

V. I. LENIN
THE REVOLUTION OF 1917
VOLUME XX



COLLECTED WORKS
OF
V. I. LENIN

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LENIN

VOLUME XX

THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

FROM THE MARCH REVOLUTION
TO THE JULY DAYS

BOOK II



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PREFATORY NOTE

This book completes the writings and speeches of V. I. Lenin relating to the period from the overthrow of the Tsar in March to the first open conflict with the Provisional Government in July, 1917. The material in Book I covers the period from March to June; the present book extends from the beginning of June to the middle of July, both books constituting Volume XX of Lenin's *Collected Works*. This, however, does not complete Lenin's writings on the Revolution of 1917, since it does not include the period from the July Days to the seizure of power and the establishment of the Soviet Government in November. The material dealing with this period will be found in Volume XXI of the *Collected Works*.

Aside from the explanatory notes which refer exclusively to the text of this book, although they continue the numeration of the notes in Book I, the appendices at the end of the book are for the volume as a whole. The book and page numbers at the end of the biographical notes are intended as an index to the names mentioned in both books. Otherwise, the technical problems in connection with the entire volume have been considered in the general preface published in Book I.

APPENDICES

Ich bestätige,

- 1) dass die eingegangenen Bedingungen, die von Platten mit der deutschen Gesandtschaft getroffen wurden, mir bekannt gemacht worden sind;
- 2) dass ich mich den Anordnungen des Reiseführers Platten unterwerfe;
- 3) dass mir eine Mitteilung des "Petit Parisien" bekanntgegeben worden ist, wonach die russische provisorische Regierung die durch Deutschland Reisenden als Hochverräter zu behandeln drohe;
- 4) dass ich die ganze politische Verantwortlichkeit für diese Reise ausschliesslich auf mich nehme;
- 5) dass mir von Platten die Reise zur bis Stockholm garantiert worden ist.

Bern - Zürich, 9. April 1917.

1 Lenin. ✓	
2 Frau Lenin ✓	
3 Georg Sajaroff ✓	
4 Valentin Sajaroff - dort ✓	13/14 G. Brillant
5 Gregor Wassjerski ✓	M. Kautmann
6 Helen Kon ✓	D. Prozenblan
7 mis demond ✓	14/16. A. Abramowitz
8 Nikolaj Koskow. ✓	S. Schingussin
J. Orubelsky ✓	M. K.
9 A. Konstantinowitsch ✓	M. Jobermann
K. Mirinkhoff ✓	15/16 N. Linde
M. Mirinkhoff ✓	W. Eisenbud
10 A. Skowno ✓	Prjorjaskas
11 ZINOWI ✓	Soukrowili
12 Petrusjelski (und Sohn) ✓	16/17 Ravitsch
13 D. Slessareff ✓	Charnowff
14 B. Etkharinoff ✓	

Facsimile of Signatures of the Russian Bolsheviks Who Journeyed with Lenin from Switzerland to Russia after the March Revolution (see Appendices, Document IV)

WRITINGS OF V. I. LENIN FROM MARCH TO JULY, 1917,
WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN FOUND

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE ALL-RUSSIAN APRIL (MAY) CON-
FERENCE OF THE R.S.-D.L.P.

At the sessions of the Conference, the delegates received drafts of most of the resolutions to be discussed. The drafts had been written by Lenin; they served as material for the work of the Conference, and were made the basis of the resolutions adopted by the commission under Lenin's guidance and passed by the Conference. The drafts had been set up in the press of the *Soldatskaia Pravda*, and 20 to 30 proof-sheets had been prepared. In his speeches at the April Conference Lenin often refers to those drafts. (See p. 271 ff, Book I of this volume.)

NOTES OF A LECTURE ENTITLED, "WAR AND REVOLUTION,"
MAY 28, 1917

In the case prepared by the Investigator of the Petrograd Judicial Chamber, Alexandrov, in the Minutes of Inspection of Corpus Delicti found in searching Kshesinskaia's house (Headquarters of the Central Committee) in the July Days, there is a brief description of a manuscript containing 15 loose sheets; also the following about its contents:

In this lecture Lenin refers to the development of capitalism in all countries saying that there is not a spot on the globe where capital has not reached out its heavy hand. As the cause of the present war, Lenin points to the capitalists who aim at widening their sphere of activities at the expense of others; he points out that all governments in all countries are predatory, that they deceive the people and wish to seize other peoples' lands, to enslave the people. In Lenin's opinion, the war conducted by the capitalists of all countries cannot be ended without a workers' revolution against those capitalists. Lenin considers it necessary that all power should be given over to the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies. In conclusion Lenin says: "When power will have passed into the hands of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, then the capitalists will express themselves against us; Japan against, France against, England against, all governments of all countries will express themselves against us; the capitalists will be against you; the workers will be for you; then there will be an end to the war begun by the capitalists. Here is the answer to the question on how to end the war."

The "case" contains no indication as to when and before what audience the lecture was delivered, neither does it disclose whether the notes were made by Lenin himself or by one of the audience.

It is possible that a series of unsigned popular articles in the *Soldatskaia Pravda* was written by Lenin.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

182. The "Special Session of the Deputies of all Four Imperial Dumas" was convened on May 10, 1917, by the Duma Committee in connection with the government crisis which arose as a result of the events of May 3-5. Tsereteli, who was present as a Deputy of the Second Imperial Duma, delivered an important political speech in reply to the speeches of the monarchists Shulgin and Rodzianko, dissociating himself from the counter-revolution "from the Right and from the Left."

The people did not overthrow the Tsar in order to place twelve new ones in his place [*i.e.*, twelve autocratic Ministers.—*Ed.*] The people do not consider them infallible. [The speaker referred to the statement of Minister Nekrasov who greeted the control of the social organisations, and continued.—*Ed.*] In a democratic country it cannot be otherwise. A union of all is necessary who are capable of logically standing on the ground of democratising the country in its internal and foreign policy. . . . The chief danger consists in the fact that our bourgeoisie will follow not Nekrasov but Shulgin, that it is proving faithless to the agreement [with the revolutionary democracy.—*Ed.*] That would be the signal for civil war in which the Revolution and the country would be ruined.

The speaker sees indications of this threat in the speeches of Shulgin as well as of Rodzianko who speak of complete victory. No one can be fooled now by the catchword of the destruction of German militarism. The people recognise that the armed destruction of foreign militarism is the best means of placing the most burdensome yoke of militarism on the necks of the people at home. That is why the people are disturbed by phrases like Rodzianko's and notes like those of May 1. This can only be avoided by continuing logically and unswervingly along the path of the programme announced in the agreement of March 15 and in the Declaration of March 27. The speaker believes that the Russian bourgeoisie will muster enough political sense to follow this path. Did he not believe it, he would have been the first to go with those who speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry, although he knows what danger this signifies. . . . [See *Rabochaya Gazeta*, Number 42, May 11, 1917.]—p. 19.

183. Petrogradskaia Storona—the home of the ballet dancer Kshesinskais, which the Bolsheviks appropriated for their central headquarters, was located in that part of the city.—p. 20.

184. Under the pressure of the street demonstration, the Provisional Government tried to dissipate the impression which Miliukov's note had evoked. On May 5, 1917, the government published the following communiqué:

In view of the doubt which arose concerning the interpretation of the Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the occasion of the transmission of the declaration of the Provisional Government concerning the tasks of the war (of March 27) to the Allied Governments, the Provisional Government considers it necessary to declare:

1. The Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was the object of careful and extended considerations on the part of the Provisional Government after which the text of the Note was unanimously adopted.

2. It is self-evident that this Note, where it speaks of decisive victory over

the enemy, has in mind the achievements of those tasks which were set up in the Declaration of March 27 and expressed in the following words: "The Provisional Government views it as its right and its duty to declare this very day that the aim of free Russia is not the domination of other peoples, not the confiscation of their national property, not the forcible conquest of foreign territories, but the setting up of a permanent peace on the basis of the self-determination of peoples. The Russian people do not seek to strengthen their external position of power at the expense of foreign peoples, they do not seek the enslavement and the humiliation of any one. In the name of the highest principles of justice they have broken the chains which weighed upon the Polish people. But the Russian people will not permit their native land to come out of the great struggle humiliated and sapped of its vital energies."

3. By the "sanctions" and "guarantees" of a permanent peace mentioned in the Note, the Provisional Government understands the limitation of armaments, international courts, etc.

This declaration will be communicated to the ambassadors of the Allied Powers by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.—p. 23.

185. Paragraph 9 of the Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party adopted in 1903 reads: "The right of self-determination for all nations belonging to the empire." In May, 1917, Lenin proposed to replace this point by the following:

The right of all nationalities which are now part of the Russian state freely to separate and to form independent states. The republic of the Russian people should draw to itself other peoples or nationalities not through violence, but through voluntary and mutual agreement to build a common state. The common aims and brotherly union of the workers of all countries are incompatible with either direct or indirect violence practiced upon other nationalities. [See p. 338, Book I of this volume.]—p. 26.

186. The appeal of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, "To the Socialists of All Countries" (May 15, 1917), as well as the simultaneous proclamation "To the Army" (see note 187) were written under the impression of the revolutionary mass actions during the April Days and were intended to justify the social-patriotic policy and to prepare the offensive at the front under the cover of a revolutionary phraseology. The Socialist compromisers stated:

The war is a monstrous crime. It is the imperialists of all countries who prepared the world conflagration and rendered it inevitable by their greed for conquest, by their insane armament race. . . . In this war, the imperialists of all countries are all victors alike . . . the toilers of all countries all the defeated alike. . . . The Russian Revolution is the uprising against the horrors of the world carnage; it is not only a national revolution, it is the first stage of the international revolution that will put an end to the war. . . . The revolutionary democracy of Russia does not want any separate peace which would only permit the Austro-German coalition full freedom of action. . . . Russian democracy wants a general peace on a basis which is acceptable to the toilers of all countries who do not want conquests, do not strive for plunder and are equally interested in the free expression of the will of all peoples and in the destruction of the power of international imperialism. . . . Peace without annexations and indemnities. The Provisional Government of revolutionary Russia has appropriated this programme. And the revolutionary democracy of Russia appeals to you, Socialists of all countries: you must not permit the voice of the Russian Provisional Government to be the only voice in the coalition of the Entente Powers. . . . You must force your governments to state unequivocally and definitely that the programme of peace without annexations

and indemnities on the basis of the self-determination of peoples is their programme.

