war with Germany, they assassinated the German Ambassador in Moscow, Mirbach. This assassination was to serve as a signal for the Left Socialist-Revolutionary armed detachments gathered in Moscow to seize the Kremlin, arrest Lenin, depose the government, and then receive the sanction and support of the Congress of Soviets once their *coup d'état* was an accomplished fact.

Immediately after Mirbach's assassination detachments of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries succeeded in arresting Dzerzhinsky and Smidovich, the chairman of the Moscow Soviet. They seized the telegraph station, and sent out some proclamations by wire.

Lenin immediately telephoned to all the districts of Moscow, mobilized Party members, stationed patrols on the streets, and gave orders for the immediate arrest of the whole Left Socialist-Revolutionary fraction at the Fifth Congress. He mobilized the Party members throughout the country for battle.

The uprising met with no support, either from the population or the troops. The Party, under Lenin's leadership, put down the rising in a single day. Some of the leaders were arrested, others fled.

The Left Socialist-Revolutionary Muravyov, who was in command on the Eastern front against the Czechoslovakian troops, also tried to raise a rebellion, but the attempt was immediately crushed.

However, hostile forces continued to struggle against the workers' republic. One of the most active counter-revolutionaries, the

Socialist-Revolutionary Savinkov, made preparations for uprisings in Moscow and twenty-three other cities with the aid of funds received from the bourgeoisie abroad. The Whiteguards held the city of Yaroslavl for two weeks. Elsewhere the rebellions organized by Savinkov failed to materialize or quickly collapsed.

General Krasnov collected forces in the Don region and tried to advance on Moscow. A large part of the Ukraine was occupied by the Germans and by counter-revolutionary bands.

In the space of a few weeks Soviet Russia was surrounded by hostile counter-revolutionary forces.

Lenin himself directed the defence of the country, working out a plan of military operations, and issuing instructions to the front. Lenin became virtual commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the republic. Although he had never had any military training, he now displayed brilliant ability as a military strategist and organizer.

Lenin's closest comrade-in-arms was Stalin, who was sent by the Party to the most important sectors of the Civil War.

In March 1918, Stalin was in Tsaritsin (now Stalingrad), where he received the following telegram from Lenin: ". . . With regard to food supplies, I can only say that none at all are being distributed either in Petrograd or Moscow. The situation is very bad. Let me know if you can take any special measures, for we have no other recourse but you. The rising of the Whites in Yaroslavl has been suppressed. Simbirsk has been taken by the Whites, or the Czechs. Awaiting your reply." Stalin answered: "There are large grain supplies in the North Caucasus, but with communications cut off there is no way of despatching them to the north.

"Until the line is repaired it is out of the question to send grain. An expedition has been sent to the Samara and Saratov gubernias, but we will not be able to send you grain for several days. We hope to have the line repaired in ten days. Hold out somehow, distribute meat and fish, which we can send you in plenty. In a week's time things will be better."

A new conscription of workers and peasants took place. The

Red Army was constantly growing in numbers and strength, but the land of the Soviets needed still more powerful detachments.

Meanwhile the Whiteguards were exceedingly active throughout the country, organizing revolts and attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Soviet government.

With the money supplied by the Allies the Whiteguards established the "League for the Defence of the Fatherland and Freedom," whose aim was to organize the struggle against the Soviets.

The British agent Lockhart tried to persuade a detachment of Lettish riflemen to arrest the Council of People's Commissars and assassinate Lenin

In Moscow, where about 40,000 tsarist army officers lived, a number of secret organizations were formed in the summer and autumn of 1918 for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet power.

The Cheka unearthed Whiteguard conspiracies in Novgorod, Kostroma, Ryazan and elsewhere

In June the Socialist-Revolutionaries assassinated in Petrograd the prominent Bolshevik, Volodarsky. The Party mobilized the working class for the struggle against the counter-revolution

As ever, the Party relied on the support of the broad masses of the population in its struggle and activities. Members of the Party spoke regularly at meetings of workers, Red Army men, and peasants. In the spring of 1918, at Lenin's suggestion, it was decided that members of the Central Committee and responsible Party functionaries regularly speak at meetings in Moscow (every Friday) Lenin saw to it that no responsible Party functionaries shirked this task of addressing the working masses. He carefully studied the sentiments expressed at workers' meetings and was deeply interested in the kind of questions put to the speakers and the proposals brought forward by the workers. He himself spoke regularly at such meetings, sometimes two or three times a day

On August 30 (the day Uritsky was assassinated in Petrograd) Lenin was scheduled to speak at the former Michelson factory. He had already left for the factory when the Moscow Committee received the news of Uritsky's assassination. Party comrades decided to persuade Lenin not to speak, since the enemies of the working class were now resorting to terrorist tactics, but it was too

late to warn him. Lenin had already left the Kremlin and was making an impassioned address at the meeting. The Socialist-Revolutionary Kaplan, sent by the bourgeoisie, lay in wait for Lenin, hoping to assassinate him as he came out. The bullets in her revolver were notched and the notches filled with a powerful poison.

As Lenin was leaving the factory a man disguised as a sailor (also a member of the terrorist group), spread his arms and held back the crowd. At the door he purposely stumbled and again kept back the oncoming workers. Lenin entered the courtyard almost alone. Several women approached him and spoke to him about food supplies. Lenin answered them, standing with one foot on the running board.

Kaplan, who had been waiting for an opportune moment, now fired at him point-blank several times. Lenin fell, seriously wounded.

Another man with his hand in his pocket tried to approach the car. Gil, the chauffeur, shouted "Come no closer or I'll shoot!" The man made off.

Lenin was helped to his feet and assisted to the car. He was deathly pale and was half-sitting, half-lying on his side. But he did not moan or utter a sound.

In the car Lenin's coat and jacket were removed. His sleeve was covered with blood. Those who were with him wanted to stop at a clinic to have the wound dressed, but Lenin refused. "I won't stop anywhere, I'll go on straight to the Kremlin," he said. On the way they bound his arm above the wound with some cord which happened to be in the car, in order to check the bleeding.

When the car reached the entrance to his apartment in the Kremlin, Lenin got out with difficulty, supported by the workers who had accompanied him. He was in his shirtsleeves. The workers wanted to carry him in, but he emphatically refused. He was afraid that if he were carried in, Krupskaya and his sister Maria would be seriously alarmed. He walked up the steep staircase to the third floor, supported on both sides.

The best specialists in Moscow were summoned. Lenin's condition was very serious. Two bullets had entered his body and he had lost a lot of blood

An anxious night set in Lenin lay deathly pale, moaning feebly But when any of his friends came in to the room he tried to be cheerful He did not like to have them worry about him

The doctors and some of the Central Committee members kept an all night vigil in the apartment

In the morning Lenin was somewhat better, but his condition was still critical as there was danger of blood poisoning For a few days the outcome was uncertain.

On the evening of August 30 the Party issued the first announcement of the attempt on Lenin's life This announcement, which was signed by Sverdlov, stated

"The working class will reply to the attempts on the lives of its leaders by still further consolidating its forces, and with merciless mass terror against all the enemies of the revolution"

The Party and the whole country anxiously followed the condition of their wounded leader The doctors warned them that the issue might be fatal. Day and night from all parts of the country enquiries as to Lenin's condition poured in to Moscow.

Lenin began to recover. He received thousands of greetings from workers and peasants throughout the length and breadth of the land

The Soviet power replied to the Whiteguard terror by a mass Red terror, which was a means for crushing the counter-revolutionaries, and disrupting their struggle against the republic of toilers The heroic fight of the Cheka headed by Dzerzhinsky helped the proletariat to rid itself of many of its enemies and to uncover and frustrate many plots and conspiracies against the Soviets

At the doctors' insistence Lenin gave up all direct work for a time, but he actively continued to lead the country, and it was during this period that he wrote his pamphlet against the renegade from socialism, Kautsky, in which he exposed the treachery of this compromiser, who had openly gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie In this pamphlet Lenin explained in detail the essence

of Soviet power, and proved that the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential for the victory of socialism

On September 17, Lenin, not yet fully recovered, already attended the meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and presided at the Council of People's Commissars.

Lenin resumed the direct control of the organization of the Red Army and of its military operations

The Red Army took Kazan and Simbirsk The troops which took Simbirsk wired Lenin "Dear Ilyich, our capture of your native town of Simbirsk is our reply to one of your wounds. For the other one we will take Samara"

Within a few weeks Samara was taken The offensive in the East continued Stalin and Voroshilov were organizing the defence of Tsaritsyn. Here, under their leadership, the first Red Cavalry detachments and Budyonny's cavalry corps were formed which afterwards became the First Cavalry Army

A three-million strong army was the slogan issued by Lenin. He saw that revolutionary battles were impending, and was preparing the fighting detachments of the revolution

In a speech on the first anniversary of the revolution, on November 7, 1918, Lenin summarized the experience of the first year of the Soviet republic In this year the Soviet government had proceeded from workers' control to workers' management of industry, from the general struggle of the peasants for land to the organization of the rural poor in a struggle against the kulaks The scattered detachments of Red Guards had been replaced by a powerful Red Army.

The very next day after Lenin's speech telegrams were received in Moscow announcing that a revolution had begun in Germany, that Soviets had been formed in Hamburg, that a republic had been proclaimed in Bavaria, and a revolutionary movement had begun in Austria

German imperialism had collapsed What Lenin had foreseen when striving for the conclusion of the Brest peace had come to pass On November 13 (October 31), the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed a decree abrogating the Brest treaty A republic was proclaimed in Germany The Red Army occupied

Reval and Minsk. Soviet republics were proclaimed in Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Byelorussia.

But world imperialism refused to acquiesce to the success of the proletarian revolution. The British reinforced their troops in Archangel and Siberia. The United States sent detachments to Vladivostok. Japan kept sending fresh forces to Siberia. The Allies sent battleships to the Black Sea. Detachments of Allied troops landed in Odessa.

At the end of 1918, Great Britain, France and the United States came to an understanding with regard to intensifying the struggle against the Bolsheviks. They decided to assist Denikin with money and arms. They decided to recognize the government of Kolchak, who had set himself up in Siberia.

Stalin, whom Lenin had sent to Tsaritsin to direct all matters connected with food supplies in the south, formed a regular army there and fought victoriously against the counter-revolution. Voroshilov organized proletarian detachments in the Donbas, with them broke through the front to Tsaritsin, and together with Stalin successfully repelled all the attempts of the Whites to take the town, thus all the efforts of the Don counter-revolution to unite with Kolchak on the Volga were thwarted.

In January 1919, Lenin was held up by bandits. Since there were many hold-ups in Moscow in the winter of 1918-19, the militiamen on duty frequently stopped passing cars and examined the documents of the occupants. One evening in January, when Lenin and his sister were driving along the Sokolniki Chaussée they heard a whistle and shouts of "Stop!" Thinking that it was the usual examination of documents, the chauffeur stopped. At that time the militiamen wore no uniforms and the people in the car could not immediately make out who was stopping them.

The car was surrounded by a group of armed men. They made everyone get out, and paying no attention to the pass produced by Lenin went through his pockets, holding a revolver to his temples. Lenin remained completely calm.

When his sister Maria said "Show us your warrants," one of the band answered with a sneer "Criminals need no search-

They seized the car and drove off, still covering Lenin and his companions with their revolvers. The whole incident had happened so quickly that passers-by did not even suspect what was taking place

That same evening the car was found at another end of the city, stuck in the snow. Beside it lay the bodies of a Red Army man and a militiaman.

The gang was afterwards captured and shot.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENCIRCLED BY ENEMIES

THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN RUSSIA, THE victory of the October Revolution, and the establishment of the workers' state inspired the working people of all lands

In the autumn of 1918, the workers in Germany and Austria revolted and formed their first Soviets of workers and soldiers. Austria was split up into several independent states (Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria)

Under the influence of the Russian revolution the first Communist Parties were formed in the West.

The Communist groups which, until a short time before, had been numerically small, grew rapidly in numbers and strength in the course of the revolutionary struggle, and became influential parties. Communist Parties were formed in Germany (the "Spartacus League"), Austria, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Finland, etc. Thus the Third, Communist International existed and functioned even before its formal inception. This fully justified what Lenin had said in 1917 when, in exposing Zinoviev, he pointed out that a new International, the Communist International, was already in existence.

The leaders of the Second International, in alliance with the militarists, fought against the revolutionary proletariat with every possible means, sending cannon and machine-guns against them. The social-chauvinists were now themselves shooting down the revolutionary masses. With the connivance of

Ebert and Noske the police murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The Second International was openly coming to the rescue of the bourgeoisie.

It was characteristic that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, led by the Communists, took the "Russian" course everywhere, *i.e.*, it began to form Soviets. This was true of Germany, Austria, Finland, Poland and other countries.

The class battles flaring up in Europe called for the immediate unification of the Communist forces. It was necessary to formulate the tactics of the proletarian parties in the bourgeois countries on the basis of the experience of the first battles.

Lenin made intensive preparations for calling a congress of the Communist Parties. He closely questioned all comrades who succeeded in reaching Russia, especially foreigners, on the progress of the revolutionary struggle and the organization of the Communist Parties. He noted which parties should be drawn to participate in the congress and the type of delegates to be nominated. He prepared the resolutions for the congress.

In January 1919, Lenin wrote a letter to the workers of Europe and America in which he said that proletarian Communist Parties had already been organized in a number of countries, that the Third, Communist International was being born in the fire of the revolutionary struggle, that it had already become a reality.

Lenin did a tremendous amount of work in preparation for the congress. His task was complicated by the fact that the Soviet republic was cut off from all the other countries by the war fronts, and that it was extremely difficult to get into Russia from abroad.

With the co-operation of certain representatives of the foreign parties, Lenin laid the organizational basis of the new International and issued an appeal to the foreign parties on the calling of the congress. Stalin energetically participated in the preparations for this congress.

With great difficulty the congress delegates succeeded in reaching Moscow, and on March 2 Lenin opened the First Congress of the Communist International in a small hall in the Kremlin. Fifty-one delegates were present. The Communist Parties and Communist organizations of Germany, Austria, America, France,

Hungary, Sweden, the Balkan Federation, Norway, Poland, Finland, China, Korea, Persia, Turkey and a number of other countries were represented. The delegation from the Russian Communist Party as well as representatives of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and Armenia of course took an active part in the congress

A presidium was elected consisting of three people, headed by Lenin, who presided at all the sessions of the congress, and guided all its activities from day to day

The principal resolutions of the congress were drawn up by Lenin and were substantiated in his report. The keynote at the congress was struck by Lenin's speech on the dictatorship of the proletariat—the fundamental point of Marxism-Leninism. The object of the new International, the Third, was to fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world. The proletariat discovered the practical form of its dictatorship—the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin—in the Soviet system. Only through this dictatorship can the oppressed class overcome its enemies. The Soviet organization of the state is in accord with the leading role of the proletariat. Soviet power is the mass organization of the oppressed classes.

The First Congress proclaimed the establishment of the Third, Communist International. On the night the congress ended, a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, and other organizations was held in the Bolshoi Theatre. Lenin said in his speech that the Soviets were winning the sympathy of the workers throughout the world. This meant that "the victory of the international Communist revolution is assured." The establishment of the Third International was a tremendous victory for Lenin and his tactics.

At the beginning of the imperialist war Lenin appeared to stand alone. The "wise," "practical," social-chauvinist leaders spoke of Lenin as a dreamer, having no strength behind him. A few revolutionaries like Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, and others, supported Lenin, but even these with reservations. The overwhelming majority of the "recognized" Socialist leaders followed in the wake of the social-chau-

vinists, or had become chauvinists themselves. Now after a lapse of only four years Lenin stood at the head of the Soviet republic and had behind him nearly twenty Parties and organizations, active in Europe and America! His ideas were steadily winning over the proletarian masses.

The significance of the Third International, Lenin wrote a few months later, was that it began to realize the great slogan of Marx, the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"A new epoch in world history has begun. Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery—capitalist, or wage slavery. Emancipating itself from slavery, mankind is for the first time passing to real liberty."

The Third, Communist International was formed by Lenin in accordance with what he wrote in 1917 when he said "*Under no conditions* should it again be of the type of the Second International." The Third International took shape and developed as the general staff of the belligerent proletarian army.

Lenin fought untiringly for close contact between the Party and the trade unions and other working-class organizations. He strove to have the broad masses of the population drawn into Party, Soviet and trade union work. He particularly insisted on drawing the women into activities.

Government decrees, drafted by Lenin, had abolished all the restrictions putting women on an unequal footing with men. But Lenin constantly pointed out that the passing of laws granting women equal rights was only the first step. Women should be drawn into productive work, and public services (public dining-rooms, nurseries, laundries, etc.) should be extended sufficiently to free women from household duties. These household duties are "the most unproductive, most barbarous and most arduous work." This work in no way assists women to develop.

Only the socialist system of national economy, the Soviet order, will free women economically. The Soviet system, says Lenin, gives women the possibility of widely and actively participating in political work, and of helping by their organizational and other abilities in the general task of freeing the toilers. At a conference of non-Party women workers, Lenin said "This

work begun by the Soviet government can be advanced only when, instead of hundreds of women, we have millions and millions of women, all over Russia, taking part in it. When that is the case, we are convinced, the work of socialist construction will be firmly established."

Lenin demanded that women be drawn into the work of the state on the widest scale. In planning the reorganization of inspection, Lenin wrote to Stalin that it was necessary "to enlist all the toilers, men and *particularly women*, in the work of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection."