Thereby you will lend weight and strength to the advance of the Russian Government. You will give our revolutionary army . . . the certainty that its sacrifices of blood are not misused. You will give it the possibility . . . of fulfilling its war tasks. The revolutionary democracy of Russia appeals to you, Socialists of the Austro-German coalition: you cannot permit the troops of your governments to become the executioners of Russian freedom. . . . Revolutionary and democratic Russia turns to the Socialists of the belligerent and neutral countries with the appeal to prevent the triumph of imperialism. . . . The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has decided to take the initiative in calling an international conference of all Socialist parties and fractions of all countries. . . . Not a single fraction of the proletariat must fail to participate in the common struggle for peace. . . . Proletarians of all countries, unite!—p. 30.

187. The Proclamation of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies "To the Army" of May 15, 1917, aimed to restore discipline, fight fraternisation, and prepare the contemplated offensive at the front. The Socialist compromisers tried to replace the antiquated patriotic ideals of tsarist times by the new-baked "revolutionary" ideology of the war and the offensive. In this appeal to the soldiers in the trenches, they said:

The toiling masses did not need the war. They did not begin it. It was started by the tsars and the capitalists of all countries. . . . The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has appealed to all peoples with a proclamation for the cessation of the carnage. . . . Russia is awaiting the reply to this call. But, comrade-soldiers, remember: Our proclamations will have no value if Wilhelm's regiments trample down revolutionary Russia. What will happen if the Russian army to-day thrusts its bayonets in the ground and says that it will not fight any more, that it doesn't care what happens in the world! The German Kaiser, the German Junker and capitalist will place their heavy boots upon our necks, occupy our cities, villages and provinces, and make the Russian people pay tribute. Have we overthrown Nicholas to kneel before Wilhelm? . . . The Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies leads you to peace by calling the workers and peasants of Germany and Austria-Hungary to rise and revolt; it leads you to peace by having gotten our Government to renounce the policy of conquest, by demanding the same renunciation from the Allied Powers, by convening an international congress of the Socialists of the whole world. . . . We need time, comrade-soldiers. Remember that at the front, in the trenches you are now standing guard over Russian freedom. . . . You are defending with your bodies not the Tsars, nor the Protopopovs and the Rasputins, not the rich landowners and capitalists. . . . You are defending your brothers, the workers and peasants. The front cannot be defended if you decide under all circumstances not to lift a finger in the trenches. . . . Only by taking the offensive can one save himself or his brothers on the other sectors of the front from destruction. . . . Do not reject the offensive. . . . Beware of provocations, beware of traps! The fraternisation developing at the front may easily be transformed into such a trap. . . . There is no revolution there yet; the troops there are still with Wilhelm and Karl. . . . Not by fraternisation will you achieve peace, not by a silent agreement made at the front by isolated companies, battalions, regiments! Those who assure you that fraternisation is the road to peace are leading to your ruin, to the ruin of Russian freedom. Do not believe them! Push everything aside that weakens your fighting force, that carries disintegration and discouragement into the army. Your fighting force is serving the cause of peace. . . . —p. 32.

188. The instructions for the election of delegates in the factories and regiments were probably written by Lenin after the middle of May, 1917. The

official party draft of the "Instructions for the Election of Delegates to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies" was published in Number 51 of the *Pravda* of May 20, 1917. The wording of this draft is altogether different from that of Lenin's unfinished manuscript and was written by another person.—p. 43.

189. This refers to the session of Deputies of the Duma on May 17, 1917, in which "enduring faithfulness to our glorious allies" was decided upon.—p. 49.

190. *Vechevneie Vremia (Evening Times)*—Petrograd evening paper published from 1911 to 1917, close to the political tendency of the *Novoie Vremia* (see note 89). The publisher of the paper was Suvorin, Jr., a son of the owner of the *Novoie Vremia*.—p. 53.

191. All-Russian Union of Zemstvos—an organisation which united the Zemstvos (provincial assemblies) of the different governments and districts for the purpose of the better organisation of sanitation and provisions for the army. The city administrations had their own organisations. City and district organisations were organised in the *Zemgor* or Zemstvo and City League. The bourgeoisie had a twofold aim in creating these organisations: First, the organisation of the social forces for victory over the external enemy, and secondly a gradual permeation of the tsarist state apparatus by the organisations of the bourgeoisie. During the war this organisation developed into a big factor of power. During the civil war, it worked for the White Guards. There are still units of the Zemstvo League abroad, in the centres of counter-revolutionary émigrés, their function being to supply help to émigrés.—p. 54.

192. The War Industries Committees were organised by the Russian manufacturers in the fall of 1915. Their purpose was to maintain orders for goods for the army, distribute them among the separate plants and to eliminate competition among themselves. Officially, of course, they announced their purpose to be the "supplying of the army" and the furthering of the cause of "national defence." Representatives of the industrial workers were also drawn into the committees; in most cases, however, the workers, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, boycotted the committees.

The central War Industries Committee was located at Petrograd and guided the activity of the local committees. Its chairman was Guchkov. The purpose of drawing the workers into these organisations was to establish class "peace" and handicap strikes.—p. 54.

193. Free Economic Society—one of the oldest scientific societies in Petrograd. In the nineties as well as in the first decade of the present century it served as the centre of the liberal and radical intelligentsia.—p. 55.

194. The first All-Russian Peasant Congress met at the People's House in Petrograd from May 17 to June 11, 1917. Delegates from the front as well as from the provinces were present. Altogether there were 1115 delegates, 537 of whom were Socialists-Revolutionists, 465 non-partisan, 103 Social-Democrats, 6 Trudoviks (see note 32), 4 People's Socialists (see note 29).

Avksentiev was elected chairman. Breshko-Breshkovskaia was elected honorary chairman, together with Chernov and Vera Figner. The Congress was greeted by the "Socialist Ministers" Chernov, Peshekhonov, Kerensky and Skobelev. Reports were delivered by: Chernov (on the political situation and the Provisional Government), Kondratiev (on the administration of food and supplies), Nekrasov (on the condition of transport), Bunakov-Fundaminsky and Kochetov (on the war), Kilchevsky (on the Soviets of Peasant Deputies), Oganovskiy, Chernov, Peshekhonov, Vikhlaiev, Bykovskiy and S. L. Maslov (on the agrarian question). Tsereteli reported to the Congress on the events at Cronstadt (see note 224), but was powerfully rebutted by Trotsky. The Congress elected an executive committee of thirty, predominantly Socialists-Revolutionists (including Chernov, Breshko-Breshkovskaia, Kerensky, Avksentiev, Rubanovich, Vera Figner, Chaikovskiy, Gotz, Maslov, etc.). The Congress, which was entirely under the influence of the Right Wing of the Socialists-Revolutionists, expressed itself unanimously in favour of turning the land over to the people. With all votes except those of a small number of Bolsheviks, the Congress adopted the Socialist-Revolutionist plan of the so-called "socialisation of the soil," but put off the execution of the programme until the "convocation of the Constituent Assembly" and forbade the peasants to occupy the landowners' estates on their own initiative. The resolution proposed by Lenin on the agrarian question did not meet with the approval of the Congress and won only a small number of votes. The Congress declared for the complete support of the Provisional Government (in contrast to the reservation of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet: "To the extent that . . ."), accepted the coalition with the bourgeoisie and the participation of the Socialists in the Provisional Government, sanctioned the "Liberty Loan," and zealously supported the preparations for the offensive at the front by all the social-chauvinist resolutions of the Socialists-Revolutionists.—p. 56.

195. This article by Lenin is a reply to an article entitled "Secrets of Foreign Policy" in the *Riech*, Number 107, of May 22, 1917. The following is the essence of this last article: The acceptance of the point regarding the renunciation of annexations by the Provisional Government has caused Russia's allies to take a stand again on the question of war aims. The author has information that England is ready to compromise in order to bring about peace. England can renounce the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine, Czech, Polish, etc., questions. It will gladly give up the Russian demands in reference to Constantinople and the Straits, but never Mesopotamia and Palestine, which have been conquered by force. Such a formulation of the question, however, is extremely disadvantageous to Russia, and shows the senselessness of the slogan set up by the Socialists of renouncing annexations. Finally, it is necessary to lead the Russian army into an offensive, whereby it is necessary to tell it that it is not fighting for the interests of the Allies but above all for Russian interests.—p. 64.

196. This refers to an article in the *Riech*, Number 107, of May 22, 1917, entitled "On the Edge of the Abyss." The author of the article protested against fraternisation at the front, citing the letter of an artilleryman named

Veselovsky who saw salvation only in a Napoleon and demanded the introduction of iron discipline in the army.—p. 69.