He demanded the election of more women workers to the Soviets, and wrote a special appeal on this subject. He expressed warm approval of meetings of women's departments, meetings of working women and International Woman's Day.

Early in 1919, the Central Committee under Lenin's leadership made preparations for convoking the Eighth Party Congress, which had been fixed for the second half of March.

The swift development of events in the Soviet republic and abroad confronted the Party with a number of new problems which had to be discussed and solved without delay. The middle peasant had to be won over to the Soviet power. Questions on the further strengthening of the Red Army had to be settled. A new Party program had to be adopted, the mutual relations between Party and Soviet organizations had to be defined more precisely, and a number of other immediate problems required solution.

As usual, the principal reports at the congress (the report on the work of the Central Committee, the report on the program, on work in the countryside) devolved on Lenin.

The first day of the congress coincided with the funeral of the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Comrade Sverdlov. In a speech that day devoted to the memory of Comrade Sverdlov, Lenin pointed out that Sverdlov had been an exceptionally capable organizer and stressed the fact that this organizational ability had given so much to the revolution because Sverdlov "never for a moment lost contact with the masses."

This congress, which met after a hard fight of a year and a half to consolidate and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat,

showed that the Party had rallied firmly around Lenin. When Lenin appeared on the tribune he was greeted with stormy applause and shouts of. "Long live Ilyich!"

In all his speeches at this congress Lenin stressed the need for an alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry

In the autumn of 1918, Lenin had already pointed out the necessity of dealing tactfully with the middle peasants, who could and must be won over to the revolution. At the congress Lenin said with the kulaks we were, are, and shall be in a state of open civil war, but with the middle peasantry we shall form a *bloc*, an alliance, an agreement. Of course the middle peasantry are vacillating, the middle peasant is "partly a property owner and partly a toiler." We must help him, we must win him to our side

" *We shall not tolerate any violence towards the middle peasantry* " "*Here coercion would ruin the whole cause* Prolonged educational work is what is required. We have to give the peasant, who not only in our country but all over the world is a practical man and a realist, concrete examples to prove that the commune is the best possible thing "

We must win the confidence of the peasantry. We must help the middle peasant economically. And Lenin uttered the prophetic words "If tomorrow we could supply one hundred thousand first-class tractors, provide them with fuel, provide them with drivers—you know very well that this at present is a fantasy—the middle peasant would say 'I am for the commune' (*i.e.*, for communism) "

In the discussion of the Party program Lenin fought against the anti-Bolshevik position of Bukharin and Pyatakov, who opposed Lenin's appraisal of imperialism, and denied the existence of various economic systems in the country. Lenin fought against the "Lefts" who were again advocating their old views on the national question, declaring that they recognized only the right of the toilers to self-determination and not the right of nations

Lenin pointed out that it was necessary to take into account how far a nation has progressed from the mediæval stage towards bourgeois democracy, and from the latter towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Self-determination of nations helps towards

self-determination of the working people. The congress adopted Lenin's proposal

A burning question at the congress was the utilization of bourgeois experts in economic and particularly in military affairs. The "Lefts" sharply opposed this policy. Lenin repeatedly insisted "Socialism cannot be built unless advantage is taken of the heritage of capitalist culture."

We must draw the bourgeois experts into administrative work, into the army and into industry, and make them work for us, Lenin said. Otherwise we shall not be able to build up the national economy. We must place the experts in comradely surroundings, we must check up on them, but at the same time win them over to our side. The best of the intelligentsia and the best of the experts will come over to us.

At the congress Lenin and Stalin fought resolutely against the Trotskyite "Left" opposition on military matters, and succeeded in convincing the congress to put an end to guerrilla methods and create a really well-disciplined Red Army.

The "Lefts" objected to strict discipline in the army, thereby giving free rein to the lack of organization existing in the peasantry. Lenin pointed out that without iron discipline it was impossible to transform the guerrilla detachments into a regular army and create a really efficient army.

At the congress the "Lefts" and later the "Democratic Centralism" group—Sapronov, Ossinsky, Ignatov, and others—opposed Lenin's stand, but the overwhelming majority of the congress delegates sided with Lenin and the Central Committee. The Eighth Congress gave new strength to the Party in its struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the congress the Party paid special attention to the Red Army, and to work in the countryside.

Lenin devoted the utmost attention to the strengthening of the Red Army. He himself was chairman of the Council of Defence which had been established some time before. The Council of Defence was the general staff from which he directly guided all military affairs.

During the spring of 1919, the struggle on the battle fronts

flared up anew. The Allies could not continue their offensive on account of the revolutionary ferment which had begun among their troops, but they aided Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich in every way in the struggle against the Soviet republic

The imperialist governments of Great Britain and France drew up a plan for a vigorous offensive against the Soviet republic. On the Eastern front Kolchak was advancing with three armies, Denikin was advancing from the South and Yudenich was threatening Petrograd

At Lenin's suggestion the Party decided to send the main forces against Kolchak. In April a special mobilization was announced to strengthen the Eastern front. Lenin wrote a letter to the workers and spoke at meetings appealing for assistance for the Eastern front

In May he wired to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern front "If we do not take the Urals before winter, I consider the collapse of the revolution inevitable"

All forces were mobilized for the Eastern front. Lenin telegraphed the Revolutionary Military Council "There are a number of Party reports from around Perm as to the catastrophic condition in the army and drunkenness. I thought of sending Stalin." And in fact in a short time Stalin brought about a decided change in the Red Army and restored the fighting ability of its units

In accordance with Kolchak's new plan, General Yudenich was to distract attention from the Eastern front by advancing on Petrograd. The republic was again in an extremely perilous position. The garrison at Krassnaya Gorka, a fort at the very gates of Petrograd, mutinied against the Soviet government, and a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was unearthed at field headquarters, the military experts were betraying all the plans of the Red Command to the enemy. The enemy advanced right up to the city. The Central Committee, at Lenin's suggestion, again sent Stalin, this time to Petrograd, to organize the struggle against the new enemy

In three weeks Stalin splendidly organized the defence, he captured the rebel forts, and forced the enemy to make a hasty

retreat, leaving prisoners, guns and machine-guns behind them Petrograd was saved

"Following 'Krassnaya Gorka,'" Stalin wired to Lenin, "Seraya Loshad [the name of a fort—*Ed Eng ed*] has been captured Guns on both forts are in perfect order The naval specialists assert that the taking of 'Krassnaya Gorka' from the sea goes counter to all naval science All I can do is weep for such so-called science The rapid taking of Gorka is the result of the grossest interference on my part and on the part of civilians in general in field operations even to the point of countermanding orders on land and sea and imposing my own. I regard it as my duty to declare that in the future I shall continue to act in this manner, despite all my respect for science."

The rout of the enemy at Petrograd facilitated our struggle against Kolchak also The Red Army halted Kolchak's advance, assumed the offensive and took the Urals Our underground organizations in Kolchak's rear roused partisan revolts.

The attack engineered by international imperialism on the republic of Soviets was repulsed.

Lenin was not for a moment deluded by these successes. He knew that the imperialist offensive would soon be renewed, that complete victory had not yet been won He called on the Party to be vigilant and ready to repel a new attack. New battles would soon have to be fought As a matter of fact, the British diehards, headed by Churchill, and the French imperialists were preparing for a new offensive against the workers' republic—the famous "campaign of fourteen states"—to begin in the autumn of 1919 The Soviet government had been crushed in Hungary, after an existence of several months, and the Soviet government in Bavaria had also been overthrown. The revolutionary movement in Europe was stifled The Allies' new plan called for a joint offensive by Denikin from the South, Poland from the West, and Yudenich on Petrograd The major attack was to be made by Denikin, to whom the Allies supplied the greatest assistance.

In the summer of 1919 Denikin captured Kharkov, Ekate-

moslav, and Odessa. He then proceeded further north. Voronezh and parts of the Tambov gubernia were taken.

On October 13 (September 30) Denikin occupied Orel, his vanguard entered the Tula gubernia. The battle-front was now 150 versts from Moscow. At the same time Yudenich captured Yamburg, Gatchina, and Krassnoye Selo. The White troops were within 20 versts of Petrograd, the northern proletarian capital.

Never before had the ring of hostile armies around the proletarian republic been so tightly drawn. In Moscow and Petrograd bourgeois conspirators were preparing an uprising and were already selecting the new government to replace the Soviet power. The situation was extremely critical.

All the counter-revolutionary elements were raising their heads. Whiteguard agitation went on in Moscow, rumours were spread that Petrograd had been taken, that Denikin was near Serpukhov, etc., etc.

Lenin mustered all forces for the defence of the country. He appealed to the workers and the Red Army men, and mobilized the Communists for the front. Under his leadership the Party and the Soviet government threw all their resources into defence.

The tremendous energy displayed by Lenin and the Central Committee of the Party bore results. The masses rose to defend the achievements of the October Revolution.

It was during these critical days that Lenin proposed that the Central Committee institute a special "Party week," in order to draw into the Party the most advanced members of the working class. Lenin pointed out that those workers who entered the Party in this time of danger, mobilizations for the front and severe battles, would be genuine, steeled Bolsheviks, Lenin was not mistaken. In a time of stress the best proletarians enthusiastically responded to the call of the Central Committee. During the "Party week" of 1919 tens of thousands of workers joined the Party and replenished the ranks of fighters of the Red Army.

When the land of the proletariat had won its biggest victories

and the power of the Party had become incontestable, Lenin raised the question of purging the Party of all the unfit elements that had wormed their way in. He pointed out that adventurers and careerists would inevitably hang on to the Party, that the Party must purge its ranks from time to time in order to absorb the best elements of the working class. He pointed out the importance of preserving a sound social composition in the Party, by having a preponderance of workers in it.

Lenin particularly stressed the necessity of demanding that new Party members "recognize as obligatory those tactics which the Party recognized as correct in regard to the October Revolution."

In these critical days of struggle Lenin constantly concerned himself also with the affairs of the Third International. He organized a bureau of the Communist International in Western Europe (Holland), whose principal task was to make preparations for the Second Congress.

The Dutch Communist, Rutgers, one of the members of this bureau, relates the following:

"On October 14, 1919, the day of my departure, I was summoned to Lenin at 3 o'clock in the morning for a final talk.

"It was just at this time that Orel was being threatened by Denikin, and during our conversation Lenin was connected by direct wire with the front, every now and then he would be called to the telephone. The situation that night was extremely grave, and Lenin told me that if Tula were taken they would not be able to hold Moscow. He said to me:

"If you hear on your way that Tula is captured, you can tell our foreign comrades that we may possibly be compelled to move to the Urals."

Lenin gave Rutgers a number of detailed instructions on the work of the Communist International, and made careful inquiries as to how he would travel across the border and whether he had taken all the necessary precautions. He gave him letters for the comrades abroad, which called upon them to carry on the revolutionary struggle, and breathed full confidence in victory.

Rutgers adds that Lenin, "notwithstanding the seriousness of the situation, was in the best of spirits and even joked several times."

He was in good spirits because he was firmly convinced of the invincibility of the Soviet system.

Thanks to the superhuman energy displayed by Lenin and the Central Committee, and to the militant activity of all members of the Party, the necessary change on the civil war fronts was soon achieved. Yudenich was driven back from Petrograd. In order to organize and strengthen our offensive, and to bring about the complete rout of the enemy, Lenin sent Stalin to the Southern Front.

Stalin encountered a very grave situation at the front. A plan of attack had been adopted which called for an advance over the Don steppes to Novorossiysk. Stalin sharply criticized this plan of Trotsky's which would compel our troops to advance through hostile Cossack country, far from proletarian centres.

He proposed a plan which directed the main attack on Rostov through Kharkov and the Donetz basin. He pointed out that this advance would proceed through districts sympathetic to the Soviet power, that the Soviet power would thereby gain control over the railway network, obtain coal, and split Denikin's army in two.

Lenin supported Stalin's plan in the Central Committee. The Central Committee, at Lenin's suggestion, removed Trotsky from command of the Southern Front. Lenin himself wrote out the order to the new general staff giving the new instructions. Stalin brilliantly carried out the projected plan. Denikin was driven out of Orel and began to retreat.

The Red Army took Kursk, Kharkov, Poltava, Kiev, Bakhmut (Artemovsk), and Ekaterinoslav. Denikin was flung back far to the south. The White armies were cleared out of the Ukraine. Lenin congratulated the workers and peasants on their victory over the Whiteguards.

At Lenin's initiative, Stalin was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner, which had just been created.

The advance in the east continued with similar success. In

November Omsk was taken and then Novonikolayevsk. In December Kolchak fell into the hands of our troops. Siberia was freed from the Whiteguards.

By the end of the year, the Red Army, supported by workers' and peasants' partisan detachments in the rear of the Whiteguards, was victorious on practically all fronts. At the same time the Lithuanian, Latvian and Esthonian governments, convinced of the strength of the Soviet government began peace negotiations.

In December 1919 the Seventh Congress of Soviets was convened. This congress had to settle questions with regard to food supplies, fuel, the war situation, etc. The country was gaining victories at the fronts, but its economy was ruined. Lenin's speech at the congress was devoted chiefly to questions of economic reconstruction.

He stressed the necessity for individual responsibility, one-man management, "so that there be no red tape, so that it be impossible to shirk responsibility." He again spoke of this necessity for one-man management at the All-Russian Congress of Councils of National Economy which met some weeks later.

As decisive victory at the front became apparent, Lenin's thoughts increasingly turned to questions of economic construction.

In the course of this strenuous year the working class, led by the Central Committee of the Party with Lenin at its head, had not only fought heroically against its enemies, but in the midst of the most appalling destruction it had continued to restore the national economy.

In the spring of 1919, on the initiative of the railway workers, the first Communist *subbotniks* were organized in Moscow. On these *subbotniks* the workers volunteered to work without pay in their spare time, in order to help the state.

Lenin promptly grasped the full significance of this experiment. He caught up the initiative displayed by the workers, explaining the enormous import of this "great beginning," and proposed that *subbotniks* be widely applied in all the work of the Party. Lenin wrote that in these *subbotniks* "the proletariat represents

and carries out a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is the essence. This is the source of strength and the guarantee of the inevitable and complete triumph of communism."

He pointed out that the communist organization of labour rests on the free and class-conscious discipline of the toilers themselves.

In the communist *subbotniks* Lenin saw the actual beginnings of communism.

"Communism begins when the *rank-and-file workers* begin to display self-sacrificing concern that overcomes all obstacles for increasing the productivity of labour, for husbanding *every poond of grain, coal, iron*, and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally, or to their 'close' kith and kin, but to their 'remote' kith and kin, *i e*, to society as a whole, to tens and hundreds of millions of people, united first in a single socialist state, and then in a Union of Soviet Republics."

In order to stress the full importance of the *subbotniks*, Lenin took part in the May Day *subbotnik* and helped to clear the Kremlin square (1920) along with the students of the Kremlin military school. One of these relates

"We noticed a small man in work clothes standing on our right, near the school banner. It was Lenin. The orchestra played the International.

"Suddenly the signal was given, guns boomed. Together with Lenin was started to work. Together we cleared the Kremlin Square of all the rubbish. Ilyich carried logs on his shoulders, yoked himself to a cart and dragged stones."

CHAPTER XIX

THE WAR WITH POLAND AND THE ROUT OF WRANGEL

LENIN BRILLIANTLY DIRECTED THE DEFENCE OF THE country. The republic of Soviets, which till recently had been hemmed in by a ring of enemies, was rapidly extending its frontiers. The Red Army took Tsaritsin and Rostov. In Siberia Kolchak's army of 60,000 was taken prisoner by our troops.

Soviet power was fully re-established in Siberia.

The advance of the Red Army in the South was proceeding successfully. We now held Odessa, Stavropol, Azov and Novorossisk. Denikin fled the country. The Whiteguards were completely cleared out of the north (Archangel, Murmansk). During this period peace was concluded with Esthonia. The blockade which had cut the country off from Europe was broken through. While directing the defence, Lenin at the same time guided the economic construction of the country. He directed the work of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. Three times a week the Council of People's Commissars met, with Lenin presiding. In addition Lenin directed the work of the Council of Defence.

As usual, Lenin carried on intensive practical activity without ceasing theoretical work. He read and reread Marx and Engels, he kept up with the most important works in the fields of politics, economics and the history of socialism, and found time to follow the most important foreign newspapers and periodicals. He wrote articles and pamphlets of the greatest theoretical importance, writings which constitute the basis of the further development of Marxism.