197. The second Provisional Government (first coalition government) was formed on May 18, 1917. It was composed as follows:

Minister President and Minister of the Interior—Prince G. E. Lvov
 Minister of War and Marine—A. F. Kerensky
 Minister of Agriculture—V. M. Chernov
 Minister of Justice—N. P. Pereverzev
 Minister of Foreign Affairs—M. I. Tereshchenko
 Minister of Finance—A. I. Shingarev
 Minister of Communications—N. V. Nekrasov
 Minister of Commerce—A. I. Kononov
 Minister of Supplies—A. V. Peshekhonov
 Minister of Education—A. A. Manuilov
 Minister of Labour—M. I. Skobelev
 Minister of Posts and Telegraph—L. G. Tsereteli
 State Comptroller—I. V. Godniev
 Supreme Procurator of the Holy Synod—V. N. Lvov

The "Socialist Ministers" in the government delegated by the Petrograd Soviet were: Tsereteli and Skobelev of the Mensheviks; Kerensky and Chernov of the Socialists-Revolutionists; Peshekhonov and Pereverzev of the People's Socialists. To do justice to the conditions laid down by the Amsterdam Socialist Congress of 1904 concerning participation in bourgeois coalition governments, the Congress having decided that Socialists could participate in bourgeois governments only in exceptional cases, under the control of the party and on the basis of a definite programme, the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet set up the following as conditions for participation: 1. Active work in the interest of peace on the basis of the Manifesto of the Petrograd Soviet of March 27 (see note 85); 2. Regulation of industry and reform of finances; 3. Preparatory measures for the solution of the agrarian and labour questions; and 4. The speediest convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Not a single one of these obligations was fulfilled. The first coalition government ended with the bankruptcy of July 15, when the Cadets left the government. Their pretext was the agreement concluded by Tsereteli and Tereshchenko with the Ukrainian Rada. The worker and soldier masses replied to this with the demonstrations of July 16-18 and with the demands of the transfer of power to the Soviets (July Events).—p. 70.

198. The Petrograd Soviet had elected a commission for convoking an international conference, consisting of the following persons: the former Bolshevik and zealous defender of the fatherland, Goldenberg, the Right Mensheviks Smirnov and Ehrlich and the Socialist-Revolutionist Russanov. They were delegated to go abroad. The contemplated conference did not materialise.—p. 73.

199. The article "What Does the Provisional Government Want?", published in Number 63 of the *Izvestia* of May 24, 1917, constituted the continuation of a series of articles dealing with the declaration of the Provisional Government of May 19, and took up questions of the economic life of the

country. The author affirmed the extraordinarily serious economic condition of the country. The article stated, among other things:

The economic forces of the country are greatly undermined. . . . In agriculture, which constitutes the basis of the entire economic life of the country, a violent crisis has broken out, threatening Russia with starvation. . . . The result of the planlessness of coal production is that a large part of the coal mines are finding themselves in a condition of complete collapse. . . . The metal industry is disorganised. . . . The machines are used up more and more each day, but they cannot be replaced. . . . Fewer products are being produced than is necessary to cover current needs. . . . It is still worse with trade and commerce; here complete chaos reigns. . . . Prices are rising with unrestrainable speed. . . . The workers are hungry; the peasants are being ruined. But beside this, enormous quantities of wealth are accumulating in the hands of the capitalists.

The Provisional Government, according to the writer, however, has the power and the will to master these difficulties, as is proved by paragraph 3 of the Declaration of the Provisional Government (see note 201) and its promise of state and social control of production and exchange. But to carry this out, "the support of the entire democracy, which has promised its support to the government, is necessary."—p. 78.

200. The resolution of the economic department of the Petrograd Soviet, published in the *Izvestia*, Number 63, May 24, 1917, confirms the disorganisation of the country's economy and considers the situation catastrophic, particularly "with the present attitude of the state power." The fulfillment of the task of normalising economy must proceed along two parallel lines:

(a) The creation of organs which will ascertain the economic situation in its totality, and (b) the creation of executive organs which will carry out the planned regulation of the economic life. . . . The time has arrived when we must pass from anarchic production and private syndicates to the labour of the economic organism of the nation as a whole under the leadership of the state. . . . The task of the respective organisations must be the greatest possible utilisation of the existing productive forces in the most important branches of industry and their further development. . . . The country is already in a state of catastrophe, and the only thing that will save it is the creative effort of the entire people under the guidance of the government which has voluntarily assumed the grandiose task of salvaging a country ruined by war and the Tsar's régime.—p. 79.

201. The Declaration of the Coalition Government of May 19, 1917, proclaimed the "ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity," promised the "most rapid conclusion of a general peace without annexations and indemnities on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples with the full agreement of the Allies." For this purpose it placed to the forefront the "fortification of the principles of the democratisation of the army, the organisation and the strengthening of its fighting force in defensive as well as in offensive actions." With reference to the internal economic tasks and the struggle against economic disorganisation the declaration proclaimed: "§ 3. The Provisional Government will fight unswervingly and determinedly against the economic disorganisation of the country by further planfully carrying out a state and social control of production, transport, exchange and distribution of products, and if necessary, it will take the organisation of production into its own hands."—p. 79.

202. The resolution mentioned here read as follows:

The Conference of Front Delegates declares that the report of the session of May 25 in the *Riech* and other bourgeois papers in no way corresponds with the facts.

The attitude of the Conference towards Comrade Zinoviev's speech was altogether different from that described in the *Riech* and the Conference is indignant at the distortion of the facts.

The consideration of the questions bound up with Comrade Zinoviev's report and Comrade Anisimov's reply is continued, and the Conference thanks them for the explanation.—p. 81.

203. The report appeared in the *Riech*, Number 112, May 27, 1917.—p. 83.

204. This refers to the article by V. Bazarov published in the *Novaia Zhizn*, May 29, 1917, entitled "The Conflict in the Donetz Basin." The article stated:

According to the revelations of the members of a workers' delegation, the capitalists of the Donetz Basin are practicing systematic passive resistance; they are deliberately neglecting and disorganising production. At the mines, no carpentry has been done in the shafts since the revolution; the miners must work under frightful conditions and are exposed at every moment to the danger of being buried alive. . . . The machinery everywhere has been entirely worn out. There are pits that work only four hours, during the other eight hours "steam is gathered." . . . Repairs are nowhere undertaken. . . . In spite of the terrible metal and coal famine, the delegates succeeded in discovering large stores of metal, coal and coke which lay around for months without being sent to the place of consumption, although there was rolling stock. The administration of one mine allowed the pits to be flooded by pretending that it was impossible to replace a worn-out valve, in spite of the fact that the administration had a valve in store. It was found by the workers and put in the place of the damaged one against the order of the manager.

All this occurred with the knowledge and with the silent condonement of the Provisional Government, a condonement which later on was not even concealed. Lenin, who raised the demand for workers' control, returned repeatedly to the condition of the industry in the Donetz Basin and to the protracted conflict created there between workers and employers.—p. 86.

205. This refers to the resolution of the April Conference "On the Union of the Internationalists against the Petty-Bourgeois Defencist Bloc." The text of the resolution will be found among the appendices in this book.—p. 89.

206. "Interborough Organisation of the United Social-Democrats," (*Mezhraiontsy*)—the organisation arose in Petrograd during the war and existed up to the sixth congress of the Bolsheviks in July, 1917, when it merged with the Bolshevik Party. Up to the March Revolution it numbered about 200 organised workers; it distributed leaflets and published two numbers of an illegal paper *Vperiod* (*Forward*). It represented an internationalist standpoint in its attitude toward the war and was close to the Bolsheviks in its tactics. Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Volodarsky, Uritsky and others belonged to the *Mezhraiontsy* in the summer of 1917. The Conference of the *Mezhraiontsy* at which the unity question was discussed took place on May 23, 1917. The Bolshevik Central Committee was represented at the Conference by Lenin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. The Conference rejected the resolution introduced by Lenin and adopted Trotsky's resolution.—p. 89.

207. Legal Bolshevik publishing house which existed even before the revolution. In 1917 it renewed its activity. Later it was renamed *Communist. Prosveshcheniie (Education)*—legal Bolshevik semi-monthly journal which appeared in Petrograd between 1911-1914 in place of the prohibited *Mysl (Thought)*. It was renewed in 1917, but only one number appeared.—p. 89.

208. This refers to the article in the *Izvestia*, Number 67, May 29, 1917, entitled "Without Annexations." The author defined the meaning of annexations as follows: "Annexations—that means the forceful seizure of territory that is a part of the domain of another state on the day when war is declared." The author does not admit that Courland, Lettland and the other national territories which belonged to the former Russian empire were annexations.—p. 91.

209. The resolution of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet "On Measures against Disorganisation" of May 29, 1917, read as follows:

1. The Economic Department of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is transformed into a department for the organisation of national economy and includes the following sub-departments: Industry, fuels, supplies, transport, finance and general; 2. A close organisational connection is established between the Economic Department and the existing Labour Department; 3. The duty of the Department is to work out the programmatic and organisational principles for the regulation of economic life and establish the basic elements of a plan of regulation; 4. The representatives of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in the government, the Ministers and their alternates maintain a close organisational connection with the Department by actively participating in the elaboration of the principles and in the construction of the plan; 5. The Government sets up commissions to work out drafts of laws for the organisation of a supply committee with sub-departments in place of the functioning organs which were inherited from the old régime and unsystematically reformed by the first Provisional Government; 6. The Economic Department must proceed at once to work out the principles for the draft laws in order to carry into practice that economic and financial plan which was established in the resolution of the Economic Division: (1) on the organs for ascertaining the general economic situation; (2) on the creation of an organisation in the most important industrial branches; (3) on the control of the activity of the banks; (4) on financial measures; (5) on the distribution of the labour power of the country.

The resolution was published in the *Izvestia*, Number 68, May 30, 1917.—p. 93.

210. This article is Lenin's reply to an article published in the *Izvestia*, Number 68, May 30, 1917, entitled "The Re-elections to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies." The Menshevik author, dissatisfied with the growing influence of the Bolsheviks in the factories and the success of their campaign for re-election to the Soviet, wrote:

In some factories the elections are taking place entirely without speeches, without resolutions, the old delegates being deposed and new ones elected. . . . To be able to work successfully, the deputies must be elected for a definite term, for two or three months, for instance, but under no circumstances are they to be elected for a week or for the interval of time between meetings. . . . The elections to the Soviet are no child's play, but a serious, responsible affair which must be fulfilled in all seriousness. . . .—p. 94.

211. The question of the sabotage of the mine owners of the Donetz Basin was taken up in the session of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on May 16, 1917. The *Izvestia*, Number 68, of May 30, 1917, reports the following concerning this matter:

The delegates of the Donetz Basin workers, Sandomirsky and others, pictured the sad condition of all the branches of the Donetz Basin industries, which is obviously a danger to the existence of the country. In the opinion of the delegation, the only way out of the situation is for the state to immediately interfere. After discussing the matter, the following resolution was adopted: 1. Setting maximum prices for all products of the mining and steel industries at the present level; 2. Regulation of profits; 3. Establishment of minimum wages and further planned regulation of these wages in connection with supplying the workers with necessities at fixed prices, in order to guarantee an adequate standard of life; 4. The formation of state-regulated trusts is to be undertaken; 5. All measures are to be carried out by the central and local institutions of the Donetz-Krivoirog Basin (for example, the Donetz Committee). These institutions must be of a democratic character and must be formed with the participation of workers' representatives, employers, the government, and democratic revolutionary organisations.—p. 100.

212. In the same number are printed the theses of S. L. Maslov's report at the first Peasant Congress. They may be summarised as follows:

The whole land becomes the common property of the people with the right of use by the toiling inhabitants. The final decision rests with the Constituent Assembly. All trading in land is immediately forbidden. All arbitrary seizure of the land must be rigidly forbidden. The land committees and the arbitration commissions are to decide upon the land disputes between the landowners and the peasants, to regulate conditions of tenancy, to take care that prohibition of the purchase and sale of land as well as its arbitrary seizure is observed, and to further the extension of the cultivated area. The land committees are government organs on which representatives of the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies must co-operate.—p. 103.

213. The resolution of the April Conference of the Bolsheviks on the agrarian question demanded the immediate and complete confiscation of all private, church, crown and landowners' estates and urged the peasants to take immediate possession of the land for the purpose of nationalisation of all the land later on. The complete text of the resolution will be found among the appendices in this book.—p. 106.

214. The draft resolution on the agrarian question was introduced by Lenin at the first All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, and received only a few votes. For further details on the first Peasant Congress see note 194.—p. 109.

215. This refers to the session of the Main Land Committee of June 2, 1917. At this session, a declaration on the agrarian question was adopted which stated in part:

... At the basis of future agrarian reforms there must be the principle that all lands of economic importance must be put to the use of the labouring, agricultural population. . . . Until the Constituent Assembly is convened there can be no final solution of the agrarian question and surely it cannot be carried out. . . . The attempts of the people to alleviate their land-hunger by seizing the lands of others on their own initiative constitute a serious danger for the state and instead of bringing a solution of the agrarian problem, will

create a mass of new problems which cannot be solved without the most violent uprooting of the whole life of the people. . . .

For the purpose of a better preparation for the agrarian reform, the declaration proposes to guide the organisation of land committees in the paths "which must not go beyond the limits set by the law." Smilga's motion to come out for the immediate organised seizure of the large landed estates by the peasantry was rejected by the Socialist-Revolutionist majority.—p. 111.

216. The American Civil War (1861-1865) was essentially a war between the bourgeoisie of the North and the slave oligarchy of the South for the control of state power; a war between two irreconcilable economic systems which ended in the destruction of slavery. The plantation economy of the South rested on slave labour. The development of industry in the North, resting upon the exploitation of "free" labour-power, could not permit the Southern policy of the expansion of slavery into the territories of the West. By 1861, the class struggle of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the slave oligarchy finally broke out into open civil war, after having been carried on for decades on the political and ideological fronts. Although the war at first favoured the South, the industrial and numerical superiority of the North soon told against it, and ultimately resulted in the utter collapse of the Confederacy. On September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation of emancipation, declaring all slaves in the Southern states free on and after January 1, 1863. Following the close of the Civil War in 1865, a constitutional amendment was adopted abolishing slavery once for all. The historical significance of the American Civil War was three-fold: It destroyed American slavery; it cleared the ground for the "free" development of American capitalism; and laid the basis for the development of a labour movement on a national scale.—p. 126.

217. *Viedomosti Obshchestvenovo Gradonachalstva* (*Bulletin of the Public City Administration*)—official Petrograd paper which published the government regulations and official announcements. The word "public" was added to the title after the March Revolution.—p. 131.

218. The resolution on the economic measures to overcome disorganisation was written by Lenin for the conference of factory committees and published as the resolution of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks in the *Moscow Social-Democrat*, Number 64, June 7, 1917. The resolution appeared in the *Pravda* eight days later (*Pravda*, Number 71, June 15), not as the resolution of the Central Committee but as a draft resolution of the Organisation Bureau for the convocation of the Conference of Factory Committees.

From June 12-16, 1917, the Conference of Factory Committees met at Petrograd and was dominated by a Bolshevik majority. The Bolsheviks also occupied the leading rôle in the Organisation Bureau for the convocation of this conference. The Organisation Bureau appointed Zinoviev as the reporter on the chief point on the agenda ("Condition of Industry, Control of Production and Regulation of Labour in Petrograd"). The resolution on Zinoviev's report presented by the Organisation Bureau and dealing with economic measures to fight disorganisation was the draft prepared by Lenin and ap-

proved by the Central Committee (the Organisation Bureau had only made a few slight changes in Lenin's text). This resolution was then adopted by 290 out of 421 votes, all other resolutions being rejected. The resolution adopted by the Conference as a basis was referred to a commission for final editing; the text as confirmed by the Commission was then adopted at the closing session of the conference on June 16, by 297 against 21 votes with 44 abstaining.—p. 135.

219. The resolution of the First All-Russian Peasant Congress on the war, which was adopted May 28, 1917, announced as its aim peace without annexations and war indemnities on the basis of the self-determination of peoples by popular referendum. The means of securing such a peace was to be the pressure of the toiling masses of all belligerent countries upon their governments, following the example of the Russian Revolution which had secured the "recognition from the Provisional Government of the principles of a democratic peace," as well as the convocation of an international Socialist Conference. The All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies, the resolution stated, "indignantly rejects any thought of a separate peace as an overt violation of the honour of revolutionary and liberated Russia. . . . The basic duty of the toiling people of revolutionary Russia is to carry on the most active defence of the country, not hesitating before any sacrifices, and to take the most determined measures to raise the fighting force of the army for offensive and defensive purposes. As long as the revolutionary army must fight against armies which are led by emperors, it is fighting for the security of the great possession of the Russian people. . . ."

The position of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on the war is contained in the two proclamations of the Soviet of May 15, 1917, "To the Socialists of All Countries" and "To the Army" (see notes 186 and 187).—p. 138.

220. This refers to the article by V. Bazarov entitled "The Present Anarchy and the Coming Napoleon" in the *Novaia Zhizn*, Number 30, June 6, 1917.—p. 141.

221. From the appeal of the Labour Department of the Petrograd Soviet "To All Labour Departments of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies," *Izvestia*, Number 70, June 1, 1917.—p. 143.

222. From the article, "The Struggle Between Capital and Labour," *Izvestia*, Number 70, June 1, 1917.—p. 143.

223. In an extraordinary session on May 29, 1917, the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet took up the general economic situation. Cherevanin, Avilov, Bazarov, Shuba, Kukovetsky and Gromann reported in the name of the Economic Department of the Executive Committee. The reports dealt with the separate aspects of the economic life of the country: production, consumption, supplies, finances, etc. All of the reporters indicated the extremely critical condition of the country and pointed to the necessity of taking immediate and decisive measures.—p. 143.

224. Cronstadt was one of the most important revolutionary centres in 1917. The sailors of the Baltic Fleet, the garrison of Cronstadt and the factory workers manifested a revolutionary spirit and organised solidly around their Soviet. The Bolsheviks exerted a great influence upon the masses. Due to a conflict between the Soviet and the Cronstadt Government Commissar, Pelelaiev, the Cronstadt Soviet passed a resolution on May 30, 1917, insisting upon the abolition of the office of Government Commissar and the transfer of all power to the Cronstadt Soviet. The resolution stated:

The sole power in Cronstadt is the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies which maintains direct communication with the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on all governmental matters.

The resolution was introduced by non-partisans and adopted by the non-partisan majority of the Soviet with the support of the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialists-Revolutionists. Thereupon, the Provisional Government issued a trumpet blast about the "defection" of Cronstadt from the Russian Empire. The bourgeois Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionist press raised a howl about the establishment of a "Cronstadt Republic." To smooth over the difficulty, the representatives of the Petrograd Soviet, Chkheidze, Gotz and others, came to Cronstadt. They were later followed by Ministers Tsereteli and Skobelev who succeeded in effecting a compromise with the Cronstadt Soviet. It was agreed that the Cronstadt Soviet should name a candidate for the Cronstadt Government Commissar's post who would be confirmed by the Provisional Government. In addition, the following resolution of a general, political nature was adopted:

In reply to the question of the representatives of the Provisional Government, I. G. Tsereteli and M. I. Skobelev, concerning our attitude toward the central power, the Cronstadt Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies declares: "We recognise this power completely. Recognition, naturally, does not exclude criticism and the wish that the revolutionary democracy create a new organisation of the central power by placing all power in the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. By means of an ideological influence upon the views of the majority of the democracy, we hope to succeed in directing this majority into the path which we consider the only correct one. Nevertheless, as long as this is not achieved, as long as the majority does not agree with us and supports the present Provisional Government, we recognize this Government and consider its laws and regulations just as valid for Cronstadt as for all other parts of Russia. . . ." (*Izvestia*, Number 74, June 7, 1917.)