Along with this intensive work he continued to speak at workers' meetings, in the Moscow Soviet and at conferences

Throughout these difficult years the proletariat and all the toilers never ceased for a moment to feel that at the head of the country stood a great leader who skilfully led them from victory to victory. They knew that this leader lived for the interests of the oppressed and was bound by close ties to the toilers

Thousands and tens of thousands of workers and Red Army men saw and heard Lenin speak Here is a typical incident The chairman of a meeting gives Lenin the floor, and immediately there is a thunder of applause, and tempestuous cries of "Long live Ilyich! Hurrah!" The whole audience stands up and continues to applaud

Lenin, with his quick gait, walks over to the speaker's rostrum, head bent forward, his notes in his hand He lays his watch and his notes on the rostrum With his customary gesture he passes both hands over his head as though smoothing his hair The moment he utters the first word, "Comrades," in his deep voice, complete silence settles over the hall Lenin does not address the audience from the speaker's rostrum, but immediately comes closer to his listeners, right to the edge of the platform At first he scarcely gesticulates at all, and frequently inserts his left thumb inside his waistcoat But as his speech proceeds he begins to gesticulate more and more with both hands These are not the studied gestures of the "orator," but the quick energetic movements of a commander who points out the enemy and issues the call to battle

Lenin's speeches were simple, devoid of ornate and flowery language He went straight to the point His speeches were constructed on a definite plan and gripped the audience by their forcefulness and passion, their conviction and unshakable faith in the strength of the proletariat

There was absolutely no bombast or theatricals in his speeches, no previously prepared words and phrases calculated for effect. The whole audience came to feel that a really proletarian leader stood before them, one who presented all questions sharply,

clearly and directly, who had carefully and profoundly weighed every proposal

His speeches always gave something new to the audience, and this something Lenin would explain and substantiate, not hesitating to repeat his idea again and again in different words with new arguments. He explained, interpreted, persuaded and convinced. And the proletariat rallied ever closer around its leader.

The brilliant successes of the Red Army did away with practically all the fronts by the spring of 1920. In one year the Party had doubled its strength and now had 600,000 members.

Serious economic problems faced the Party. Industry, which had been destroyed by the war, had to be restored without delay. Transport had completely broken down. The army of three and a half million could not be demobilized, largely because of the disorganization of transport.

Over a considerable section of the country which had just been cleared of the Whiteguard armies, the whole Party, state and economic apparatus had to be rebuilt from the ground up.

Under these circumstances the Central Committee and Lenin made preparations for the Ninth Party Congress. The congress met in April 1920 to discuss measures for economic construction. In his report for the Central Committee at the opening session of the congress, Lenin declared that the unparalleled sacrifices made by the working class to save the country from the counter-revolution would assure the victory of socialism throughout the world. The class-consciousness and resoluteness of the working class, its readiness to sacrifice itself, and its iron discipline had saved the Soviet republic. The dictatorship of the proletariat, having abolished landlord and capitalist property, rallied the working people to itself, and was able correctly to employ the bourgeois experts.

Before the congress and at the congress itself Lenin evolved his plan for the economic reconstruction of the country. We must draw up a single economic plan, he declared. First we must develop certain main branches of industry—transport, machine-building—and build the most important electric power stations. The whole administration of economy must be built up on the

principle of one-man management, which alone guarantees responsibility for work and the necessary discipline. Without iron discipline it will be impossible to restore industry. The Red Army must be utilized for economic construction. While striving for rigid discipline in production we must at the same time broadly develop labour competition, and set the work going in *udarnik* fashion. The trade unions, under the leadership of the Party, must be a school of communism, they must play an active part in the organization of production and rouse the masses to the new tasks confronting the country. Lenin sharply emphasized the fact that the trade unions were, to their great disgrace, tainted with bureaucracy.

A struggle was waged against Lenin's theses by the "democratic centralism" group (Ossinsky, Sapronov, and others), who avowedly stood for broad "democracy," although the leaders of this group were known to the Party as anything but democratic. They simply wanted to free themselves from the vigilant control of the Party, the Central Committee and especially of Lenin. It was not without cause that this anti-Party group got the name of the "opposition of 'governors'." This petty-bourgeois "democratic centralism" group, which was entirely isolated from the masses, was dubbed by Lenin "the faction which outshouted all shouters."

Lenin was also opposed by Rykov and Tomsky, who, like the anti-Party "democratic centralism" group, maintained that without corporate management it would be impossible to build up our economy.

Lenin demolished the arguments of these groups, pointing out that corporate management most frequently reduced itself to a lot of talk and irresponsibility, that it led to an enormous waste of energy and did not meet the requirements of speed and accuracy, which were necessary for the administration of centralized industry.

The overwhelming majority of the congress sided with Lenin. His plan for the economic restoration of the country was adopted.

In view of the new tasks confronting the State Control Department Lenin proposed that this body be transformed into the

Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, which would extensively draw the workers, particularly the women, into active participation in this work. On Lenin's instructions, Stalin organized the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and remained at its head

Speaking of Stalin's appointment at the Eleventh Party Congress in 1922 Lenin said "It is a gigantic task. But in order to cope with this work of inspection, we must have at the head a person with authority, otherwise we shall be swamped in the mire of petty intrigues"

The work of restoring the national economy, which had been undertaken on a wide scale, encountered the unrestrained fury of the enemies of the Soviets.

The imperialists continued their campaign against the Soviet republic. In the spring of 1920, Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, sent a note to the Soviet government demanding the cessation of hostilities against Baron Wrangel, who had been in command of the White army since April 1920. He threatened to send the British fleet to the shores of Russia and open hostilities. At the same time the British government insisted that the White Poles should not conduct any peace negotiations with the Soviet government, and was setting Poland against us.

On April 26 (13) Polish troops invaded the Ukraine. In a short time they took Zhitomir, Berdichev, Moghilev, and Kiev. Stalin correctly pointed out at the time that Poland's campaign against the workers' and peasants' republic in Russia was in reality the campaign of the Entente. Without the support of the Allies Poland could not have attacked us.

War had begun on the Western front, and Lenin immediately mustered all the forces of the country for defence. "If matters have reached the stage of war," said Lenin, "everything must be subordinated to the interests of war, the whole internal life of the country must be subordinated to the prosecution of war. Not the slightest hesitation in this respect can be tolerated."

He said "War is war, and no one in the rear or in any kind of peaceful occupation will dare to shirk his duties."

Thousands of Communists were mobilized. Budyonny's cavalry was swiftly transferred in fighting order from the Don Steppes to

the Western front. The best forces of the Party were thrown into the struggle against the enemy. Stalin was commissioned to take charge of the South-Western front. Thanks to Stalin's pertinacity and skilful leadership the situation rapidly changed. In little more than a month after the Polish invasion the Polish troops were driven out of the Ukraine. The Red Army began a general offensive on the Polish front.

While engaged in directing the defence of the country, Lenin at the same time directly guided the Communist International. In the spring of 1920 his famous book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism an Infantile Disorder* appeared. In this book Lenin analyzed in detail the history of Bolshevism and showed how Bolshevik strategy and tactics, and the experience of Russia could be utilized by the Communist Parties abroad. He gave a definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the part played by the Communist Party, its connections with the working class, pointing out how the workers' party leads the proletariat and all the toilers and carries them with it. He analyzed the "Left" errors of the West-European Communists, for example, their neglect of the trade unions and other forms of working-class organizations.

This book summed up the experience of Russian Bolshevism during the many years of its existence and showed how it should be applied in the work of the European Communist Parties.

In these same spring months Lenin made preparations for the Second Congress of the Communist International. In the year that had elapsed since the First Congress the Communist movement had spread rapidly in every country. The successes of Soviet Russia and the heroic victories of the Red Army still further increased the sympathy of the working people of the whole world for communism and its leader Lenin. Owing to the pressure of the workers and in order to retain their support, many of the leaders of the Second International tried to join the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties abroad were still young, the development of the Communist movement in Europe was accompanied by "Left" and Right mistakes. A firm policy had to be mapped out. The rules for admission to the Communist International had to be defined more precisely, in order to preserve

its revolutionary character, and keep the opportunists out of its ranks.

The Second Congress of the Communist International (July 1920) clearly demonstrated the growth of the Communist movement throughout the world. The congress was attended by 218 delegates representing 37 countries. Lenin delivered reports on the international situation and the main tasks of the Communist International, and on the national and colonial questions. He took an active part in the discussions. He drew up the 21 conditions for the admission of parties into the Communist International. He prepared the theses on the agrarian question. In theses, articles and pamphlets Lenin indicated the course to be pursued by the congress. The vast amount of work done by Lenin helped the foreign Communists and the members of the Bolshevik Party to grasp clearly all the principal questions of the proletarian struggle.

The opening session of the Second Congress of the Communist International was held in the Uritsky Palace in Petrograd, in the city where the October Revolution had triumphed, before the representatives of the vanguard of the working class, which had displayed such heroism in the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Subsequent sessions were held in Moscow.

Lenin delivered a long report at the first session. He was greeted with a stormy ovation. The fraternal parties greeted him as the leader of the world proletariat, the leader of the proletarian dictatorship, who had shown the exploited all over the world the only true path to victory. They hailed him as the leader of the first proletarian state, which had succeeded in repelling all the attacks of its enemies and had shown that the Red Army could contend valorously and victoriously with the best bourgeois armies. They hailed him as the leader of the proletarian party, which had succeeded in securing the support of the peasantry, and in rallying around itself the nationalities oppressed by tsarism and by the bourgeoisie.

In his first speech at the Congress Lenin summed up the situation in all the countries of the world. The whole world was divided up into oppressed nations and oppressor nations. Of the world population of one and three-quarter billions, one and a

quarter billion constituted the population of the oppressed colonies—those countries which were under the heel of imperialism. A quarter of a billion lived in countries which had managed to escape the war, but had become economically dependent on the United States, and another quarter of a billion in those countries where the capitalist uppercrust was reaping the profits of victory in the World War. Russia alone had abolished capitalism and had found the form for the organization of the proletarian dictatorship, namely, the Soviets.

Lenin showed how the vanguard of the proletariat must fight to win over to its side the majority of the working class, to draw in its train the poor peasantry and subsequently the middle peasantry. He pointed out that the party of the proletariat must be the protector of all the oppressed peoples and colonial slaves.

In consolidating the Communist International Lenin strove to have only those parties join the International that had definitely and finally broken with the Mensheviks, the compromisers, and the Centrists. He demanded that the parties establish iron discipline in their ranks and openly call themselves Communist Parties, that they be able to combine legal and illegal activity, that they carry on a determined struggle against their own bourgeoisie and their own imperialists, and that they recognize strict discipline with regard to the Communist International and its Executive Committee.

On Lenin's initiative the congress adopted a comprehensive resolution on the tasks and the role of the Communist Parties. In the discussion on transmitting the experience of the Bolshevik Party to the fraternal parties, Lenin delivered a long speech. The congress adopted a special resolution on the conditions for admission to the Communist International—the famous 21 conditions.

Thus, at this congress of the Communist International, as in 1903, at the Second Congress of the Party, Lenin took measures against the possible penetration of opportunists into the ranks of the Communist Parties, and created a strong, militant, disciplined organization.

At one of the sessions Lenin delivered the first part of his speech in German (he was discussing the German question), and the

second part (which was devoted to the French Party) in French.

In the intervals between the sessions Lenin conversed at length with the delegates in their native tongues—occasionally when he was at a loss for a word, he would turn for help to a comrade and ask for the word required, not in a whisper, as if embarrassed, but loudly and distinctly. As ever he was modest and unassuming and hated all pretentiousness.

He told the foreign comrades about the Bolsheviks' experience of underground work, secret methods, their system of transport for illegal literature, etc. He carefully studied each delegate, picking out the future leaders of the world working-class movement, correcting their errors and showing them the right path.

The Second Congress of the Communist International showed that the land of the Soviets enjoyed the warm sympathy of the working people all over the world. The congress showed that communism had become a mighty, truly world movement.

The party of the proletariat was linked up with the masses through a whole system of transmission belts—the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other organizations. Lenin personally directed the Party and these mass organizations of the proletariat.

On Lenin's initiative the Young Communist League had been formed with the purpose of leading the proletarian youth and training it in the spirit of communism. When it came to discussing the name to be adopted by the League, Lenin said to the Youth Delegation, "the name is not important." The chief thing is—communist work. Lenin closely followed the work of the League and never wearied of helping it with advice and instructions.

With his usual eagerness to bring forward new forces from the working class, Lenin insisted that young people should be drawn more and more into responsible work in all spheres of the proletarian struggle.

In the autumn of 1920 at the Third Congress of the Young Communist League, Lenin delivered his famous speech "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," in which he outlined the work confronting the Young Communist League in socialist construction, and defined the main tasks of the working-class youth for many

decades to come. He called on the youth "to study and study," to master and critically assimilate all the knowledge amassed by mankind. He pointed out that the young people must educate themselves in the spirit of communism, *i.e.*, in the spirit of the class struggle of the proletariat. "The class struggle is still proceeding, it has merely assumed another form." The youth can learn communism "only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and the toilers are waging against the old exploiting society." Lenin called on the young people to be active fighters in the front ranks of the struggle for a socialist system.

In the summer of 1920 fierce battles took place between the Red Army and the Polish troops. Lenin mobilized the entire country for victory over Poland. The advance of the Red troops on Poland continued successfully.

By the middle of August the vanguard of the Red Army was at the gates of Warsaw. Great Britain demanded that the advance of the Red Army be stopped, and once more threatened to send its fleet, but the English workers formed "Councils of Action" to fight against British intervention in the Russo-Polish war. The workers of Austria, Germany and Sweden protested against this intervention. In many ports the workers refused to load munitions which were being sent to Poland by the Allies.

The Red Army advanced on Warsaw with such rapidity that it did not have enough time to bring up reserves and consolidate the positions it had won. The Polish troops commanded by French generals were regrouped and pressed on our front. The Polish army received enormous assistance in the way of shells, arms and automobiles from Great Britain and in particular from France. The Red Army began to retreat from Warsaw. The Polish army, however, battered by the attacks of the Red Army, was unable to continue the war.

Taking advantage of the fact that the Red Army was occupied on the Polish front, Wrangel broke through from the Crimea, and was threatening the Ukraine. Wrangel now constituted a very serious danger. Budyonny's cavalry was quickly transferred from the Polish front to the South.

In view of the fact that the Red Army was exhausted and that the country was unequal to carrying on a prolonged war, Lenin proposed at a meeting of the Central Committee that peace be rapidly concluded with Poland, even on terms which were not very advantageous, and that all our strength be directed towards smashing Wrangel's army as quickly as possible. This plan was adopted. The Poles readily consented to an armistice. The Soviet government concluded a preliminary peace treaty with Poland.

The Central Committee, on Lenin's suggestion, put Stalin in charge of the Southern Front. M. V. Frunze was appointed commander. After hard-fought battles Wrangel was forced to retreat to the Crimean peninsula.

Early in November fierce fighting began at Perekop, where M. V. Frunze was in charge. The Whiteguards had built powerful fortifications on the isthmus and were supported from the sea by a whole flotilla. But this did not stop the Red Army. Perekop was taken after a heroic attack. Wrangel disbanded his army and fled. The Red troops occupied the whole Crimea, and, on November 16 (3), Frunze informed Lenin as the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars: "Today Kerch was taken by our cavalry, the Southern Front no longer exists."

Hostilities had ceased on the Red fronts. The Soviet republic had been victorious.

The Party, under the leadership of Lenin, had been able to take advantage of the antagonisms between the capitalist powers fighting against us. Our neighbours, Esthonia, Latvia, Finland, etc., came to realize that the Whiteguard generals whom they were supporting would not, if victorious, recognize their independence, whereas the Soviet government actually guaranteed it.

The workers and peasants of the Soviet republic knew from experience that the victory of the tsarist generals would mean the return of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and the strengthening of the kulak class. They followed Lenin and the Soviet government.

The Party, led by Lenin, set to work to organize the national economy, and to build socialism.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

THE WIPING OUT OF WRANGEL'S FRONT MEANT THE END of the Civil War and enabled the Party and the country as a whole to concentrate all its efforts on economic tasks

Lenin had drawn up an extensive and detailed plan of socialist construction in the spring of 1918 ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government"). But intervention and the Civil War had made it impossible to carry out this plan

During the Civil War the defence of the country had come before everything. Under the pressure of war, the Party had been compelled to introduce the policy of War Communism. In order to feed the army and the workers, defend the country and keep industry going, all surplus grain had been requisitioned from the peasants. Industry, undermined and ruined by the war, was unable to give the peasants the goods they needed. In these difficult years the peasants had more to eat than the workers, but they had no grain left for trade. They, therefore, lacked all incentive to extend their tillage or improve the cultivation of their land.

The Civil War that had raged over a large part of the territory of the Soviet republic had seriously affected agriculture also, especially in the most fertile districts, which had changed hands several times.

The situation was further aggravated by drought and by the crop failure in 1920.

All these circumstances combined to produce a serious situation in agriculture in the winter of 1920-21.

The bulk of the peasantry supported the Soviet power, which had given it land and freed it from the landlords. But now that the Whiteguard armies had been completely routed the peasants demanded economic assistance, they demanded that the towns supply them with cloth, footwear, nails, ploughs, and other manufactured goods. They wanted a definite improvement in their living standard. They were exhausted from the long years of imperialist and Civil War.

Industry, however, was unable to meet these demands. Years of war and disruption had reduced it to a state of collapse. Industry was producing less than a quarter of its pre-war output. Hundreds of factories were in a half-ruined condition and work was at a standstill. The equipment in most of the factories and workshops was worn out and only fit for the scrap-heap. As a result of the closing-down of a number of enterprises a section of the proletariat became declassed, gave up their trades and went off to the villages. The best forces of the working class were on the fronts. Some of the most important industrial regions (the Donbas, the Urals, Baku) had only recently come under Soviet control and had suffered considerably at the hands of the Whiteguards.

The economic blockade by the bourgeois states still further aggravated the economic situation in the country, depriving it of the opportunity of purchasing abroad the machinery and goods required.

Railway transport had broken down completely. Hundreds of railway bridges had been blown up, thousands of kilometres of track had been rendered unfit for use, and most of the engines and cars were out of commission.

The enemy, having been defeated in the open field, was now trying to bring about the collapse of the Soviet power by organizing bandit gangs and kulak uprisings. Armed bands were sent into the territory of the Soviet republic from abroad for purposes of diversion.

Lenin clearly saw the serious situation of the country. A decisive turn in Party policy had to be made quickly. The peasant had to be given an incentive to improve his farm, and, on the basis

of the improvement in agriculture, large-scale industry had to be restored, machinery and goods supplied to the villages, thereby strengthening the economic bond of the proletariat and the peasantry

This change of policy, a decided departure from the previous policy of War Communism, could be carried out only if there was complete unity in the Party

Lenin was confronted with a political task of the utmost difficulty, and he carried it out with his inherent courage, resoluteness and perseverance.

In a very short time he brought about a sharp turn in the Party policy, exposed and isolated all the anti-Party groupings, and strengthened the bond between the Party and the masses, and the alliance of the workers and peasants

In going over to the New Economic Policy (NEP) the genius of Lenin as the leader of the Party and the proletariat was revealed in all its brilliancy

Lenin conceived of restoring industry on the basis of the electrification of the country. Already in the beginning of 1920 Lenin commissioned Krzhizhanovsky and some of the foremost scientists to draw up a state plan for the electrification of the country. He wrote "It must be presented immediately and be graphic and easy to understand, so that the masses will be attracted by its clear, vivid (and fully *scientific* in basis) perspective, to work then, and in ten or twenty years we shall have *electrified* the whole of Russia, both industrial and agricultural"

The special commission (GOELRO) carefully prepared this plan for the electrification of the country. Stalin wrote to Lenin "A masterly draft of a truly *single* and truly *state* economic plan in the real sense of the term. The only Marxist attempt in our time to place the Soviet superstructure of economically-backward Russia on a really practical technical and production basis, the only possible basis under present conditions"

Referring further to Trotsky's "plan," he added "What poverty, what backwardness in comparison to the GOELRO plan! A craftsman of the Middle Ages, fancying himself an

Ibsen hero, whose mission it is to 'save' Russia with an old saga. . ."

In the same letter Stalin exposed the " 'philistine realism' (actually Manilovism) of Rykov, who was still 'criticizing' GOELRO, and was steeped to his ears in routine."

The Eighth Congress of Soviets (December 1920), convened by the Party, was entirely devoted to the discussion of this plan and to other questions of national economy. The Party sponsored four reports on these subjects at the congress.

In his report Lenin spoke of economic construction, which was now of major importance. Lenin posed the problem of creating a single economic plan, of reorganizing the very basis of Russian economy, the very basis of small-peasant economy. This could be done only if the broadest masses were drawn into the work of construction, and therefore widespread production propaganda had to be carried on.

Lenin pointed out that the main thing was to raise the level of peasant husbandry, but to do this it was necessary to restore heavy industry. The plan for the electrification of the country was the basis of all economic construction. This was the new program of the Party. "As long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism." Lenin pointed out that in the countryside capitalism "is based on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production. And it is only in electricity that we have such a basis. Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country."

On the stage of the Bolshoi Theatre, in which the sessions of the congress were held, hung a huge map of the Soviet republic. While Krzhizhanovsky was delivering his report on electrification, lights appeared on the map indicating where high capacity electric power stations would stand in ten years' time.

At this same congress Lenin pointed out that in order to restore our national economy we could grant concessions to foreign capitalists in some of our enterprises. The most important thing

was to obtain machinery and equipment as quickly as possible from the capitalist countries, and for this it was worth paying the capitalists in gold and with concessions.

At a meeting of the Communist fraction of the Eighth Congress, Lenin, in speaking of concessions, outlined the foreign policy of the Soviet government which he himself was directing. He pointed out that "we were able to hold out and to defeat the unprecedentedly strong combination of the Entente powers, supported by Russian Whiteguards, only because of the conflict of interests between these powers"

Our policy, Lenin said, is to utilize the profound and inevitable clash of economic interests between the imperialist powers and to prevent or delay their forming an alliance against the Soviet republic

Our trade relations with England, negotiations for which are now proceeding, will enable us to purchase equipment abroad and at the same time weaken the alliance between the countries of the Entente

The German government hates the Bolsheviks, but its economic interests are driving it to make peace with us. By taking advantage of all these antagonisms, the Soviet republic will be able to trade profitably with foreign countries and make peace pacts with them, Lenin said further.

In 1920-21, under Lenin's leadership, the Soviet republic in fact succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations with England, Esthonia, Latvia, Finland, Sweden, and other countries, and in breaking through the economic blockade.

Trotsky attempted to utilize the grave situation which had arisen in the country as a result of the economic collapse and the difficulties connected with the transition from war to peace for an organized struggle against Lenin and Bolshevism

Trotsky in actual practice revealed himself as a real bureaucrat. While head of the railway and water transport workers' trade union, Trotsky, as a result of his bureaucratic, incredibly coercive and high-handed methods, caused a split in the Central Committee and set the mass of the union members against him. Trotsky was unwilling to carry out the instructions of Lenin and Stalin on

changing the methods of leadership in the union and began to evolve a whole theory on the necessity of giving the unions a "thorough shake-up," and transforming them into state organs Trotsky wanted this "shake-up" in order to break up the Bolshevik cadres and replace them with his own people, with Trotskyites Trotsky's platform was a result of his lack of faith in the strength of the working class and in the ability of the working class to lead the peasantry Moreover Trotsky promptly tried to form a faction of his own Having suffered defeat in the Central Committee, he formed a group outside the Central Committee and with it began to attack the Party, the Central Committee and Lenin Trotsky refused to submit to the decisions of the Central Committee, and attacked Lenin in the press, declaring that the Party must "choose between two tendencies," thus setting himself up in opposition to Lenin

Following in Trotsky's footsteps, other unstable elements also began to form separate groups and factions, each coming out with its own particular platform Thus the Shlyapnikov "Workers' Opposition" group adopted an anarcho-sindicalist position and proposed that the proletarian state should surrender its rights to the trade unions Industry, in its opinion, should be managed not by the workers' state and its organs, but by the trade unions It denied the leading role of the Communist Party

Bukharin, who had at first advanced a platform of his own, soon went over entirely to Trotsky Lenin pointed out that Bukharin's position was the most harmful and worst kind of factionalism Bukharin was Trotsky's ally in the trade union discussion

At a meeting of the Communist fraction at the Eighth Congress of Soviets, Lenin came out resolutely against the errors of Trotsky, Bukharin, and the other opportunists He said that coercion must not be applied to the trade unions "The trade unions . . . are schools, schools of administration, schools of management, schools of communism" Lenin pointed out that the Party, in realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, was linked with the broad masses through the trade unions

The trade unions were the chief assistants of the Party in

establishing real labour discipline. The trade unions were the defenders of the proletarian state and the defenders of the workers against bureaucratic distortions in the Soviet state apparatus.

Lenin pointed out that we must now devote special attention to winning over the peasants who had been exhausted by the Civil War, and whose husbandry was disorganized.

Lenin considered Trotsky's position politically harmful, anti-Bolshevik, and ruinous to the Party and the proletarian dictatorship, he characterized Shlyapnikov's position as a complete break with communism and desertion to anarcho-syndicalism.

Lenin saw clearly that the vacillations towards anarchism were caused by the influence exerted on the proletariat by petty-bourgeois elements, which were exceptionally strong during this period of devastation and war-weariness.

The triumph of the petty-bourgeois elements would have meant the downfall of the Soviet republic and consequently the re-establishment of the power of the landlords and the capitalists. For this reason the anarchist deviation was particularly dangerous. The slightest weakening of the unity and solidarity of the Party might bring disaster.

The discussion which had arisen created an acute situation in the Party.

In his second article on the trade unions, Lenin spoke outright of a "Party crisis." In his articles and speeches he denounced the factional struggle carried on by Trotsky, Shlyapnikov, Bukharin and others. He pointed out that Trotsky had displayed utter "disregard of Marxism," that Bukharin had exchanged Marxian dialectics for lifeless eclecticism and had talked himself into syndicalism. Lenin said that the kernel of these disputes was the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that Trotsky rejected the very essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Stalin fought together with Lenin against Trotsky's attempts to drag his old opportunist "theories" into the Party. In a brilliant article published in *Pravda*, Stalin pointed out that the methods of coercion and "shake-up" in the unions, suggested by Trotsky, "would split the working class and engender distrust of the Soviet government."

In combating the non-Marxian views of Trotsky, Bukharin, and the others, Lenin with particular sharpness attacked the formation of factions and all attempts to weaken the Party's unity and monolithic character. He assailed Trotsky in particular for the fact that by his factionalism, by his breach of discipline, and by organizing his own particular faction, he was opening the way to the counter-revolution for an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat. At this time Trotsky, the Workers' Opposition (Shlyapnikov, etc.), the "Democratic Centralism" group and others were trying to isolate themselves by forming factional organizations of their own, each with its own platform, its own group discipline and its own leading centres.

All these factions shrieked about the domination of the "Party specialists" (*ie*, fought against the Party apparatus), accusing the Central Committee of "exiling" Communists (*ie*, objecting to the right of the Central Committee to allocate forces).

While parading as the champions of democracy, the supporters of Trotsky and the other groups, during the discussion on the trade unions, forbade the circulation of the theses of the "Ten," signed by Lenin and Stalin (in the Urals, for example), and in some places these documents were printed on a hectograph as if they were illegal material.

This factional strife, which was undermining the unity of the Party, played into the hands of the counter-revolution. It reflected the pressure of the petty-bourgeois masses on the proletariat and its Party. Trotsky's attitude encouraged all the counter-revolutionaries within the country and abroad. Counter-revolutionaries of all shades, convinced that open counter-revolution under Whiteguard slogans was doomed to failure, tried to strike at the Soviet government by adopting pseudo-revolutionary slogans. They began to pass themselves off as Communists and to take advantage of the differences within the Party.

Lenin fought passionately against factionalism, explaining how dangerous it was for the Party of the proletarian dictatorship.

He hastened the convoking of the next Party congress in order to settle all the vital problems of Party life, economic construc-

tion, and the consolidation of the alliance between the proletariat and the bulk of the peasantry

In the first months of 1921 Lenin was very occupied with preparations for the Tenth Party Congress and questions of economic construction. At his proposal the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) was created

The Council of Defence was transformed into the Council of Labour and Defence, and, under Lenin's chairmanship, it directed the whole work of economic construction.

In Transcaucasia the government of the Mensheviks and other allies of the bourgeoisie had been overthrown. Lenin, who, together with Stalin, had always directly guided the work of building up the national republics, gave instructions that the Bolshevik national policy be carried out persistently and with due regard to local conditions. He stressed the importance of a careful policy with regard to the peasantry. Immediate steps should be taken to better the condition of the peasants and to begin large-scale electrification and irrigation work in the national republics.

The national question was placed on the agenda of the Tenth Congress and Lenin proposed that Stalin speak on this point.

In preparing for the Tenth Party Congress, in March 1921, Lenin had outlined measures for a decided turn in the country's economic policy. The peasantry had to be met half-way, and on the basis of the reorganization of our forces a new offensive begun against the capitalist elements in the country.

The opening of the Tenth Party Congress coincided with the Kronstadt rebellion, which in its way reflected the discontent of the peasantry. The backward section of the Kronstadt sailors, under the leadership of the counter-revolutionary forces, rose in revolt against the Soviet government. It was highly indicative that the rebels took cover behind the slogan "For Soviets, but without the Communists." This rebellion revived the hopes of all the counter-revolutionary parties. The enemies of the Soviet government expected it to meet with response in other parts of the country. But this was not the case. Lenin took swift and decisive measures to suppress the rebellion.

To put down the Kronstadt rebellion as quickly as possible, the best military men and a group of delegates from the Tenth Congress were sent to the scene at Lenin's suggestion. In a heroic attack over the ice the Red troops and detachments of students from military schools took the Kronstadt forts

The main questions at the Tenth Congress were the new economic policy, the struggle against factionalism, and securing unity in the Party. Long before the congress, at various meetings with responsible Party functionaries Lenin had worked out proposals providing for a fundamental change in the Party's economic policy. At the congress he elaborated his economic plan and proposed a decisive change in tactics—the introduction of the New Economic Policy

The New Economic Policy, while retaining the key positions in the hands of the proletariat, on certain conditions admitted capitalist elements into our economy, at the same time restricting them and providing for their elimination. This was to guarantee the gradual entrenchment of the socialist elements of economy and the squeezing out of capitalist elements, thus building the foundations of socialist economy, and assuring the final victory of socialism over capitalism

We must openly admit, Lenin said, that "only agreement with the peasantry can save the socialist revolution in Russia until the revolution in other countries takes place. We must adapt our state economy to the economy of the middle farmer, which we have not been able to transform in the course of three years, and will not be able to transform even in a decade."

In Russia the small peasantry comprised the overwhelming majority of the population, said Lenin. A number of special transitional measures must be mapped out in order to proceed to socialism. At present we must meet the peasantry half-way, we must replace the food quotas, whereby we requisitioned all the surplus grain from the peasants, by a food tax. We must allow the peasant a certain degree of freedom in trading, we must supply him with goods and wares. The peasants will thus be given an incentive to produce more grain, and this will stimulate the restoration of the entire national economy.

We are proceeding to the establishment of definite relations between the working class and the peasantry, to an agreement between them, but such an agreement ". . . can be permissible, correct and possible in principle only if it supports the dictatorship of the working class and is one of the measures intended for the purpose of abolishing classes."

It was just such an agreement that Lenin was striving for at the congress when he presented his plan for the New Economic Policy

The Party Congress put an end to the discussion on the role of the trade unions. Prior to the congress the Party had already rallied to the theses of the "Ten," signed by Lenin, Stalin and other leading members of the Party. In spite of all the demagogic devices of Trotsky, Shlyapnikov and Bukharin the overwhelming majority of the Party members supported Lenin. Trotsky's Menshevik attacks encountered a firm rebuff.

Lenin pointed out that the discussion was a "mistake," an "excessive luxury," because it shook the unity of the Party and distracted it from practical tasks of the greatest importance

In view of the fact that Trotsky, who for many years before the October Revolution had carried on an unscrupulous factional struggle against Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, was again beginning a factional struggle, and in view of the factional struggle waged by the followers of Shlyapnikov and others during the discussion on the trade unions, a special resolution on Party unity drawn up by Lenin was adopted by the congress. This resolution prohibited factionalism, because any sort of factionalism in the Party and in the working class is of assistance to the bourgeois counter-revolution.

The congress declared all groups and factions dissolved and resolved that Party members who carried on factional activity were subject to expulsion from the Party. A special clause, written by Lenin, gave the Central Committee the right to expel even Central Committee members for factional activity.

In this struggle against factionalism Lenin was able to command the support of the majority of the Party. The resolutions

of the Tenth Congress on Party unity and the anarcho-syndicalist deviation provided the basis for the entire subsequent struggle of the Party against factionalism and deviations in its ranks

These decisions underlay the further struggle of the Party for unity in its ranks, against factionalism and against the opposition. It was not for nothing that, after the Tenth Congress, the question of revising these resolutions of Lenin's on Party unity was frequently raised by oppositionists of every kind

Lenin insisted at the congress that the factionalists, the opportunists Preobrazhensky, Smirnov, Serebryakov and others who had displayed theoretical instability as well be removed from the Central Committee. He proposed that "organizers who had distinguished themselves in mass Party work" be drawn into the leading body of the Party

At this same congress, after hearing Stalin's report, the Party passed a comprehensive resolution on the national question, defining the Soviet policy on the development of the national regions for many years to come

In his articles, pamphlets, and speeches after the congress, and at the Party conference in May, Lenin explained in detail the nature of the food tax and the substance of the New Economic Policy. He said that socialism was inconceivable without the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was inconceivable without capitalist technical methods and large-scale industry. But in order to re-establish large-scale industry, it was necessary to increase the productive forces of the peasantry at once. The peasants must be interested in a general rise in production. The peasants must be given leadership, and brought over from the system of small-farm husbandry to socialized farming. Heretofore there had been a military alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. The peasantry had supported the workers because the Red Army had protected it from the landlords and the tsarist generals. Now the problem was to effect an economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and together with the latter, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party in the fight against the kulaks, to build socialist society. The proletariat was leading the peasantry, but it was pursuing "the line of the abolition of

classes and not the line of perpetuating the small producer." Having made a sharp turn in Party tactics in the direction of the New Economic Policy, Lenin was able to ensure the further successes of the Soviet government.

Under Lenin's leadership the Party successfully carried out a number of complicated economic and political measures (the introduction of the food tax, the demobilization of the army, the struggle against banditry, the development of trade).

On behalf of the Council of Labour and Defence Lenin wrote detailed instructions to the local Soviet bodies on how to develop the local economy, how to organize trade with the peasantry, how to build up industry and agriculture, how to combat bureaucracy, etc

Lenin persistently explained the New Economic Policy to the workers and peasants. Here is what one of those present at a talk between Lenin and the peasants in the village of Gorki relates: "Lenin entered the hut . . . Then he began speaking with a group of peasants. They got to talking, at first discussing everyday matters in a friendly, joking fashion. When they had joked for half an hour or so, and had exhausted such topics as food patrols, bag-carriers and profiteers, who smuggled flour and cereals under their coats and travelled to Moscow on the roofs of railway cars and on the rods, or by devious routes on horseback—they joked about these things before Lenin, and he laughed at the accounts of these tricks, all of which were useful to him as subject matter—Ilyich got up and started telling the peasants plainly and in simple language of the New Economic Policy.