Lenin disapproved of the premature action of the Cronstadters, and the further work of the Bolshevik fraction in the Cronstadt Soviet as well as the negotiations concerning the allaying of the conflict took place under his direct supervision.—p. 148.

225. Erfurt Programme—see note 162 in Book I. The programme was for Engels for criticism, and he subjected it to a detailed analysis. This programme of 1891 was published ten years later under the title "In Criticism of the Erfurt Democratic Draft Programme" in the *Neue Zeit* (Vol. I, 1901-1902). V. I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution*, Chap. IV (*Collected Works*, this conference on the chief

p. 152. tion and Regue 12, 1917, an extraordinary session of the Petrograd Committee report presented took place, occupying itself primarily with the establishment measures to fight

of a popular Petrograd paper. Before that the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Committee had expressed itself unanimously in favour of establishing a special Petrograd organ. In the discussion, the majority of the local party functionaries stood for an independent organ. Lenin opposed this plan. His speech is reproduced as recorded in the minutes. It is, of course, incomplete and inaccurate, and only gives Lenin's train of thought.

Both of the resolutions which Lenin proposed, the second of which bore the character of a compromise, were rejected by a majority. The vote on the first resolution resulted as follows: 12 for, 16 against, 2 abstaining; the vote for the second resolution is not reported in the minutes. The resolution of the Petrograd Committee for creating their own organ was likewise rejected by a tie vote—14 to 14—leaving the question unsettled. The next day, Lenin, who attributed fundamental importance to this question, addressed a "Letter to the Borough Committees" (see p. 170 of this book), in which he called upon the party membership to express its opinion upon this question. The letter was read at the session of the Petrograd Committee, June 19, 1917.—p. 161.

227. *Russkaia Gazeta* (*Russian Gazette*)—popular paper published by Parvus and Trotsky, which appeared in Petersburg in 1905.—p. 162.

228. The notes of the English and French Governments to the Russian Foreign Minister were in reply to his note of May 1, 1917, and to the Declaration of the Provisional Government of April 9 (see notes 145 and 118 in Book I).

The English Ambassador's note stated among other things:

The British Government heartily shares the feelings . . . of free Russia. It did not begin this war as a war of conquest and is not continuing it for any such end. Its aim at the beginning was to defend the existence of its own country and to establish respect for international obligations. To these tasks, to-day, has been added the task of liberating the peoples that are being oppressed by a foreign tyranny. The British Government is therefore sincerely happy that free Russia has announced its intention of freeing Poland, and not only the Poland which was dominated by the old Russian absolutism, but also those parts of Poland which belong to the German and Austrian Empire. . . . The British Government is of the opinion that the treaties which it has concluded from time to time with the Allies, are, in their general features, in accord with the above-mentioned limitations [*i. e.*, with the declaration of the Provisional Government.—*Ed.*]; but if the Russian Government wishes, the British Government is quite ready to examine these treaties with its allies and if necessary revise them.

The French note contained the following resolution of the Chamber of Deputies of June 4:

The Chamber of Deputies expects from the war forced upon Europe by the attack of imperialist Germany not only the liberation of the occupied territories, but also the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the lap of the motherland and a just reparation of the damages. While rejecting every thought of conquering and enslaving foreign peoples, it considers that the efforts of the armies of the Republic and the Allies will permit, after the defeat of Prussian militarism, the achievement of substantial guarantees of peace and independence for the big and small peoples in one league of nations. . . .—p. 164.

229. This refers to the article "The Notes of the French and English Governments" in the *Rabochaia Gazeta*, Number 67, June 10, 1917.—p. 164.

230. The conference of the representatives of the mining industrialists and the workers of South Russia which met in Petrograd in May, 1917, and occupied itself with questions of wages and other demands of the workers, proved fruitless since the capitalists refused to make any concessions. The workers' delegation asserted that an increase of wages "to a considerable extent or even entirely at the expense of the employers' profits" was possible, hence without making it necessary to increase the price of coal. The representatives of the capitalists, on the other hand, demanded an immediate increase in the fixed price of coal. It was decided to form a Government Commission with representatives of both parties in order to investigate on the spot the conditions of work and the cost of production. The workers published the following declaration:

The workers' delegation affirms that the only practical result of the conference in Petrograd is the appointment of a special commission to determine the conditions of work and the cost of production, and that the industrialists did not consider it possible to agree to the provisional fixation of wages proposed by the representative of the Ministry of Labour; it declares that it rejects the responsibility for any possible complications in the mining region of the South, and that the workers' delegation, on its part, will make every effort to see that the peaceful progress of work in the factories and mines is not disturbed.

The delegation of the industrialists replied with a counter-declaration:

An increase of wages to the extent demanded by the labour conference will lead to such a catastrophic increase in the cost of producing mineral fuels, iron ore, cast iron and other industrial wares and therewith also all other industrial and consumers' articles for the masses, that this question, in its extent and significance, acquires the character of a general state and national question. Consequently, the industrialists are not only not in a position, but consider themselves not justified to decide upon the question raised in the demands of the labour conference; they cannot assume the responsibility for the consequences of an unavoidable increase in the cost of production and the shattering of the economic life of the country which might develop.—p. 167.

231. The quotation is from the article "The Country Is in Danger" in the *Rabochaia Gazeta*, Number 56, May 27, 1917.—p. 167.

232. The reproduction of this speech which Lenin delivered at the first Petrograd Conference of Factory-Shop Committees, as has already been indicated in the text, is based upon a brief newspaper report. In the personal notes of A. Kaktyn, a few more exact formulations have been preserved:

Control has now become a real vital necessity, no longer a phrase, but a generally recognised fact. The capitalists and their supporters are exerting themselves to reduce this measure to an empty sound. . . . A bacchanal of marauders reigns in the country. The new government has increased prices for the marauders—the coal industrialists of the South. . . . Must not serve as the errand boy of the capitalists. Control must not look like that. We need a real control, the control of the workers. . . . Through the control of the Junkers and capitalists, Germany has created a hard-labour régime for the workers. . . .—p. 173.

233. B. V. Avilov's resolution which he had proposed at the Conference of Factory-Shop Committees, was rejected by all against 13 votes. The resolution read as follows:

The present economic ruin which is a result of the war and the anarchic robber-economy of the capitalists and the government can only be overcome

by the planned regulation of the entire economy by the state and public power, by an increased taxation of the propertied classes and by the substitution of state loans for the issue of paper money. The state must create in the shortest time, with the co-operation of the revolutionary democracy, central organs for providing the country with all of the most important products which are to be distributed at fixed prices in a planful manner. All branches of big industry must be united under the control of the state and revolutionary democracy in the form of compulsory trusts, in order to carry out the orders of the central supply organs. The prices of raw materials for the separate industrial branches must be fixed and the distribution of their products regulated. All trade and all banks are to be placed under the control of the state. Definite minimum wages must be fixed and the supply of the most urgent necessities for the inhabitants secured. The task of the factory committees in this connection is to co-operate in the control of the operations of the factories in reference to their supply of raw materials, fuels and equipment, the correct pace of production, the norms of manufacturing costs and the distribution of the products as well as the determination of the conditions for transferring the work in the factories to a peace basis. The factory committees must try to unite according to industrial branches in order to be able to exercise the same functions of control for whole branches of industry with the co-operation of organs of state power and the employers. The local and district unions of the factory committees of the different industrial branches must set as their task the union of the factory committees of similar enterprises according to districts, in order to unite these district unions into an all-Russian union. Besides, the local and district unions must ascertain the general situation in all factories of their respective districts from the point of view of partially supplying them with material within the limits of the district as well as supplying them with means of transportation.—p. 173.

234. The communication of the Department of International Relations of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies to the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Huysmans, reads:

In view of the various interpretations which the entrance of the representatives of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies into the Provisional Government has called forth—many wanted to compare this entrance to the participation in the government under entirely different conditions—the Department for International Relations of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies considers it necessary to state the following: 1. The Socialist Ministers were sent into the revolutionary Provisional Government by the Soviet with the definite order to arrive at a general peace by way of the agreement of nations and not to drag out the imperialist war in the name of the liberation of peoples by means of arms. 2. The reason for the participation of the Socialists in the revolutionary government was not the cessation of the class struggle but its continuation with the aid of political power. That is also the reason why the entrance of the Socialists into the government for the purpose of working together with those representatives of the bourgeois parties who have expressed themselves openly for the policy of democracy and peace has become possible only after part of the enemies of the proletariat found themselves in the Peter-Paul Fortress and the rest deprived of their power by the movement of the revolutionary masses on May 3-5. 3. The participation of the Socialists in the government followed the existence of complete freedom for the proletariat and the army. State of siege, political censorship, limitation of the right to strike, of assembly and speech do not reduce this freedom in the least. In addition, the Russian proletariat possesses means for the complete control of those elected by it. 4. The entrance of the representatives of the Russian Socialist proletariat into the government in no way signifies the loosening of the ties which bind it with the Socialists of all lands who carry on the struggle against imperialism, but, on the contrary, signifies the

strengthening of these ties in the common struggle for general peace. (*Izvestia*, Number 78, June 12, 1917).—p. 175.

235. *Vorwärts* (*Forward*)—the central organ of the German Social-Democracy founded in 1876. It adopted a social-chauvinist attitude at the very outset of the war.—p. 192.