"The peasants listened intently, they listened because they saw that the man was really opening up a new future, a happy life for them."

In the summer of 1921 the Third Congress of the Communist International was held.

It was necessary to explain to the Communist Parties of the other countries the purport of the transition to the New Economic Policy, to draw general conclusions from this experience, applicable to foreign conditions. The crux of the matter lay in the general question of the mutual relations between the proletariat

and the peasantry—a question of exceptional importance for all the Parties.

Moreover, the first post-war period of revolutionary conflicts had now come to an end in almost all countries, and a certain lull had set in. New tactics had to be worked out for this new period.

At the congress Lenin spoke on the tactics of the Bolshevik Party and on a number of other questions. He explained to the international proletariat our policy with regard to the peasantry and the New Economic Policy. He said that the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the preservation of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, for in this way the proletariat could retain its leading role and state power.

The Third Congress approved the tactics of the Russian Bolsheviks. The congress called for a struggle to win the broad masses of the proletariat to the side of communism and to form a "united front" from below. Under Lenin's leadership the congress rid the Communist International of those groups and factions (such as the Levi group in Germany) which were trying to draw it in the direction of opportunism.

In the autumn, at the Congress of the Political Education Departments, and at the Party Conference in Moscow, Lenin summed up the results of the first months of the New Economic Policy and pointed out that the temporary retreat had strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat and won the peasantry over to the workers.

As usual, Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to Party work, to building up the Party and to its composition. Under his leadership a Party purging was carried out. The Tenth Congress had shown that there were elements in the Party which had fallen under petty-bourgeois influence, and were tainted with syndicalism, anarchism and Menshevism. During the period of the sharp political change the Party had to make sure of the ideological soundness of its members and the firm solidarity of its ranks. Lenin issued instructions that the Party should be purged of people who had isolated themselves from the masses, of hangers-on and especially of former Mensheviks who had sneaked into the Party. He suggested that the non-Party mass of the toilers be invited to

participate in the purging and that an attentive ear be lent to their opinion of the Communists

In the autumn of 1921, Lenin was intensely occupied with the problems of restoring the national economy, with electrification, increasing the output of coal and other fuels, etc. In a note written at the time he pointed out how work must be performed in a socialist country. He said that we must "work with the maximum intensity, and the greatest productivity of labour and discipline, surpassing the capitalist standard, otherwise Russia will not be able to outstrip capitalism or even to catch up with it." In a telegram sent to the Donbas, Lenin denounced the practice of wage levelling and insisted on the introduction "of new rules for paying wages for labour in food supplies and money according to productivity, and the abolition of equalizing payments in provisions and money."

Even then, in the autumn of 1921, it was apparent that the change to the new policy, the adoption of a new stand by the Party had met with striking success. Notwithstanding the added difficulties arising from the famine in 1921, the Party, under the brilliant guidance of Lenin, succeeded in strengthening its own unity and in strengthening the alliance with the peasantry, began to restore industry and transport and strengthened the political position of the Soviet government abroad.

Lenin raised the question "Who will conquer whom?" A contest was going on between socialism and capitalism. Lenin called upon the Communists to "learn to trade," to establish an economic bond between state industry and peasant economy through the market. Relying on the key positions held by the state of the proletarian dictatorship, fighting against the capitalist elements, the Party began to settle Lenin's question "Who will conquer whom?" in favour of socialism.

CHAPTER XXI

LENIN AT WORK

LENIN'S OFFICE IN THE KREMLIN WAS A LARGE ROOM with two windows. The walls were lined with book-shelves containing the most important Marxist writings (the works of Marx, Engels, etc.), encyclopædias, and books on economics. A small section was devoted to *belles-lettres*, mainly classics. New books were placed on one of the lower shelves. There were special stands for Russian and foreign newspaper files. A table was reserved for atlases and maps. There were also maps on the walls and on a special stand. Two portraits, one of Marx and one of Khalturin*—both of them presents from workers—hung on the walls.

A desk stood almost in the centre of the room. To the right and left of the desk were two revolving stands with Party literature, reference books, files of current material and books laid aside for examination.

In the midst of the most intensive practical organizational work Lenin continued to devote himself to theory. Revolutionary theory was for him a weapon of revolutionary action. The works of Marx and Engels, the minutes of the Party congresses, the Bolshevik pamphlets, reference books in various languages, documents on Party history, were all at Lenin's hand, and he referred to this material daily.

Though endowed with a remarkable memory, he never liked to quote from memory, he always carefully checked his sources,

* See page 28 —*Ed Eng ed*

looking up the figures he needed, asking for verified material.

A small, shaded lamp stood on his desk. When Lenin was alone, this lamp was the only light in the room. On the desk were several telephones, a large pair of scissors for opening letters addressed to him personally, a paper knife, and a few well-sharpened pencils. Before it stood a plain armchair with a wicker seat.

In front of Lenin's work desk was a table with armchairs placed around it. Here for many years the meetings of the Political Bureau were held.

The whole atmosphere of the room was simple and unpretentious.

Lenin's office had direct connections with all the leading Party functionaries, with the People's Commissariats, and with other cities. His secretariat was splendidly organized as regards all technical and control work.

Lenin usually arrived at his office between 9 30 and 10 a.m. After glancing through the newspapers, he called in his secretary, heard his report on the most important documents received, gave instructions on the reception of visitors that day, and on the general work of the day, signed papers, etc., etc.

By 11 o'clock, work—the reception of visitors, conferences, telephone calls, summoning of comrades, the writing of articles, resolutions, and so on—was fully under way.

At the same time he would now and again call in one of his secretaries and give new instructions, demanding that these be carried out and checked accurately and promptly.

At 4 o'clock Lenin went to have dinner and to take a rest. At 5 30 or 6 p.m. he was usually back in his office or in the assembly hall of the Council of People's Commissars.

Often, visitors were again received and various business matters attended to late at night, after 10 or 11 o'clock. Sometimes Lenin took a motor drive around midnight, for relaxation.

Here, for example, is how Lenin spent two typical work days, February 8 and 9, 1921.

On the morning of February 8 he edited and signed the minutes of the Small Council of People's Commissars, including deci-

sions adopted on the struggle against speculation, the restoration of railway transport, etc.

From 12 a.m. to 3 p.m. he presided at a meeting of the Political Bureau, which discussed problems connected with the sowing campaign and the condition of the peasantry (in connection with the preparations for the Tenth Congress and the transition to the New Economic Policy), the state of transport, and the fight against banditry

From 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. he presided at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars. Here, among other issues, labour discipline, food reserves for schools and hospitals, and the losses incurred by the country as a result of the war and the blockade, were discussed

From 10 p.m. to 11 30 p.m. he presided at a meeting of the Council of Labour and Defence

On the following day, February 9, he received visitors from morning until 4 30 p.m. People's Commissars and Vice-Commissars, among whom were Dzerzhinsky, Pokrovsky, a Siberian peasant Chernov, and two functionaries of the Communist International

At 6 p.m. the Council of Labour and Defence met to discuss questions of fuel supplies and the sowing campaign

During the meeting and after it Lenin looked through and signed a number of telegrams and papers, read Krassin's report on oil and made a note of foreign books which he requested to have sent to him

This was how the work of the proletarian leader went on from day to day. He was persevering and tenacious in his work, and was also very exacting with others, especially with his secretariat

One of Lenin's secretaries, M. Glyasser, writes "If Lenin sent some letter through his secretary with an urgent inquiry or message to a department or to an individual comrade, to the words 'Send this letter to so-and-so' he rarely forgot to add 'First phone and find out where so-and-so is, in order to give the messenger the exact address. Ask that the time of delivery be

noted, and as soon as the receipt is brought show it to me ' And after sending off the letter the secretary had to follow it up with unremitting attention, making sure that nothing interfered with its delivery, as at any moment a ring might come through from Lenin's office and his questions 'Did so-and-so get my letter? Have you the receipt? When will there be a reply?' had to be answered with absolute accuracy. If you did not answer or gave an uncertain answer Lenin would repeat insistently 'Verify it at once,' or else he would verify it himself take up the receiver, call up the comrade in question and ask if the letter had been delivered to him "

But, though he was exacting with regard to work, Lenin was able to rouse and stimulate the energy of his subordinates as no one else could

" . . . Even when he administered a serious reprimand, Lenin never humiliated or disparaged the person, but always left him with confidence in himself and in his strength and ability to correct his errors and blunders. His tact, his attention, his consideration and *comradely* assistance in any difficulty encouraged even the weak, sluggish, least self-confident workers, he infected them with his own buoyancy and confidence, urged them on by his courage and determination, his quickness of thought and action, his way of seeing that things got done, and most important of all, his knowledge beforehand of what had to be done and the right way to do it "

Lenin presided at all the meetings of the Political Bureau and other meetings of the higher Party organs. He also conducted the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence

At that time the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars, which in the first year of the revolution were usually held at night, used to begin at 6 p.m. sharp. Lenin would appear in the hall on the stroke of six, and never a minute later. He fought resolutely against latecoming and it was even made a rule that the time of everyone's arrival be entered in the minutes of the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars and the

Council of Labour and Defence. The meetings proceeded with the strictest order and perfect silence was observed. Lenin brooked no conversation. He forbade smoking at the meetings, and saw to it that the room was well ventilated. The time allotted to each speaker was not more than 3-5 minutes.

During the meetings of the Political Bureau or the Council of People's Commissars Lenin listened carefully to the discussion and rapidly and clearly formulated the main proposals. At the same time he glanced through papers and foreign newspapers, wrote numerous notes to those present, with inquiries, directives, and instructions. He demanded that the speakers give accurate facts and figures, and make clear and precise proposals. He was a sworn enemy of high-sounding phrases and generalities, wordy declarations, vague and inaccurate information and unweighed proposals. If facts and figures were cited which aroused his doubts, he immediately demanded that the information be further checked from various sources.

At the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars, he listened attentively to the speeches of local representatives and rank-and-file workers. He was always anxious to utilize these new people on commissions or for special assignments. Once a decision was adopted, he demanded that it be accurately phrased and accurately recorded. He kept track of how it was being carried out, and checked up on its fulfilment either personally or through his assistants, summoning people to him or talking with them over the telephone.

"In the Council of People's Commissars, we worked smoothly and cheerfully," recalls Lunacharsky "Lenin would start laughing good-naturedly when he caught someone up in an absurd contradiction and then the whole long table of the greatest revolutionaries and new people of our time would laugh with him—either at the jokes of the chairman himself, who was fond of witticisms, or at those of the speakers. But as soon as the storm of laughter had subsided our former cheerful seriousness returned and the succession of reports, exchanges of opinions, and decisions, flowed on as rapidly as before.

"It was worth seeing how Lenin listened. I do not know of a finer face than Vladimir Ilyich's. It bore the *stamp of unusual strength*, there was something leonine in that face and in those eyes, when, regarding the speaker intently, he literally drank in every word, when he subjected the speaker to a rapid and telling supplementary questioning. . . .

"Lenin very seldom got angry, especially in the Council of People's Commissars. But when he did, he got very angry. And he did not mince words. From his lips came tumbling such expressions as 'Soviet big-wigs who have gone off their heads,' 'loafers,' 'blockheads,' and other unflattering epithets, such as are occasionally to be found in his papers, telegrams, telephone messages, etc. But no one was ever offended by a 'dressing-down' from Lenin."

With all his responsibilities Lenin found time to receive hundreds of workers, peasants, and Party and Soviet functionaries. He usually received visitors in his office at the Kremlin. Gorbunov in his *Reminiscences of Lenin* tells how "he cordially greeted the visitor as he entered, and asked him to sit down, pointing to the upholstered armchair next to his desk. He himself sat at the desk in a hard-backed armchair. He moved over slightly towards the visitor, and with a shrewd, friendly smile, began the conversation, closely regarding him."

Lenin talked to his visitors like an older comrade, but when the occasion required, he could be sharp and severe, he knew how to give imperative orders and was capable of scathing criticism and ridicule.

The huge amount of work which Lenin did required an enormous strain of effort. At the same time he continued to speak at meetings, conferences and congresses, and to write for the press.

Throughout his work Lenin fought furiously against inertness, bureaucracy and routine methods. He put forward daring proposals. He would unhesitatingly change the course of history if circumstances demanded it.

His proposals were always carefully considered and well grounded. His change in policy was a determined move in a new

direction. He firmly and perseveringly carried to completion every one of his decisions.

Threads led from Lenin's office in the Kremlin to every corner of the land, and he could put his finger on any lever of the Party and Soviet organizations.

The whole country, the whole world knew that in the Kremlin dwelt the leader who was guiding the struggle of the working people in all corners of the globe. Lenin was loved by the masses. All who came in contact with him bore in their hearts warm devotion to the great leader of the proletariat. All memories of Lenin are permeated with this sentiment.

One of the students of the Kremlin military school which guarded the Kremlin and the government buildings relates the following incident:

"In the spring, when the ground dried in the Tainitsky garden and the moss turned green along the Kremlin walks, Ilyich would stroll along a garden path in the twilight. He was resting after meetings of the Council of Labour and Defence and the Council of People's Commissars.

"At the old 'Ivanovskaya Forge,' an athletic field had been laid out for the machine-gun students. Scarcely anyone came here at dusk, save a solitary and persistent future Red commander who was trying for the tenth time to jump the hurdle, practising field athletics.

"Ilyich, wearing a cap, hunched forward as usual, with his hands folded behind his back, strolled along the lower section of the Tainitsky garden. He lingered before the hurdle for a long time and watched the persevering athlete in student's uniform.

"At last he cleared the hurdle. A broad smile illumined Lenin's thoughtful face."

On free days Lenin went out of town to rest. In the first years after moving to Moscow, he and his close friends would take sandwiches with them and go off somewhere into the woods. One of his favourite spots was along the banks of the Moskva River near Barvikha where there was a pine forest. The place afforded a fine view of the surrounding fields and meadows.

"Sometimes," writes his sister Maria, "when we were driving through a village a crowd of tow-haired peasant youngsters would come racing up to our car and beg us for a ride. Vladimir Ilyich, who was very fond of children, would ask Gil [the chauffeur—*P K.*] to stop, and the car would be filled to overflowing with a boisterous, exultant crowd of children. When we had gone a kilometre or so the children would get out and with happy shouts run back to the village."

Later Lenin spent his free days in Gorki. He particularly enjoyed living in a little lodge here. He liked to walk in the old park, and he liked the surroundings. Here he was destined to spend the last days of his life.

How to work in the revolutionary, Bolshevik manner—this is the lesson to be derived from all of Lenin's work.

Speaking of Lenin's style in work, Stalin said that it combined Russian revolutionary range of action with American efficiency.

"The wide Russian revolutionary range of action," writes Stalin, "is an antidote against inertness, routine, conservatism, mental stagnation, and slavish submission to ancestral traditions. This wide range is the vivifying force which awakens thought, pushes forward, breaks with the past and opens up perspectives. Without it no progress can be made. But the chances are that in practice it will degenerate into empty 'revolutionary' Manilov phrasemongering, if it is not combined with American efficiency in work. . . ."

"American efficiency is that indomitable spirit that neither knows nor will be deterred by any obstacle, that plugs away with businesslike perseverance until every impediment has been removed, that simply must go through with a job once it has been tackled even if it be of minor importance, and without which serious constructive work is out of the question. But American efficiency incurs the great risk of degenerating into narrow and unprincipled commercialism unless it is combined with the wide Russian revolutionary range of action. . . ."

"Only this union will produce the finished type of Leninist worker, the Leninist style of work."

CHAPTER XXII

LAST YEARS

IN THE MIDST OF FRENEMENDOUS DIFFICULTIES LENIN SUCCEEDED in placing the country on a new economic footing. The kulak and bandit uprisings were put down, industry and agriculture gradually began to recover.

At the Ninth Congress of Soviets in December 1921, Lenin summarized the results of the first year of economic construction, the first year without war. He pointed out that during this year the alliance of the working class with the peasantry had been consolidated and that this had helped to restore the national economy and strengthen the country. Lenin enumerated the successes obtained in the economic sphere: the improvement of transport, the building of electric power stations, the increase in sown area, the rise in coal output.

Lenin noted with pride that in the course of 1921, 5,600,000 tons of Donetz coal had been obtained (more than the plan), and 2,225,000 tons of peat. At the beginning of the year 1,120 tons of cast iron per month were smelted, while in November the figure rose to 4,320 tons. In 1920 and 1921, 221 electric power stations with a 12,000 kilowatt capacity had been opened.

These successes were small as yet, but they showed that the crisis had been passed and that the economic life of the country was on the up-grade.

It was in this period that Lenin drafted the resolution of the Central Committee on the work of the trade unions. It was almost

a year since the resolution on the trade unions had been adopted at the Tenth Party Congress. A comprehensive resolution on the work of the trade unions had to be framed on the basis of the experience of the first year of the New Economic Policy. In this resolution Lenin pointed out that contact with the masses was the prime prerequisite for the success of trade union work. The trade unions, as schools of communism, "must be in particular schools of administration of socialist industry (and then, by degrees, of agriculture) for the entire mass of the workers and subsequently for all the toilers "

In the year that had elapsed since the introduction of the New Economic Policy the proletariat had retained all the key positions and had kept its leading role in the country, the peasantry followed the working class. The Party had reorganized and consolidated its ranks. Under Lenin's leadership the economic position of the country had noticeably improved. It was possible to halt the retreat and again move forward. And in his speech at the congress of metal workers, held in March, 1922, Lenin said "*We can now stop our economic retreat. Enough! We shall not go back any further*" He also pointed out the necessity for a determined struggle against bureaucracy and red tape "*To test people and to test actual fulfilment—this, this again, this alone, is now the quintessence of our whole work, of our whole policy*"

" . . . The immediate task of the moment is not to promulgate decrees or to reorganize, but to *select people*, to establish *individual responsibility for work done*, to *test the actual performance of the work*. Otherwise we shall never get away from the bureaucracy and red tape, which is strangling us, wrote Lenin in these same months of 1922 in his "Draft Directive on the Work of the Council of Defence, the Council of People's Commissars and the Small Council of People's Commissars.

In a letter to Tsurupa on the new methods of work of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence, Lenin pointed out that the major shortcoming was the failure to check up on work. "The putrid bureaucratic bog is *sucking us* into the scribbling of documents, the talking about

decrees and the drafting of decrees, while vital work is being submerged in this morass of paper."

And in these letters Lenin often reiterates that the most important thing is choice of people and check-up of work. The specific responsibility of each worker must be established. The People's Commissars need not bring up every triviality before the Council of People's Commissars, they must do things on their own initiative and answer for what they do. Lenin made his assistants in the Council of People's Commissars personally check up on what was done, and he himself more than once verified this work, seeing to it that the decisions of the Party and the Soviet government were strictly carried out. On these principles he built up a strong Soviet apparatus and an apparatus for running industry.

In these months Lenin turned time and again to questions of culture and the cultural revolution. He devoted his attention to the vital question of raising the level of culture of the masses. The starting point in the fight for culture was the elimination of illiteracy. "An illiterate person is outside politics, he must first of all be taught the alphabet," Lenin added that if the masses themselves would "apply themselves" to this work, illiteracy would soon be wiped out.

Lenin sharply attacked the "Proletarian Culture-ists," who thought that proletarian culture could be built up through some special organization, on a laboratory system. Proletarian culture, according to Lenin's teaching, is created by the mass of the toilers themselves, who critically assimilate the entire heritage of bourgeois culture and recast it. Only by assimilating the culture of the past can the proletariat build up its own, new, socialist culture. The cultural problem cannot be solved as rapidly as political and military problems. It requires a long time and persistent work. And Lenin persistently called upon the toilers to "study, study, study!"

He regarded the cultural awakening of the masses as the most important condition for the success of the cultural revolution. He pointed out that genuine art must be rooted in the very core of the toiling masses and must be understood and loved by them.

Therefore, he was especially interested in those forms of art which could widely influence the masses, such as the cinema, placards, monuments

Lenin persistently urged the People's Commissariat of Education to erect monuments to famous revolutionaries, writers and scientists in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities. These monuments would serve to acquaint the broadest masses with the names and deeds of the great leaders of the working people.

Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to the question of increasing the number of schools and libraries, for only by raising the level of culture of the masses could science, art and technique develop unhampered

The work performed on the cultural front in the Soviet Union gave a definite impetus to economic development

In these years of intense activity, Lenin was as ever surrounded by the care of his comrades and the deep devotion of the toilers of the whole world. An indication of this is provided by the numerous letters and greetings which he received

A group of non-Party, semi-literate peasants, as they described themselves, from the Tambov gubernia, wrote to Lenin as follows "We hope you will always be well and be the great leader of the Russian working peasantry. We are ready to rush to the aid of our great leader, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—Lenin, at a moment's notice, if anyone dares to resist our leader and the working class. Although we are not members of the Party, we are Communists in heart and spirit . . ."

"I remember how Lenin's face lit up when he read this letter," writes M. Ulyanova

The workers of Verona, Italy, wrote "The workers of Verona wish you and the whole Soviet government many years of happiness!"

The proletarian leader was connected by innumerable ties with the working people of the whole world

In the winter of 1921-22 the first symptoms of Lenin's serious illness made their appearance. The tremendous strain under which he had worked for the last few years was beginning to tell. Lenin

was obliged to discontinue work several times at the insistence of the doctors and the Party.

In March he was too ill to take part in the plenum of the Central Committee, and asked to be excused from attending the sessions. He wrote "I am not equal to attending the sessions of the plenum and delivering a report at the congress." But he added that if he were required to put in an appearance at the plenum he would certainly do so. As ever, he was a disciplined member of the Party and was prepared to carry out its instructions.

Lenin wrote a letter to Molotov giving the proposals he wished brought up at the plenum, demanding that Zinoviev's proposals be rejected, and that a longer probation period be set for the admission of new members to the Party: six months for workers who had been engaged not less than ten years in large industrial enterprises, one and a half years for other workers, two years for peasants and Red Army men, three years for all others. Lenin gave as his reason that frequently people are regarded as workers who have "not had the slightest serious experience of large-scale industry," that owing to our successes "the efforts of petty-bourgeois elements, and of elements positively hostile to all that is proletarian to get into the Party will grow to enormous dimensions."

Despite his illness Lenin made preparations for the forthcoming Eleventh Party Congress in his usual thorough manner. This was the last congress at which Lenin spoke.

In the theses of his report to the congress Lenin advanced the following idea: "The chief thing which we lack is culture and the ability to administer. Economically and politically the New Economic Policy made it fully possible for us to build the foundations of socialist economy." In his report at the congress he said that the principal political lesson to be drawn from the New Economic Policy was that we must "link up with the peasant masses, with the rank-and-file toiling peasants, and begin to move forward immeasurably, infinitely more slowly than we dreamed, but so that the whole mass will actually move forward with us. If we do that we shall in time get an acceleration of this movement such as we cannot dream of now." He added. "Among the people

we are as a drop in the ocean, and we shall be able to administer only when we properly express what the people realize. Unless we do this, the Communist Party will not be able to lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses, and the whole machine will collapse." He concluded his speech with the words. "The whole crux, the whole essence of the present political situation is the concentration of attention on the proper selection of people and verification of actual fulfilment."

In his speeches at this congress, Lenin pointed out in his usual straightforward manner, without any circumlocutions, the mistakes which had been made both during the period of War Communism and when the New Economic Policy was introduced. His speeches were models of Bolshevik self-criticism. He was able to face reality. He criticized in order to correct.

At this same congress he pointed out that the Party was confronted with a struggle against capitalism, which developed out of small peasant economy. He said "Here a fight is impending in the near future, the date of which cannot be definitely fixed."

After the Eleventh Congress Lenin proposed that Stalin be made General Secretary of the Central Committee. Compelled by illness to withdraw from work, Lenin placed his closest comrade-in-arms in the decisive post in the Party leadership.

After several years of patient and persevering work, Stalin with remarkable insight chose the moment to begin the determined offensive, of which Lenin had spoken at the Eleventh Congress. Under Stalin's leadership the Party on the basis of successful industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture carried out this determined fight against the capitalist elements in the country with brilliant success.

After the congress Lenin continued his strenuous activities. He wrote an article on the tenth anniversary of *Pravda*. For the Political Bureau he wrote an article entitled "On 'Dual' Subordination and the Law" in which he opposed the decision of the Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which wanted to make the Procurator's office subordinate not only to the central government, but also to the local author-

ities. "The law cannot be interpreted one way for Kaluga and another for Kazan," wrote Lenin. "There must be one code of laws for all Russia, and even for the whole federation of Soviet republics." He demanded a centralized system of surveillance by the office of the Procurator.

In the spring Lenin went to Gorki, outside Moscow. On May 26 Lenin suffered the first acute attack of his illness (arteriosclerosis). He partially lost the use of his right arm and leg, his speech was also impaired. According to the doctors, Lenin's illness was caused by the superhuman strain of his mental activity. In three weeks his health had slightly improved, but in the course of the summer he had several relapses. During his illness Lenin's work as Party leader was carried out by Stalin, the General Secretary of the Central Committee. Stalin frequently visited Lenin, reporting to him on the state of affairs, discussing immediate questions, and receiving instructions for the Central Committee.

In August Lenin sent greetings through Stalin to the All-Russian Party Conference and expressed the hope that he would soon return to work. And in October Lenin did go back to work. He presided at the Council of People's Commissars, attended meetings of the Central Committee and spoke at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

In November he spoke at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International on the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. He pointed out that the experience of the New Economic Policy should be studied by all the Communist Parties, as the question of the attitude of the working class to the peasantry was of extreme importance to all Parties. He ended his speech by pointing out that the proletariat must study and study. We must raise the level of culture of the masses, he said, and then socialist society will be built. The Communist Parties abroad must study in order to digest our experience and utilize it in their struggle for socialism.

It was a great effort for Lenin to deliver this report, and he was completely exhausted after it. His illness was already telling heavily on him.

On November 20 Lenin spoke at the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet. This was his last public speech. He concluded with the words "Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future, or an abstract picture . . . We have dragged socialism into everyday life, and here we must be able to keep our bearings. This is the task of our day, this is the task of our epoch. Permit me to conclude by expressing the conviction that, difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and no matter how many difficulties it may cause us, we shall all, not in one day, but in the course of several years, all of us together, fulfil it, come what may, and NEP Russia will be transformed into Socialist Russia."

After this speech, Lenin transmitted through Stalin his memorandum on the monopoly of foreign trade to the plenum of the Central Committee. In this memorandum he insisted that the monopoly of foreign trade be preserved.

In the last months of 1922, the Party, on Lenin's instructions, made preparations for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin entrusted the main work to Stalin, who was to deliver the report on this question at the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, to be held at the end of December 1922.

In spite of his continued ill-health, Lenin wanted to speak at the congress. But he was not able to attend for on December 16 he suffered a second stroke, accompanied by paralysis of the right side. Foerster, the German professor who attended him, wrote of those months "In the course of the frequent medical examinations and treatment, when he had to undress and dress again, Lenin never allowed the doctors to help him in the least. When, in December 1922, his whole right side was paralysed, and he was unable to rise from his bed, he consented most reluctantly to have a nurse, and later, when he had completely lost the use of his right arm, he tried to do as much as he could with his left, in order to avoid the assistance of others. To serve others had been his life's motto. Not to allow himself to be waited on, but to look after himself—he abided by this supreme law to the last day of his life."

In January and February 1923, Lenin slightly improved. In the intervals between attacks, he dictated his last articles since it was now difficult for him to write.

As usual, Lenin faced facts, and realized that his ability to work had been impaired and that he must utilize every minute that was left. *Pages from a Diary, On Co-operation, Our Revolution, How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Better Fewer, But Better*—these articles were, as it were, the last will and testament of the leader of the Bolshevik Party and of the world proletariat

Here Lenin stresses the crucial political question of the whole revolution—the question of the attitude of the working class to the peasantry Lenin said

“We must strive to build up a state in which the workers retain their leadership of the peasants, retain the confidence of the peasants, and, exercising the greatest economy, remove every trace of superfluity from our social relations . . .

“If the working class retains the leadership of the peasantry, we shall be able, by exercising the greatest possible economy in our state, to use every kopek we save to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification, hydro-peat, to complete Volkhovstroy, etc

“In this and in this alone lies our hope Only when we have done that, shall we, speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, from the peasant, muzhik, impoverished horse, from the horse of economy intended for a ruined peasant country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and cannot but seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, electrification, Volkhovstroy, etc.”

Lenin pointed out that given these conditions the widespread introduction of the co-operative system among the peasantry would draw the latter directly to socialism “As a matter of fact, the power of state over all large-scale means of production, the power of state in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat,

etc. is not this all that is necessary in order from the co-operatives—from the co-operatives alone, which we formerly treated as huckstering, and which, from a certain aspect, we have the right to treat as such now, under the NEP—is not this all that is necessary in order to build complete socialist society? This is not yet the building of socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this building.”

But to make the co-operative system a reality a great deal of cultural work must be carried out “Every social system arises with the financial assistance of a definite class. There is no need to mention the hundreds and hundreds of millions of rubles which the birth of ‘free’ capitalism cost. Now we must realize, and apply in our practical work, the fact that the social system which we must now assist more than usual is the co-operative system. But it must be assisted in the real sense of the word, *i.e.*, it will not be enough to interpret assistance to mean assistance for any sort of co-operative trade, by assistance we must mean assistance for co-operative trade in which *real masses of the population really take part.*” In his last articles Lenin repeatedly spoke of raising the level of culture, of improving the position of the teachers, of the necessity for constant study.

Lenin spoke of the necessity of simplifying and improving the Soviet apparatus. He proposed that the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection be reorganized and merged with the Party organization—the Central Control Commission. He proposed that the number of workers and peasants in the Central Control Commission be considerably increased, and that the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection be given the task of studying the principles of the scientific organization of labour, and of applying them widely to the organization of the Soviet state and of national economy.

The chief task of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission, Lenin said, was to see to it that no rift occurred between the workers and peasants, to see to it that the mass of the peasantry followed the workers and were led by the workers “We must display extreme caution in order to preserve

our workers' government, and to retain our small and very small peasantry under its authority and leadership."

Lenin's articles and speeches in the last months of his revolutionary activity clearly defined for the Party the principal paths along which it must proceed. Lenin proved that the building of socialism in our country was quite possible even though the world revolution was delayed. It had already begun, and would go on successfully. Socialist construction must be based on strengthening and developing heavy industry. Heavy industry will be the foundation for the industrialization of the country. And when we are able to provide the countryside with tractors and improved agricultural implements we must socialize agriculture on a wide scale. The collectivization of the peasantry will lead the countryside directly to socialism. All this work must be led by the Party and the Soviet state. We must be careful to keep the Soviet state from becoming bureaucratic. We must have an inexpensive state apparatus, closely linked with the masses. The fight for literacy and for culture will provide a basis for building socialism, for the struggle against bureaucracy, and for widespread collectivization in the countryside.

Thus Lenin mapped out the main tasks confronting the Party and the proletariat.

These last articles of Lenin's gave the Party practical instructions for several years to come, and were at the same time a great theoretical contribution to the treasury of Marxism. In them Lenin advanced a harmonious Marxian scheme for building socialism in the country where the proletariat led the vast ranks of the peasantry. This plan of Lenin's supplied all the Communist Parties with a theoretical foundation for their activities.

On March 9, 1923, Lenin had a third stroke, and was removed to Gorki. The right side of his body was completely paralyzed, and he lost the power of speech. His condition was extremely grave. The illness developed painfully. He suffered terribly, and was subject to nervous excitement and insomnia. The Party, the working class and the peasantry anxiously followed the course of their leader's illness.

Auerbach, one of the professors who attended him, wrote. "The situation was truly tragic. This man, who had stirred the masses to ecstasy by his words, and had convinced fighters and leaders hardened in debate, this man to whose words the whole world had reacted in one way or another, was unable to express the simplest, most primitive idea at this time."

In April the Twelfth Party Congress was held—without Lenin. The assembled delegates anxiously discussed his serious condition. The organizational report of the Central Committee at the congress was delivered by Stalin

In the middle of the summer a slight improvement took place in Lenin's state of health. The insomnia left him. With assistance he gradually began to walk. In the autumn, under medical care he began exercises for the gradual recovery of his speech.

With iron tenacity he fought against his illness. Krupskaya and his sister Maria were constantly at his side. The best Soviet and foreign physicians were called in.

By October Lenin could walk by himself, with the use of a cane. He took motor drives. Once he drove to Moscow, where he visited his room in the Kremlin. On the return trip he stopped at the agricultural exhibition which was being organized. This was Lenin's last visit to the Kremlin.

His speech was gradually improving. He would look through the newspapers and point out which articles he wanted read to him. It seemed as though the day were near when Lenin would resume his work. But the tragic end was approaching.

"On the eve of the fatal day," writes Semashko, "Vladimir Ilyich felt unwell. He awoke out of sorts, complained of headache, and had no appetite. The following morning he awoke with the same feeling, refused food, and only at the insistent request of those around him was he persuaded to eat a little at breakfast, and a little at dinner. After dinner he lay down to rest. Suddenly the members of the household noticed that his breathing was heavy and irregular."

At 6 p.m. on January 21, 1924, a severe attack set in. Lenin lost consciousness. His breathing became worse and worse. His

face grew deathly pale. His temperature rose rapidly. . . . Within 50 minutes Lenin died of hæmorrhage of the brain which resulted in paralysis of the respiratory organs.

The tragic tidings spread throughout the country and the world. On the night of January 21, a plenum of the Central Committee was called. The next day, at the Congress of Soviets which was in session at the time, Kalinin announced that Lenin was dead. Steele Bolsheviks broke down and cried.

Comrade Tsigankova, a working woman who was present at the Congress of Soviets, thus describes the session at which the delegates learned of Lenin's death

"On January 22, we delegates to the All-Russian Congress arrived for the morning session, and as soon as I mounted the tribune (I had been elected to the presidium of the congress) I saw from the faces of all present that something terrible had happened. At last, when a number of us had gathered on the tribune, Comrade Kalinin told us of the death of our dear leader.

"I do not know if you will understand what happened on the tribune. There were few that did not cry and those only because they managed to keep back their tears. My heart sank and I felt like shouting that this could not be, that it was not true.

"When Comrade Kalinin announced the death of Lenin to the whole congress, sobs and moans drowned out the orchestra, which was playing the funeral march. Everyone wept women and men, young and old, could not hold back their tears, they all had lost their nearest and dearest friend."