236. The leading editorial of *Riech*, Number 128, June 16, 1917.—p. 192.

237. The First All-Russian Congress of Soviets met on June 16, 1917, at Petrograd. Altogether there were 790 delegates, for the most part Mensheviks, a smaller part belonging to the Socialists-Revolutionists. Only 103 delegates or 13 per cent of the total number of delegates were Bolsheviks. The sessions of the Congress were entirely under the control of the Mensheviks (Tsereteli, Dan) and the Socialists-Revolutionists. The Congress expressed itself for participation of the Socialists in the bourgeois Provisional Government, for the "defence of the fatherland," for the "Liberty Loan," and for the support of the offensive at the front demanded by the Entente. The Congress forbade the Bolshevik demonstration on June 23 in Petrograd, but the demonstration which the Congress itself had fixed for July 1 and intended as a manifestation of confidence in the Provisional Government, proceeded entirely under Bolshevik slogans. The Congress elected a central executive committee consisting of Mensheviks and Socialists-Revolutionists which existed until the Second Soviet Congress. Lenin's double appearance at the Congress naturally found no response from the compromising majority of the delegates. Lenin delivered his first speech on June 17 during the discussion on the report of F. Dan: "The Provisional Government and the Revolutionary Democracy." The speaking time was limited by the order of business; Lenin's speech was repeatedly interrupted by heckling from the majority and the applause of the minority. This speech on the attitude towards the Provisional Government is reproduced according to the stenographic report which Lenin personally corrected. The second speech (on the war) was delivered on June 22 and is reprinted according to the text published in the *Pravda*. It is possible that the *Pravda* text was also looked over by Lenin.—p. 193.

238. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—Tsereteli.—p. 198.

239. Liakhov's policy in Persia—that is, the policy of tsarism which was directed towards the suppression of every popular movement in neighbouring Persia. The first Russian Revolution of 1905 was the starting point for a revolutionary mass movement in Persia which forced the Shah to grant a constitution and a parliament. The Russian colonel Liakhov, who commanded the Persian Cossack brigade which was under the guidance of Russian instructors, dispersed the parliament in 1908 and helped to suppress the revolutionary movement. During the imperialist war a Russian Division occupied northern Persia under the pretext of preventing a threatening Turkish attack, and devastated and plundered the country. Liakhov who had a command on the Turkish front committed many atrocities against the inhabitants of that part of Turkish Armenia occupied by the tsarist troops.—p. 199.

240. The question of granting passports to the Socialists of the Entente powers for the contemplated International Socialist Conference in Stockholm kept the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Soviet leaders, the initiators of the Conference, in suspense the whole summer of 1917. The Entente governments changed their decisions repeatedly, now declaring themselves ready to grant the passports, now absolutely denying the request.—p. 202.

241. Albania, which declared itself independent during the Balkan War of 1912, constituted from that time on the object of dispute of the neighbouring states. In the secret treaty concluded by the Entente with Italy, by which Italy obligated herself to join the Entente in the war, Middle Albania, together with Valona, among other things, was promised the Italians as booty. See also the article "One of the Secret Treaties," p. 66 of this book.

Greece was forced into the war by England and the other Entente powers in 1917 against the will of the people by means of a regular *coup d'état* (King Constantine was forced to abdicate) with the co-operation of the former Greek Prime Minister Venizelos, an agent of England.

Persia was occupied by England and Russia during the war under the pretext of fighting Turkish hands; Russian troops occupied the northern part of Persia, and English troops who came up from the Persian Gulf, the southern part.—p. 203.

242. This refers to the declaration of the Bolsheviks and the Social-Democratic Internationalists at the First Soviet Congress concerning the question of the offensive. The text will be found among the appendices in this book.—p. 203.

243. Kiaochow—a city in the Chinese province of Shantung; seaport. The territory of Kiaochow with its fruitful hinterland was "leased" to Germany in 1898 by China with all sovereign rights for 99 years. During the imperialist war Japan seized this colony from Germany; it promised to return the territory to the rightful owner, China, but did not keep its promise. The islands in the Pacific Ocean: the Marianas and Carolinas together with the Palow Islands belonged to Germany before the war. During the war Japan seized them for herself. To-day they are Japanese mandatory territories.—p. 213.

244. The Russian Revolution of 1905 exercised a lasting influence upon the countries of the East. In 1908, a revolution broke out in Turkey. The Sultan Abdul Hamid was overthrown and the Young Turks took over power. In 1909, a revolutionary movement of the people in Persia forced the abdication of the Shah Muhammed Ali and the re-establishment of the constitution forcibly abolished in 1908 with the help of the Tsar (see also note 239); the Medshlis was re-convoled. In 1910 a revolutionary movement under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen began in China, which in the course of its development led to the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic (declaration of independence of the southern provinces with Sun Yat-sen as president in 1911; abdication of the Manchu Dynasty and proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1912).—p. 216.

245. The letter of the peasant, G. Andreiev, to which this refers, stated among other things:

I am a muzhik, a peasant. In the summer I live in the village; even before I worked at the factory, I lived in the village and now I visit it two or three times a year. . . . Since 1905 I have been a Socialist-Revolutionist, but when they began to say that we should not take the land away from the landlords, my thoughts began to turn away from them; and when they gave their consent to the liberty loan, I ran away and entered the party of the Bolsheviks, but not of the Mensheviks, because I understand, if not much, at least what I am about. . . . I shall present my opinion of the various parties in the village for the village meeting. I view the village meeting this way: the *zemsky nachalnik* [under tsarism, the zemstvo representative in the village.—*Ed.*], the *starshina* [the senior volost official elected by the peasants in pre-revolutionary times.—*Ed.*], the village elder, the rich peasant and the poor peasant, just like myself. I compare the *nachalnik* with the cadets who defend capital and the whole bourgeoisie. . . . The *starshina* I compare with the learned professors who want one side to be well off, but that the other be not hurt, the matter being postponed for about a thousand years, and that for the time being everybody calm down. . . . The village elder I compare with the Mensheviks. . . . The rich peasants I compare with the Socialists-Revolutionists. . . . Then I take the poor peasant. I compare him with the Bolshevik Social-Democrats. . . . They do not think about the war like the village elder or the rich peasant. Since the people do not need the war, the people must stop it at once, not any old way, and should not put out its head to catch bullets. . . . Fraternisation at the front, but not to sleep in the hinterland; work untiringly for the holy truth. We must not stop and wait until some one drops out from the sky, and puts an end to the war. We must press the bourgeoisie harder, let it burst at all the seams. Then the war will be ended. But if we do not press the bourgeoisie hard enough, things will be bad. . . .—p. 218.

246. The Gentlemen of June 16—on June 16, 1907, the Second Imperial Duma was dispersed and a new electoral law proclaimed. This electoral law gave the feudal and commercial-industrial interests in the Duma a powerful preponderance. After this, these elements of the Imperial Duma used to be called "The Gentlemen of June 16" (the Cadets, Octobrists, the Rights) who owed their predominance to the Stolypin electoral law of June 16, 1907.—p. 221.

247. The resolution demanding the immediate offensive of the Russian Army was adopted by the conference of the members of the Imperial Duma on June 16, 1917.—p. 221.

248. The phrase about "the great withdrawal of the bourgeoisie" was used by Liber on June 17, 1917, in his report at the First Soviet Congress. In this report he viewed the retirement of the Minister of War Guchkov as the "beginning of the great withdrawal of the bourgeoisie from the government."—p. 229.

249. This refers to the report of A. Peshekhonov, the Minister of Food Supplies, given at the June 18, 1917, session of the Soviet Congress on the food question.—p. 232.

250. This refers to the article: "Press Review. An Angry Criticism," in the *Novaia Zhizn*, Number 41, June 19, 1917.—p. 234.

251. The conference of the "wild bulls" of June 16—this is what Lenin called the conference of the members of the Imperial Duma (see also the article "The Wild Bulls of June 16 Want an Immediate Offensive," p. 221, of this book). At this conference of June 16, 1917, Miliukov delivered a big speech on the international and internal policy, which was directed against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet.—p. 236.

252. The Central Committee of the Bolsheviks had announced a demonstration in Petrograd for June 23, 1917, under the slogans: "Down with the Capitalist Ministers," "All Power to the Soviets." The proletarian and soldier masses of Petrograd were highly indignant against the Provisional Government, which was dragging the war out and refused to alleviate the most urgent needs of the masses. The Mensheviks and Socialists-Revolutionists who belonged to the government and had the majority at the Soviet Congress, saw that the sentiment of the masses was beginning to turn in favour of the Bolsheviks and issued an order, under the pretext of threatened counter-revolutionary action, prohibiting the demonstration; in addition, they sent to the factories on the night of June 23 delegates of the Congress to agitate against the demonstration. The appearance of the delegates, however, found no response among the workers and they were hostilely received by them. The Central Committee, after it had been informed of the order prohibiting the demonstration, decided to call it off and announced its decision in the *Pravda* (see note 254).—p. 238.

253. The villa of the former tsarist Minister Durnovo was occupied by Anarchists and a few workers' organisations during the March Days as had been done with the palace of Kshesinskaia by the Bolsheviks. The owners fought to have the villa vacated. Minister of Justice Pereverzev made several futile attempts to drive out the "usurpers" with military force. Under the pretext that there were criminals among the Anarchists, the Minister of Justice undertook a new attack upon the villa on the night of July 2; as a result two Anarchists were killed, the rooms demolished and the house destroyed. The attack of the government aroused the entire Petrograd proletariat.—p. 238.

254. The calling off of the demonstration of June 23, 1917, by the Bolshevik Central Committee at the request of the Soviet Congress caused dissatisfaction among the workers, who nevertheless submitted to the decision of the Central Committee, as well as among some party functionaries in the districts. In an extraordinary session of the Petrograd Committee Lenin delivered a speech in which he backed up the decision of the Central Committee. The Petrograd Committee then approved the action of the Central Committee. The speech reproduced in the text is not a stenographic report, but a brief account recorded in the minutes.—p. 245.