The announcement of the Central Committee of the Party stated. "Dead is the man under whose militant leadership our Party with a mighty hand, amid the smoke of battle, unfurled the Red banner of October over all the land, swept away the resistance of our foes and firmly established the supremacy of the toilers in former tsarist Russia. Dead is the founder of the Communist International, the leader of world communism, the love and pride of the international proletariat, the standard-

bearer of the downtrodden East, the head of the workers' dictatorship in Russia "

The proclamation went on to say "Lenin lives in the heart of every honest worker, Lenin lives in the heart of every poor peasant, Lenin lives among the millions of colonial slaves; Lenin lives in the hatred for Leninism, Communism and Bolshevism in the camp of our foes."

With deep sorrow the workers and peasants heard the news of the death of Lenin

Here is one of the many thousands of tragic scenes. A meeting in commemoration of Bloody Sunday, 1905, was being held in the club of the workers of Shaft 13 in the Donbas mining area. "Suddenly the telegraph operator on duty rushed on to the platform. He was excited, pale and out of breath. Silently he handed a slip of paper to the chairman. The latter glanced through it and blanched. He read it again, a second, a third time. His hands shook. There was trepidation in the presidium. They stirred. The speaker also sensed that something was wrong, and lost the thread of his speech.

" 'Comrades'—the chairman broke in—'a telegram has just been received that Lenin' . . . and without finishing the sentence he began to sob like a child, holding his hands to his head

" 'Lenin is dead'—another comrade from the presidium finished the sentence, his voice choking with tears.

"It was like a thunderbolt For a few minutes there was complete silence . . .

" 'Ilyich, dear Ilyich . . . what will we do without you,' said an old miner The eyes in his worn and wrinkled face stared off into the distance, and from those eyes that in their time had seen all the hardships and privations of a miner's life, the tears rolled down in large drops. At the moment all were like this old miner. All had lumps in their throats, tears streamed down their cheeks, and their hearts beat fast.

" 'But we will take your place, never-to-be-forgotten teacher,' continued the miner, as if awakening from sleep, 'we will swell the ranks of your Party, we will carry on the work which you

began and for which you died. . . .’ He could say no more. . . . A new burst of tears forced him to leave the platform.

“One miner after another began to speak. In their clumsy and untutored utterances, which touched the hearts of everyone present by their simplicity and sincerity, one felt the whole strength and might of the proletarian class. The thought was brought home to the consciousness of the assembly: Lenin is dead, but the collective intellect of the proletarians, of their great leader—the Bolshevik guard—still lives. We will take Lenin’s place.”

On January 23 the funeral train arrived in Moscow. The coffin containing Lenin’s body was carried to the House of Trade Unions. Hundreds of thousands of workers, Red Army men and peasants lined the way. For five days and nights, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, Red Army men and employees, delegations from other cities, young and old, passed through the hall of the House of Trade Unions, where Lenin’s body lay, to bid farewell to their beloved leader. Meetings were held throughout the land. Workers and peasants vowed that they would further Lenin’s cause. The workers abroad, the oppressed peoples of the East and of all countries reacted in the same way.

Sokolova, a weaver, thus describes these days. “When he died we were simply appalled! It was a blow, the crullest blow we had suffered all through the revolution. All Moscow felt bereft, desolated.

“Lenin is dead! I was at the funeral—what a crowd there was—it was hardly possible to make one’s way through! All Moscow mourned. His body was brought from the Paveletsky station to the House of the Trade Unions. I went to meet it and walked behind the coffin all the way. The next day I brought a wreath of fresh flowers from our factory. I carried the wreath, weeping. But what was I and my tears! Others wept and said ‘If only we had died instead.’”

On January 26, a memorial meeting was held in the Bolshoi Theatre.

The Party and its Central Committee uttered their last

"farewell" to their great leader. In a strong moving speech on behalf of the Party, Stalin made a vow to abide by Lenin's testament

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of holding aloft and guarding the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your behest with honour.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding the unity of our Party like the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil also this behest of yours with honour.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfil also this behest of yours with honour.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of strengthening with all our might the alliance between the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil also this behest of yours with honour.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of consolidating and expanding the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil also this behest of yours with honour.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International."

January 27 was a sunny, frosty day. Bonfires were burning, the smoke hung low in the streets, the whole city was in motion. The coffin containing Lenin's body was carried from the House of Trade Unions to the Red Square. Hundreds of thousands of

people thronged the adjoining streets. Red flags were fluttering. The bands played funeral marches. Then came the final farewell, the last expression of grief. At 4 o'clock a salvo was fired and thousands of sirens blew in the factories and plants of Moscow and thousands of factory, plant and locomotive sirens blew all over the land. Lenin's coffin was lowered into the crypt of the mausoleum.

The loss of their beloved leader did not shake the ranks of the Party, but rallied them still closer. Tens of thousands of non-Party workers, the best workers, expressed their desire to join the Party of Lenin. In a few weeks, over 200,000 workers, the "Lenin levy," had joined the Party.

One of these, a woman worker from the Tula armaments plant named Izvolskaya, writes "Up to the death of our leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, I was a shop steward, not a member of the Party. I had never spoken at our workers' meetings, I was tongue-tied in those days. But when our great, beloved leader and teacher, Vladimir Ilyich, died, I couldn't remain outside the Party, I joined the day of his funeral, and that day untied my tongue. I made my first speech at a meeting of my fellow-workers of the Central Store and the transport section the day Vladimir Ilyich was buried. The second time I spoke was in the People's Hall. At that time I myself couldn't understand how I had become so active. I was the first to join the R C P. (B)."

The best workers in the country declared to the Central Committee of the Party "With Lenin's death there is but one way out for us workers—under the banner of the Communist Party."

Lenin died, but his cause is being furthered by millions of workers and peasants. His banner is held aloft by the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist Central Committee.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE MAN, THE REVOLUTIONARY, THE LEADER

LENIN'S WHOLE LIFE WAS CLOSELY BOUND UP WITH THE working masses. He completely gave himself to the cause of the emancipation of the toilers and the oppressed from the exploitation of capital.

He carefully studied the life of the workers, the peasants, and the oppressed peoples. He studied their life not from books alone, but in innumerable conversations with workers, in their letters and correspondence to the newspapers, and by attending workers' meetings and visiting their homes.

While in exile abroad, Lenin, through letters from workers and conversations with people coming from Russia, was able clearly to picture the condition, sentiments and aspirations of the working class. Even when he was separated from his native land for several years he was in better and closer contact with the proletariat of Russia than many who were actually living in the country.

Wherever Lenin lived—abroad, in Russia, in town or in country, he thoroughly studied the life of the working people, closely observing them and questioning the workers and peasants as to their needs and cares.

Krupskaya writes, "He was fond of reading the notices of various socialist meetings in the suburbs, in small cafés, in English churches. He wanted to see the life of the German, English and French workers, to hear how they spoke, not at big meetings, but in their own intimate circle, what they were thinking about, and how they lived. We were present at all sorts of election meet-

ings in Paris We knew the life of the workers of the country we lived in better than *émigrés* usually did ”

After the October Revolution Lenin lived in the capital, first in Petrograd, then in Moscow The conditions of his work were such that he rarely had the opportunity of leaving these cities. Keenly attuned to the needs and demands of all the working people, he clearly perceived the conditions under which the workers and peasants and the peoples of the Soviet border regions lived He sensed their innermost thoughts, and, in pointing out to the Party the course it should adopt, he knew that the working masses would follow the Party. Lenin believed in the creative power of the masses He demanded that the masses be drawn into revolutionary work on a broad scale

“I do not know another revolutionary who had such profound confidence in the creative strength of the proletariat and in the revolutionary expediency of its class instincts, as Lenin did,” Stalin says “I do not know another revolutionary who was so able to ruthlessly scourge the smug critics of the ‘chaos of revolution,’ and the ‘bacchanalia of irresponsible actions of the masses’ as Lenin was I remember during a conversation, in reply to a remark made by a comrade that ‘after the revolution normal order must be established,’ Lenin sarcastically remarked ‘It is a pity that people who want to be revolutionaries forget that the most normal kind of order in history is revolutionary order’

“Hence Lenin’s contempt for all those who tried superciliously to look down upon the masses and to teach them from books Hence Lenin’s constant urging that we must learn from the masses, try to understand their actions and carefully study the practical experience of the struggle of the masses”

Lenin was the greatest organizer of the working masses He loved to repeat “The strength of the working class lies in organization Without the organization of the masses the proletariat is nothing Organized, it is everything.”

Lenin organized and reared the Party of the Bolsheviks In the very first years of his revolutionary activity Lenin worked

out a correct organizational plan for building the Party. With the foresight of genius he realized that the proposals of the Mensheviks on the organization of the Party would, if adopted, make the working class an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin's greatest service in those years was the fact that he found the correct organizational way to build the Party and fought vigorously at the Second Congress and afterwards against the organizational plan proposed by the Mensheviks.

Irreconcilability in defense of Marxism, inflexibility, resoluteness and perseverance in the struggle for its views, organizational solidarity, iron discipline and militant ardour—these have been the features of Bolshevism from the very first years of its existence. Under the leadership of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks went through three revolutions and achieved victory in October. It suffered severe reverses and scored victories, and became steeled in these revolutionary battles under the firm guidance of Lenin.

On the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party Lenin created the Communist International.

Lenin was the universally recognized leader of the Party, and, like a real leader, was able to see farther ahead than many, and to predict the fulfilment of what seemed to others an impossible dream.

Lenin had always shown great respect for Plekhanov, but from the first years of their work together he was able to expose many of his mistakes. He spoke out boldly and directly against these mistakes, though Plekhanov was then considered the foremost representative of Russian Marxism. In this struggle with Plekhanov, Lenin was entirely in the right, for Plekhanov's mistakes, which at the time seemed quite unimportant to many people, ultimately led him to Menshevism, to defensism, and to championing the bourgeoisie in their fight against the proletariat.

Lenin did exceptionally important work in exposing the anti-Marxian teachings of the Narodniks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and other petty-bourgeois parties and groups. By his theoretical

and political struggle against these tendencies he succeeded in defeating them and freeing the workers and peasants from their pernicious influence. Without the defeat of Narodism in all its forms, the proletarian party could not have been formed, and the October victory could not have been ensured.

Lenin was the first to pit arms with the opportunism of the Mensheviks, Trotsky and the leaders of the Second International, and vigorously carried on this struggle throughout his life. His enemies accused him of fault-finding, of quarrelsomeness, of making mountains out of molehills. Yet the first manifestations of the opportunism of the Mensheviks, which seemed trifling at the time, were the starting-point of their desertion of the revolution, which subsequently made them accomplices of the bourgeoisie in the first revolution and its defenders after the February Revolution, and led them into the arms of Kolchak, Denikin and international imperialism

With the foresight of genius Lenin fought against the opportunists of the Second International. He began this struggle in the first years of his revolutionary activity. He was one of the first to criticize sharply the books of Bernstein. He fought resolutely against the opportunists of the Second International, and for a break with them long before the leaders of the Second International openly betrayed the working people during the World War. He called for the formation of the Third International at a time when opportunism appeared to have triumphed in the working-class movement. He was the creator and moving spirit of the Third, Communist International.

When Lenin, before the first revolution, wrote of the necessity of preparing for an armed uprising, the Mensheviks ridiculed him as an idle visionary, but in a few months' time armed uprisings of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors had broken out all over Russia.

When Lenin, on his arrival in Petrograd after the February Revolution, declared that the socialist revolution was at hand, he was opposed by the Rights (Kamenev and others), but in six months' time Lenin was at the head of the workers' government.

in the country where the proletarian dictatorship had triumphed. When Lenin in 1915, during the most difficult period of the imperialist war and the height of the orgy of reaction, wrote of the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country, all the opportunists of the Second International, and Trotsky together with the Russian Mensheviks, came out against Lenin. Nevertheless, history followed the course foretold by Lenin.

But Lenin did not merely see far into the future. He was able to lead the Party and the working masses, both in time of offensives and victories and in time of working class adversity, and difficult retreat. Never did he show a trace of discouragement or despondency. He did not lose his head in the hours of victory and success, he taught others not to snivel in moments of failure and defeat.

Lenin's sister Ulyanova-Elizarova recalls that his conversations and letters "were always like a jet of spring-water on all discouragement, nervousness, or apathy, they brought an influx of buoyancy which made people buck up. At the same time his self-confidence did not oppress people, but gave them energy and the ambition to make better use of their abilities. His wit infused them with the joy of living—the best lubricant for any kind of work."

After the defeat of the first revolution Lenin firmly believed that the revolution was not crushed and would triumph. In these difficult years he steadfastly and perseveringly mustered the Party anew, fought against the Mensheviks, the Liquidators, Trotsky, and the opportunist groups within the Party itself (Otzovists, conciliators, and others), he was preparing the Party and the working class for a new battle and looking forward to a new upsurge of the revolution and new victories. And when, in the autumn of 1917, Lenin saw that the hour for the decisive offensive had arrived, like the true commander of the revolutionary armies that he was, he was able to summon the Party to a timely attack and achieve victory.

At the time of the Brest Peace negotiations, and subsequently, during the transition to the NEP, when the Party had to retreat and manoeuvre, Lenin skilfully guided it, allowing no panic, disorganization, loss of morale, or disintegration.

Lenin's skill as a leader rested on his ability to see things clearly, as they were. He did not embellish the facts when he saw the severe defeats suffered by the working class, nor did he delude himself in times of success or victory. For he knew that victory is often followed by the greatest difficulties.

He taught the Party and the working class to face facts squarely and to state the truth.

Lenin was, in Stalin's words, "a great master in the art of revolutionary leadership. Never did he feel so free and happy as in the epoch of revolutionary upheavals. . . . In the days of revolutionary changes he blossomed out, as it were, became a prophet, foresaw the movement of classes and the probable zigzags of the revolution, saw them like the lines on the palm of his hand. It was not for nothing that it used to be said in our Party circles that 'Ilyich is able to swim in the waves of revolution like a fish in water.'

"Hence the 'astonishing' *clarity* of Lenin's tactical slogans, and the 'breath-taking' *audacity* of his revolutionary designs."

Lenin was not only the greatest leader of the working people in the period of wars and socialist revolutions—he was the foremost theoretician and continuator of the work of Marx and Engels.

Lenin's strength lay in the fact that he based himself on the teachings of Marx. But Lenin contributed much that was new, and further developed the teachings of Marx in their application to the new conditions of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

Stalin pointed out the new ideas which Lenin contributed to the development of Marxism.

First, Lenin, on the basis of Marx's work on capitalism, and by studying the economic history of the last decades, analyzed imperialism and characterized it as the final stage of capitalism. He revealed all the sores of imperialism and the conditions which make its downfall inevitable.

Second, Lenin worked out in detail the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, showing that Soviet power is the form

of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that through its dictatorship the proletariat leads the peasantry, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat, expressing the interests of the majority of the exploited, is the highest form of democracy

Third, Lenin elaborated the question of the forms and methods of constructing socialism in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country surrounded by capitalist states. He proved that it was possible to build socialism in a single country where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been victorious. He mapped out the paths of economic policy which would link up agriculture with socialist industry and lead the entire national economy to socialism, he pointed out how through the co-operative system the peasantry could be brought to socialism and re-educated in the socialist spirit.

Fourth, Lenin developed Marx's idea of the hegemony of the proletariat "into a symmetrical system of proletarian leadership of the masses of the toilers in town and country not only in the fight for the overthrow of tsarism and capitalism, but also in the work of socialist construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Fifth, Lenin arranged the ideas of Marx and Engels on the national and colonial question into a harmonious system. He linked up this question with the question of the overthrow of imperialism, and declared it to be an integral part of the general question of the international proletarian revolution.

Finally, Lenin developed in detail the theory of the proletarian party as the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. He proved that the Party co-ordinates and guides the activities of the other working class organizations (trade unions, co-operatives, etc.), that the proletariat realizes its dictatorship through the Party, which moreover does not share its leadership with any other party, and that the Party can realize the dictatorship of the proletariat only if there is iron discipline in its ranks.

Throughout his life Lenin engaged in extensive theoretical work in the spheres of economics, politics, philosophy, and so forth. Even individual statements made by him on questions which he

had not specially studied provide the foundation for further Marxist theoretical investigation. At the same time, Lenin's theoretical work was closely and organically bound up with the political tasks confronting the Party of the proletariat, and was not abstract theorizing. For Lenin theory and practice were invariably interwoven. Practice provided material for theoretical generalization and theory provided a basis for practical work

In Lenin mankind possessed an extremely great and brilliant theoretician and leader of the world socialist revolution. Basing himself on the teachings of Marx, Lenin squarely placed before the working class the task of the struggle for socialism as the urgent task of the proletarian struggle.

Having created a militant proletarian party of a new type, Lenin tempered it ideologically and organizationally in the fight on two fronts—against Right opportunism and against “Left” petty-bourgeois revolutionism

As leader of the revolutionary proletarian party Lenin paved the way for the emancipation of the working class from exploitation, roused the proletariat of the entire world against imperialism, and created and headed the first state of the proletarian dictatorship in the history of mankind. Lenin showed the peasantry and the colonial countries the road to emancipation

In the words of Stalin, Leninism is “the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution” It has become the banner of millions of working people.

Lenin was “a leader of a superior type, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in the struggle and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement”

He was endowed with an iron will, daring, and a revolutionary fighting disposition

In his personal relations he was simple and direct. He always acted like an older comrade and never exhibited his superiority, he was considerate and tactful in helping and teaching inexperienced comrades.

Krzhizhanovsky writes. “Among close friends Vladimir Ilyich

at once became the life of the party. Where he was, there the most heated discussion and the heartiest laughter could be heard. He was keenly aware of the idiosyncracies of each comrade and had a wonderful knack of approaching people accordingly. He was truly a 'human magnet.' There was only one thing that Vladimir Ilyich, like Marx, could not endure: humbug, pretense and phrasemongering."

Lenin was extremely considerate in his dealings with others. But he was severe and ruthless when it came to the enemies of the Party or those who persisted in their errors and mistakes to the detriment of the Party. He could not bear to have the work disrupted by squabbles and the introduction of personal animosities.

He was extremely solicitous of the welfare of his comrades.

When the deputy Samoylov came from Russia, completely broken-down in health, Lenin did everything in his power to aid his recovery, and he demanded that comrades do all that was necessary to "safeguard Party property."

Clara Zetkin tells how Lenin used to visit her when she was ill. "With the solicitude of a tender mother he enquired as to whether I was receiving the proper medical treatment and the right food, and kept on asking me what I was in need of."

After the establishment of Soviet power, when he was up to his eyes in work, he found time to concern himself about comrades. He wrote notes to his secretaries about rooms for a newly-arrived comrade, about getting an apartment renovated, about firewood and meals for a foreign Communist, about warm clothing for the child of a dead comrade. He pointed out to the superintendent of buildings in the Kremlin that "Stalin has such an apartment in the Kremlin that he cannot sleep," and demanded that he be given a quiet place.

He carefully looked after the health of comrades. He observed that a certain comrade "looked like a dying man," and suggested that he immediately be placed under medical care. He was worried because "Avanesov is over-exerting himself while in a state of ill health," and ordered that he be treated. To Tsurupa, who was under the care of Professor Kraus after an illness,

he wired "Complete the *whole* cure and bring *me* a written statement from this professor about your health and the regime you must follow during convalescence"

When he noticed that a comrade was exhausted and over-worked, he would start urging him to take a vacation; he himself would arrange about a sanatorium, and secure a decision of the Central Committee compelling him to take a vacation and not to return to work before it was up

He wrote in great excitement that, according to definite information he had received, "the members of the collegiums are starving," and demanded that they be given immediate assistance and that arrangements be made to improve their food supply

Even in small things Lenin was tactful and considerate for example, when he wanted to talk to Stalin he wrote that the message be delivered "only when Stalin gets up (do not wake him)"

Thus Karpinsky writes "Among the human traits rarely encountered, which put Vladimir Ilyich head and shoulders above other people, were his extraordinary consideration, sympathy, tact, simplicity and modesty not only in his attitude to comrades—whether members of the Central Committee, or rank-and-filers—but to people in general, whether celebrities, or scrub women"

There was nothing false or insincere in this considerate attitude towards people Lenin was very attached to those who worked for the cause of the revolution and took a deep interest in them And as a result of this interest people somehow made better use of their abilities and were imbued with new enthusiasm

From contact with Lenin people developed and acquired new strength in their work as revolutionaries and Party functionaries Lenin infected his comrades with his unshakable faith in the victory of the proletariat, his ardent fighting disposition, his brilliant foresight, and thorough scientific knowledge

Lenin's whole life was passed in very simple circumstances. It was a life of work and hardship. He was always very economical, especially when it came to supplying his personal needs

In one of his early letters to his relatives (1895) he totals

up his monthly expenses (38 rubles), and adds "excessive expenditure . . . I have lived extravagantly on trams alone, for instance, I spent 1 ruble 36 kopeks" These expenses bothered him all the more because his own earnings were scanty and he had to use his mother's money

And later on he was extremely downcast whenever he was driven, through lack of earnings, to draw on Party funds Lenin got very angry with Bonch-Bruyevich and threatened him with a reprimand when the latter, on his own initiative, raised Lenin's salary as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

Lenin was distinguished for his remarkable capacity for work No matter what his circumstances—in prison, in exile, or in emigration, he knew how to divide up his time systematically and utilized it to the best advantage All meetings at which he presided began punctually

Lenin demanded the same care and method from everyone who worked with him He could not tolerate unsound reasoning, offhand assertions, and hastily-drawn conclusions He demanded that every statement be exact, and where necessary, substantiated by figures

He unhesitatingly interrupted speakers and orators who spoke in generalities, and repeated to them "facts, facts!" He wanted exact figures, and names of people and places He would keep asking "Name? What gubernia? How much exactly?"

Lenin was extremely exacting with regard to discipline, and was himself a model of discipline When he was chairman of the Council of People's Commissars he would not allow the slightest infringement of rules on his account Once when he required some reference books from the Rumyantsev (now the Lenin) Library, he asked that they be sent to him, adding that, if it was against the rules of the library to lend out these books, they should let him have them only over night (when the library was closed)

For Lenin the practical execution of any matter, however small, was more important than dozens of resolutions. More than once he saw to it himself that his orders were carried out and really produced practical results.

He was cheerful, gay and fond of laughter. He enjoyed jokes and witticisms.

Gorky says "I have never met a man who could laugh so infectiously as Vladimir Ilyich. It was strange to see how such a stern realist, a man who saw so well, and felt so deeply the inevitability of great social catastrophes, irreconcilable, relentless in his hatred towards the capitalist world, laughing like a child, till the tears came, till he choked with laughter. To laugh like that one must have the soundest and healthiest of minds."

Lenin was very fond of children and could spend hours playing with them. Children clung to him. Comrade Shklovsky recalls:

"I was living at that time on the first floor of Number 9 Falkenweg. When passing my apartment, Vladimir Ilyich would look in one window, then another, and if he caught sight of any of the children, would put his fingers to his temples to make them look like horns, make a funny face, and rush into the house. The children would raise a tremendous racket and dive under the sofa or the table. Ilyich would chase after them and the romp would continue till both sides were exhausted, and then peace would be made, soon to be broken again by one side or the other. Children loved Ilyich. . . for no one ever loved children and enjoyed playing and romping with them as he did, and every visit Ilyich paid us was a treat to the children."

In his leisure time, Lenin liked to take long walks, he loved nature. He enjoyed mountain climbing, hunting, cycling, bathing, especially sea bathing, and sports.

While abroad, for relaxation after his nerve-wracking labours, Lenin, together with Krupskaya, knapsacks on their shoulders, would occasionally go off to the mountains for days and sometimes for weeks at a time. Krupskaya recalls one of these trips in the Swiss mountains. "Our cash was none too plentiful and we did not go in much for regular meals, but lunched off cheese and eggs, drinking wine, and water from the springs. In one little Social-Democratic inn a worker advised us 'You have your meals not with the tourists, but with the coachmen, chauffeurs and labourers, it's half the price there and twice as filling.' We began to do as he said."

Another time Lenin wrote to his mother from abroad "The other day Nadya, a friend and I went on a splendid excursion to Salive Beneath us Geneva was wrapped in fog and gloom, but on the mountain (nearly 1,200 metres above sea level) there was glorious sunshine, snow, tobogganing, a regular fine Russian winter day"

Lenin once spent a few weeks in winter on the "Lessnye Polyany" state farm, near Bolshevo Usually he went there only on free days or for a few hours on working days He chose a small vacant cottage to stay in In anticipation of Lenin's arrival a lot of upholstered furniture was installed in the cottage. Lenin demanded that it be removed immediately and distributed among the workers on the state farm, and that he be given plain wicker furniture He fixed up his room himself and promptly went to see how his chauffeur was put up.

Lenin inquired in detail about the work on the state farm, how the workers lived, whether their wages were adequate, asked about the neighbouring factories, about working conditions in them, about the supply of electric power, etc

The manager of the state farm relates that in the evenings Lenin "would go off to the park, or sit for hours in his dining-room, lost in thought, gazing into the lighted Russian stove. Beside the stove were bottles containing sprigs he had broken off trees, the buds would open out in the heat

"In his few leisure hours, in the evening, Ilyich enjoyed doing physical work Armed with shovel and broom, sometimes up to his knees in snow, he cleared the paths not only around his own house but around the houses of the workers At first, when the workers awoke in the mornings they were at a loss to understand who had cleared away the snow

"A day or so after his arrival Ilyich strolled around the farm-yard and came to the cattle pen The cow-herd, not knowing who he was, ordered him to go away at once.

"Ilyich, as he related afterwards, without a murmur did as he was told, and often recalled how he had been 'sent about his business'

"There were days when Ilyich, after receiving the post and newspapers, sat up almost till morning, unceasingly calling up Moscow "

Lenin loved literature, and in his spare moments eagerly reread Pushkin, Nekrassov, Tolstoy and other classics. He valued the ability to correctly reflect reality in its most important social manifestations, and artistic mastery.

He was very fond of music, especially Beethoven. He liked to hear singing, sang himself, and when a group of comrades got together he enthusiastically led the singing. In his free time he was fond of attending concerts.

Lenin was interested in painting and the theatre. Here too he looked for mastery of form, depth of content, truth and clarity.

Lenin lived in the transition period between two epochs, but he really belonged to communist society.

When in 1935, the Moscow broadcasting station asked its foreign listeners to say who, in their opinion, was the greatest man in history, hundreds of working people all over the world gave the name *Lenin*.

Here are some of their answers.

"Lenin is the greatest figure in history because he fought for the emancipation of the masses of the workers. He never faltered, but defended his ideas and theories to the end, until he had performed the greatest work ever accomplished by man." (From England)

"Lenin, because he put into actual practice the theories of Marx. He was the organizer and leader of the Communist Party. He showed the workers and peasants of the whole world the way out of the capitalist system. He gave a fatherland to the proletarians of the whole world, and it is our great duty to defend this fatherland, wherever we may be." (From Sweden)

"Lenin. He did more good in seven years, than all the great people of the world in twenty centuries. Compare and judge. All honour to Lenin!"

"In 100 years there will not be a town or village on the face of the globe where a splendid statue of him will not stand. And

wherever there is a place of honour, that place will belong to Lenin." (From Belgium)

"Lenin, because he left the deepest imprint on history The working class will always love him as its leader and liberator To the same degree the bourgeoisie hates him " (From Spain)

"Lenin He is great because of what he did for the poor of the whole world Lenin's cause is of tremendous importance to the entire world proletariat The working masses all over the world are beginning to open their eyes to the charlatanism of Liberalism and to realize the treachery of Social-Democracy. They will turn to communism, because communism gives hope of a better and juster world And it was Lenin who gave us our slogans and exposed capitalist society It was he who gave the idea of communism a correct solution in practice " Such is the opinion of millions of toilers

Lenin lives in the hearts of the toilers of the whole world, and his teachings are leading them on to struggle and to victory

Lenin is dead, but the Party he created is united and strong, ready for new battles The death of its leader did not disorganize its ranks At the head of the Party stands Lenin's close and trusted comrade-in-arms of a quarter of a century, the constant member of the Political Bureau, Stalin, whom Lenin proposed for the position of General Secretary of the Party The Party, supported by the mass of the toilers, has led the country to new victories.

After Lenin's death the opposition launched an attack on Lenin's teachings, tried to divert the Party from the Bolshevik path, and compel it to reject Lenin's plan for building socialism This rejection would have meant surrendering in the face of the class enemy, and clearing the ground for bourgeois restoration The Party, led by the Leninist Central Committee headed by Stalin, repelled this first attack

The attack was repeated several times, but our Party, led by Lenin's best pupil and comrade-in-arms, Stalin, in succession defeated the Trotskyite opposition, the "New Opposition" of Kamenev and Zinoviev, the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite opposition,

the Right deviators (Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky) and other anti-Party groups. Stalin fully exposed the opportunist essence of all these opposition groups in his speeches and articles. The Trotskyite and Right counter-revolutionaries became transformed into a band of hired assassins, spies, wreckers and diversionists, hirelings of the fascist secret service

Lenin's behest on preserving a strong, united and disciplined Party was fulfilled. The Party cemented its unity and solidarity in fierce battles. The Party, under the guidance of its leader, in an uncompromising struggle with opportunists of all hues, preserved the purity of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, and continued to develop these teachings. The further elaboration by Stalin of Lenin's teachings on the Party, on the building of socialism in one country, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the national question, on the agrarian question, especially on all-round collectivization and the wiping-out of the kulaks as a class on this basis, on socialism and communism, and many other questions—is a worthy continuation of the theoretical work of Lenin and has long since placed the name of Stalin alongside the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin

The Party, as a result of its solidarity and strength, was able to undertake successfully the fulfilment of Lenin's plan for building socialism

The Fourteenth Congress, in the resolution on Stalin's report, advanced the slogan of industrializing the country as the Party's immediate task. This task has been brilliantly fulfilled.

Then began a period of socialist reconstruction in all branches of economy. The country made rapid progress, at the Fifteenth Party Congress Stalin put before the Party the task of consolidating all the key positions in town and country, and mapped out a "course for the liquidation of the capitalist elements in the national economy," for extending collectivization of peasant holdings

The Sixteenth Congress was the congress of the general socialist offensive. The bulk of the peasantry were united in collective farms. The collective farmers became the bulwark of Soviet power in the countryside. The state farms were developing

rapidly On the basis of all-round collectivization the kulaks were liquidated as a class The First Five-Year Plan was completed in four years and the Soviet Union was transformed from an agrarian country into an industrial country. The foundations of socialist economy had been built. The working class and the collective farm peasants began the fight to build classless, socialist society under the Second Five-Year Plan. The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry grew stronger than ever.

The firm application of the Leninist national policy is continuing. The Union of Soviet Republics is becoming stronger. The national republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia, regions which suffered most under tsarist oppression, are rapidly developing economically and culturally. The fraternal co-operation of the peoples of the union republics is increasing

In these years, under Stalin's leadership the Soviet state and the dictatorship of the proletariat has grown strong The many millions of the people have been drawn into the work of the state

A keen struggle is being waged against bureaucracy, slackness and slothfulness The Party and the Soviet organs are ridding themselves of alien and hostile elements.

As a result of the rapid cultural rise the country has been supplied with tens of thousands of new engineers, technicians and scientific workers, from the ranks of the workers and peasants. The increased culture of the country is contributing to the rapid development of socialist construction.

The land of the Soviets is strengthening its international connections and is continuing its determined fight for peace The importance of the Soviet Union among world powers is constantly increasing. The slogans of the Soviet foreign peace policy are meeting with great support among the masses of toilers of every country The successes of the Soviet state abroad are based not only on the development of its economy, but also on the growing might of the Red Army The Red Army has been technically re-equipped, has attained an extremely high degree of organization and class consciousness, has become a powerful cultural factor

in the country and the mighty defender of the borders of the Soviet state.

Under the guidance of the leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, and the pilot of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitrov, the Third, Communist International is becoming stronger and stronger. It has adopted a program drawn up on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Lenin and the practical experience of the revolutionary battles of the proletariat of the whole world. The influence of the Communist International among the workers, toiling peasantry and oppressed peoples, is constantly increasing.

The Seventeenth Party Congress, which met in the days when the country was commemorating the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death, demonstrated clearly the historic victories which the Bolshevik Party and the land of the Soviets achieved by following the Leninist path under the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, with Stalin at its head.

On the basis of these successes the Party evolved a plan of further achievements in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan—finally abolishing capitalist elements and classes in general, completely removing the causes which give rise to exploitation, and overcoming the survivals of capitalism in the economy and in the minds of people.

By fulfilling the Second Five-Year Plan ahead of time, the reconstruction of the whole of the national economy has been completed. This has placed the Soviet Union in the front ranks of the countries of the world in technical and economic might.

In the building of a new, socialist society the Party, following the path marked out by Lenin, has achieved successes such as were never before attained in the history of mankind.

The land of the Soviets is now going through a period of tremendous economic and cultural advance.

While in bourgeois states the influence of the broad masses of the people on the state machine, slight as it is, is steadily lessening, and in a number of countries the fascist dictatorship is putting fetters on the working class, in the Soviet Union direct and equal suffrage and the secret ballot have been introduced.

Soviet, proletarian democracy, genuine democracy, has attracted tens of millions of toilers to the work of construction, and has justified Lenin's prediction regarding the invincibility of the Soviet system

The introduction of the Stalin Constitution, adopted by the Eighth, Extraordinary Congress of Soviets, marked a turn in the political life of the land of the Soviets. The Party, under the leadership of Stalin, has fulfilled with honour Lenin's behests, and is firmly marching forward along the Leninist path. It must be borne in mind that the class struggle is acute, and that there is a capitalist encirclement, the old slogan of mastering technique must be supplemented by the slogan of mastering Bolshevism.

The Trotskyite and Bukharinite spies, wreckers, diversionists and assassins will be completely uprooted.

The Party demands of every Communist loyalty and devotion to the great cause of Lenin and Stalin. The Party demands that an end be put to inertness, heedlessness and blindness. The Party demands revolutionary vigilance, class watchfulness, and ruthlessness to the class enemy.

The Soviet Union is prepared for all the difficulties the period of new wars and revolutions is bringing.

The land of the dictatorship of the proletariat will go fearlessly into battle for communism under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Together with the working people of the whole world it will achieve victory under this banner.

The life and struggle of Lenin will always serve as an example and a model of how to fight and conquer in the struggle to end exploitation all over the world, in the struggle for communism.

Lenin's life teaches the workers and collective farmers the firmness, tenacity and irreconcilability with which the members of the Communist Party and all the working people must fight for the great cause of the triumph of communism.

Lenin is dead, but the cause to which he devoted his whole life is marching to victory throughout the world.

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