255. On June 24, 1917, there took place a united session of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, the presidium of the Soviet Congress and all fraction committees of the parties represented at the Congress. After a

report by Dan and a reply by Kamenev, Tsereteli delivered a speech in which he declared that the demonstration planned by the Bolsheviks for June 23 was a "conspiracy for overthrowing the government and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks," that the Bolsheviks who in reality were then the only counter-revolutionary party would have to be put beyond the pale of "revolutionary democracy" and the Soviet parties and that the arms in the hands of the workers would have to be taken away from them. The representatives of the Bolshevik fraction left the meeting as a protest. Lenin did not participate in the conference, having been against participation from the beginning.—p. 245.

256. The resolution of the First Soviet Congress on the events of June 22 and 23, 1917, which was proposed by the presidium and adopted at the session of June 24, stated after a long introduction which emphasised the need of unity on the part of the revolutionary democracy for the struggle against counter-revolution:

The All-Russian Soviet Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies decidedly condemns the attempt to organise a demonstration in Petrograd behind the back of the Soviet, without some effective measures having been taken against the demonstration becoming an armed one and leading to bloody conflicts, ruinous for the revolution, and decides: 1. Groups and parties which belong to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies have no right to undertake mass actions against the clearly expressed will of the Soviets as the appointed organs of the revolutionary democracy; 2. Peaceful, unarmed demonstrations may be organised by these groups and parties only with the consent of the Soviets; 3. All armed actions, including demonstrations with armed participants, may only be organised by the decision of the Soviets as the sole organs which represent the will of the entire revolutionary democracy. The Congress calls upon all comrades, workers, soldiers and peasants to submit to this decision and not to follow arbitrary calls which are strictly contradictory to the above-mentioned decisions, no matter from what side these calls come. Every breach of this decision adds water to the counter-revolutionary mill and threatens to unleash a civil war. At the same time, the Congress decides to form a commission for the purpose of thoroughly clarifying all the circumstances which led to the preparation of the demonstration of June 22 and 23, the representatives of all the parties belonging to the Soviet to participate in it, and directs this commission to pay special attention to what extent and in what forms dubious and counter-revolutionary elements participated in this movement which strove to utilise it for their own ends.

The Bolshevik fraction presented a special declaration to the Congress on this matter. (For the text of the declaration see appendices in this book.)—p. 250.

257. The Universal Act of the Ukrainian Central Rada stated among other things:

Without separating from Russia, without breaking with the Russian State, let the Ukrainian people have the right to determine its own life on its own land, a Ukrainian National Assembly—a *Seim*—elected by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot shall establish the state order in the Ukraine. All laws pertaining to the establishment of order here, in the Ukraine, are to be made only by the Ukrainian Assembly; but those laws which are to help establish order throughout the entire Russian State shall be made by the All-Russian Parliament. . . . We thought that the Central Government of Russia would help us in this work; that we, the Ukrainian Central Rada,

would be able to establish a system of law in our country in agreement with it, but the Provisional Government has rejected all of our demands. . . . Wherever the administrative power, for whatever reason, has remained in hands hostile to the Ukraine, we instruct our citizens to launch a comprehensive, powerful organisation and upon informing the population, elect a new administration. In the cities and in those places where the Ukrainian people are living together with other nationalities, we instruct all citizens to come to an immediate agreement with the democracies of all nationalities and to proceed with them to prepare a new correct life. . . . After we have accomplished this preliminary organisational work, we shall permit the representatives of all the peoples of the Ukraine to meet and establish the laws for the country, those laws which we shall prepare and which the All-Russian Constituent Assembly will have to confirm. . . . We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, order all organised citizens of the cities and villages and all Ukrainian public offices, to levy a tax on the population from July 1 on for the people's cause. . . . Ukrainian people, your fate is in your hands. . . —p. 253.

258. From the leading editorial of the *Riech*, Number 137, June 27, 1917. —p. 254.

259. In the *Rabochaia Gazeta*, Number 80, June 27, there appeared an article entitled: "Call to Order." The Menshevik author of the article attacks the Bolsheviks and recommends that they "separate from the agitators who are everywhere preaching the forcing of civil war; to draw away from those who believe that 'the Socialist Ministers have sold themselves to the bourgeoisie'; even the Soviet Congress has been bribed by the landowners and capitalists. . . ." The author of the article sees no danger of counter-revolution from the Right; there are no Cavaignacs to be seen anywhere; nevertheless, "when the real Cavaignac comes, we shall fight together with you in the same ranks. . . ."—p. 255.

260. The Extraordinary Investigating Commission established by the Provisional Government for the investigation of the crimes of the old régime, under the chairmanship of the attorney N. K. Muraviov, examined Lenin concerning the case of the provocateur Malinovsky. The Mensheviks and together with them the entire bourgeois press tried to play up the Malinovsky case especially big for factional reasons.—p. 264.

261. Dzhunkovsky who was appointed Vice-Minister of the Interior in 1914, learned upon looking through the documents of the police department that Malinovsky, the Duma Deputy, was also a police spy. The presence of spies in the Imperial Duma was too much even for Dzhunkovsky and he informed Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, of Malinovsky's activities as a spy. Rodzianko thereupon called Malinovsky to him and advised him to disappear, which Malinovsky did: he resigned his mandate and went abroad. Rodzianko informed neither the Social-Democratic fraction, to which Malinovsky belonged, of the latter's activity as a spy, nor any other Deputy. Rodzianko thereby, revealed himself as shielding a spy. (For Malinovsky see Biographical Notes.) —p. 265.

262. On July 1, 1917, a grand demonstration took place in Petrograd. The Soviet Congress which had forbidden the Bolshevik demonstration planned

for June 23 and in addition prohibited all street demonstrations "for three days," had itself been forced by the pressure of the masses to arrange a demonstration for Sunday, July 1, which, to the surprise of the compromising Soviet Congress, turned into a complete triumph for the Bolsheviks. About 400,000 workers and soldiers demonstrated on that day. Ninety per cent of the banners bore the slogans of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks: "Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers," and "All Power to the Soviets." The slogan "Confidence in the Provisional Government" which the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionist Soviet Congress set up was to be seen only on three banners and these belonged to a Cossack regiment, the *Yedinstvo* group, and the Petrograd organisation of the Bund, respectively. Similar demonstrations took place in Moscow, in the Moscow Province and in other cities. The first of July had shown that the masses were united for the revolution and had no use for the compromisers.—p. 268.

263. The offensive at the front long prepared by the Provisional Government and the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionist Bloc at the demand of the Entente powers began on July 1, 1917. After Kerensky had visited the front and had persuaded the troops in hundreds of meetings to undertake the offensive, the army on the West and Southwest front proceeded to attack. The attack brought initial results in the first two days, a few thousand Austrians being captured, but the technically feebly prepared and badly led offensive was soon transformed into a serious defeat for the Russian army and the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government. The Russian troops were not only forced to surrender the newly-won terrain, but they even had to execute a considerable retreat, losing many in dead and captured. The initial success aroused great enthusiasm among the compromisers and the bourgeoisie, but it soon gave way to a complete loss of head. On July 2, Tsereteli delivered a patriotic speech at the Soviet Congress "On the Offensive of Our Army" to which Lenin's article refers. From this time on, the Bolsheviks, who already had the leadership of the Petrograd factories and regiments, began to gain rapidly in influence upon the army. The front quickly overtook revolutionary Petrograd.—p. 271.

264. The leading editorial of the *Riech* of July 1, 1917, occupied itself with the demonstration announced for this day in Petrograd and arrived at the following conclusions, keeping in view the sentiment of the masses who were turning away from the coalition Socialists:

The aim of the Coalition Government, the creation of a strong power in which confidence is placed has not been attained. . . . The Socialist Ministers have discredited themselves among their own followers by their "Cadet" declarations at the Soviet Congress and have had to trail in the wake of the Bolsheviks in the last week. . . . Instead of a stronger power, the Coalition Cabinet presents a weaker power . . . the leadership of the Revolution must give way before the elementary laws of all revolutions. . . .

The *Riech* was of the opinion that the question of the usefulness of the further existence of the Government Coalition was not only raised by the Bolsheviks, but would also have to be raised by the capitalist Ministers. When the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was realised, "the Soviets would con-

vince themselves that they had very little power at their disposal and they would seek to replace this lack of power by Young-Turk or Jacobin methods." In conclusion, the *Riech* declared the decisive question of the Russian Revolution to be "whether they (the Socialists—*Ed.*) would be ready, in raising the entire question anew, to sink to the level of Jacobinism and terror, or whether they would make the attempt to wash their hands of the whole thing." The article was most probably written by Miliukov. Lenin's expressions, "historian" and "miserable counter-revolutionary bourgeois," refer to him.—p. 277.

265. The First All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions met at Petrograd from July 4 to July 11, 1917.—p. 279.

266. At the Third Congress of the Socialists-Revolutionists which met at Moscow on June 7, 1917, Kerensky was not elected to the Central Committee. The Lefts (the Kamkov group) and a part of the Centre (the Kogan-Bernstein group) voted against him. Breshko-Breshkovskaia, whom the Socialists-Revolutionists called the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution" and who occupied an extreme Right position, refused to accept her election to the Central Committee as a protest against the failure to elect Kerensky to the committee.—p. 285.

267. The article "Why We Must Control Production" was not continued. Lenin most likely was prevented from completing it by the July events.—p. 290.

268. The *Izvestia* of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies says concerning the report of Minister of Agriculture Chernov made at the session of the Provisional Government and the bills introduced by him:

. . . The basic thought of the report is that the urgent need of the moment is the promulgation of a whole series of laws which, in their totality, embrace all basic phenomena of the economic life of the village. The Ministry of Agriculture therefore lays before the Provisional Government ten bills which are of immediate importance for the regulation of social relations in the sphere of agriculture, and in addition, two supplementary bills on the reform of the committee of experts of the Ministry of Agriculture in order to adapt it to the need of placing science in the service of agrarian reform, and furthermore on the organisation of a Department for Economics and Politics in the Ministry.

The *Izvestia* of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies wrote on June 25, 1917:

The Ministry is presenting ten bills to the Provisional Government on stopping the sale, purchase and mortgaging of the land, on interference in the economic life of the village, etc. The worst would be for the legislation to come too late. . . .

Of the ten, or more correctly twelve, bills, not a single one became law during the existence of the Provisional Government, not until November, 1917.—p. 291.

269. The appeal of the Minister of Labour to the workers was published in the *Noviaia Zhizn*, Number 60, July 11, 1917. Minister of Labour Skobelev tells the workers in this appeal that the Provisional Government has set itself

the task of fighting against economic disorganisation with all its might and will control and regulate national economy through the authority of the revolutionary power. The leading and controlling organs are to be transformed on the basis of extensive representation of the workers. Therefore the workers should give up any arbitrary deeds and keep from interfering in the matter of production.—p. 299.

270. This refers to the article by Avilov "The Chaos in the Ministry of Commerce" in the *Novaya Zhizn*, Number 60, July 11, 1917. The author shows how the Ministry of Commerce, with Palchinsky and Stepanov at the head, is sabotaging the promises of the government concerning control and regulation of industry as announced in the Declaration of the Coalition Government of May 18, 1917.—p. 299.

271. The resolution of the Economic Department of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies "On the Metal Industry of the Moscow District" reads:

The following is to be brought to the attention of the Provisional Government: The metal industry of the Moscow region (15 provinces) is in a terribly critical condition which is dangerous for the entire economy and for the political stability of the state. The Goujon-Works which supply 85 per cent of the metal for the whole region have posted an announcement that from July 1 on the works will be closed. Bari, Dynamo, Bromley and other works are threatening to close down. The state cannot permit the closing down of these plants under any circumstances. In view of the fact that the management of the Goujon plant is obviously disorganising production and deliberately leading to the shutting down of the plant on the pretext of lacking means of production in spite of its ability to secure credit, the state must take the management of the plant into its own hands by creating a management on the pattern of that of the Putilov-Works and the Society of 1886 and must supply means of production. It must be kept in mind, however, that this indispensable measure will unavoidably result in the necessity of a regulation of the entire metal industry in the direction indicated by the resolution of the All-Russian Soviet Congress (fixation of prices, regulation of profits and wages, compulsory syndication and trustification etc.); this requires that the Economic Council and the Economic Committee become active at once and official district supply committees be formed. In this case the Conference of Moscow Factories must be urgently granted the right to establish a management in the Goujon-Works and the Conference must be supplied with means of production to the amount of five million rubles.—p. 301.

272. A. Sandomirsky's article "The Struggle for the Organisation of Industry" in the *Novaya Zhizn*, Number 61, July 12, 1917, gives a clear picture of the results of the sabotage of the mining industrialists in the South of Russia which they had begun as early as April-May. He states among other things:

The chaos in the Donetz Basin is increasing from day to day. The Provisional Donetz Committee and the District Committee of the Soviets are receiving telegram upon telegram on the closing of shafts and mines, on the closing down of factories because of lack of raw material, on the excitement among the workers who are not being granted any increase in wages or are not being paid at all because there is no money. . . . The vicious circle—lack of coal, lack of metals, lack of locomotives and rolling stock, cessation of production—is spreading ever wider. Yet while coal is being burned, metal

piled up, these things cannot be obtained when and where they are needed. The Workers' Soviet of the Marievka District telegraphs that at the Marievka mine of Kazakevich 300,000 poods of coal are stored up; the coal is burning; but the attempt of the workers to take the coal out has failed because the teamsters demand four kopecks just as the other mines pay, whereas the management is only willing to pay 3.8 kopecks.

The workers' attempts to take up the struggle against the chaos met with the most determined resistance of the industrialists, who were being supported by Palchinsky, the Vice Minister of Commerce.

In view of the lack of exact data, the Donetz Committee [an official commission on a parity basis for arbitrating conflicts between labour and capital. —*Ed.*] decided to institute an inquiry on the metal supplies through the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies as well as through the factory committees. When they proceeded to the work of controlling the metal, Palchinsky issued an order: "Any kind of arbitrary control commissions must not be admitted."

When the Donetz Committee demanded 500,000 poods of metal from Pankin for repairing the locomotives, the colonel was insulted because they had not begged it but demanded it of him. And only after an exchange of letters with Petrograd did they receive 328,000 instead of 500,000 poods, not in May but in June. Palchinsky had forbidden the removal of the Donetz Committee from Yekaterinoslav to Kharkov and failed to confirm the unanimous election of Professor Rubin as chairman of the Conference for Fuels, "because it is impermissible that one person occupy two posts."—302.

273. Due to the offensive, a polemic developed in the *Rabochaia Gazeta* among the Mensheviks Potresov, Cherevanin and Ivanovich. Ivanovich reproached Cherevanin in an article "Shall We Fear Peace?" (*Rabochaia Gazeta*, Number 93, July 12, 1917) to the effect that his position on the offensive and a possible victory at the front led to the recognition of the correctness of the Bolshevik assertions that the Russian army was objectively fighting for the imperialist interests of the Allies. Against this Ivanovich insisted that the victory of the Russian army over Hindenburg was simultaneously a victory over Entente imperialism.—p. 304.

274. The private conference of members of the Imperial Duma in Petrograd took place July 11, 1917, in the Tauride Palace and occupied itself with the financial and economic condition of the country and the condition of industry. Bublikov reported; Prince Lvov, Shidlovsky and Kuzmin also spoke. Rodzianko concluded, developing the train of thought cited by Lenin.—p. 307.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

A.

ADLER, FRIEDRICH (born 1879)—Son of Victor Adler. From 1907 to 1911 assistant professor of theoretical physics in the University of Zürich, simultaneously editing the *Volksrecht*, organ of Swiss Social-Democracy; later elected Secretary of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. On October 22, 1916, he assassinated the Austrian Prime Minister, Count Stuerghk, and was sentenced to death. Sentence commuted to eighteen years' hard labour. In 1916 and 1917 Lenin considered the imprisoned Adler as one of the future builders of the Third International. The most popular slogan of the May Day demonstrations of 1917 in Russia was the demand for Adler's liberation. Freed after the Austrian Revolution of 1918, Adler, however, returned to Social-Democracy and conducted a struggle against the Communists. Attempted to build a "centrist" Two-and-one-half International, which, in 1922, under his initiative, combined with the Second International, whose General Secretary Adler is at present. Politically Adler is an eclectic, full of inconsistencies and contradictions; in the realm of philosophy he is a follower of the empirio-monist anti-Marxist Ernst Mach, who denies the objectivity of the material world, and whom Lenin subjected to a thoroughgoing criticism in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Vol. XIII of the *Collected Works* of V. I. Lenin.—I 150; II 248.

ADLER, VICTOR (1852-1918)—Founder and leader of Austrian Social-Democracy. In 1886 founded the Social-Democratic paper *Gleichheit*, laying the basis for unity between the "moderates" and the "radicals" which was finally achieved at the Unity Congress of the Austrian Social-Democracy in Hainfeld in 1889. With the help of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, Adler initiated the struggle for universal suffrage which was the axis of the Austrian labour movement from its origin to 1907. Adler devoted himself entirely to parliamentary struggles, hoping to utilise the division of the bourgeoisie into small national fractions in the interest of the working class. In the course of the struggle, however, Adler proved that he was no revolutionary Socialist. He elevated opportunism to a political art, thereby becoming the father of Austro-Marxism or Kautskyism. During the war he remained a social-patriot with a pacifist bent. After the revolution (1918), he became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but died shortly afterwards. Very active in the Second International since its foundation in 1889. Adler was one of the clearest minds in the reformist, centrist camp. His tactics were directed not towards clarifying but towards covering up the contradictions within the International.—I 147.

ALEXANDER I (1777-1825)—Russian Tsar from 1801 to 1825.—I 313.

AMFITEATROV, A. V. (1862-1923)—Well-known Russian political satirist.

Contributed to newspapers of widely different political views. Gained popularity in 1902 by publishing a sketch in the paper *Rossia*, entitled "The Obmanov Family," a slightly veiled satire on the House of Romanov (*Obman* in Russian means fraud, swindle). For this he was banished. In 1905 published a magazine, *Krasnoie Znamia* (*Red Banner*) abroad. Returned to Russia in 1917, where he wrote for bourgeois publications, lying about and calumniating Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Later emigrated abroad.—I 188.

ANDRONNIKOV—Menshevik. Member of the Committee for the Return of the Russian Political Emigrés (in Switzerland).—I 222.

ANGARSKY, N. S. (pseudonym of Klestov; born 1873)—Narodnik in his youth; Marxist in the early twentieth century; Bolshevik. Was active abroad, participating in the Paris group of the *Iskra* (*Spark*). In Russia, worked in a number of southern committees and in the Moscow Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Arrested many times; sentenced to Siberia; escaped. In 1917 a member of the Moscow Committee and delegate to the April Conference. Later active in the Moscow Soviet. Writer.—I 307, 308.

AVILOV, B. V. (born 1874)—Russian Social-Democrat; originally a Bolshevik. Participated in the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (1905). Was banished to Siberia. After the March Revolution of 1917, member of the Petrograd Committee of Bolsheviks; in April, 1917, however, joined the staff of the *Novaia Zhizn* (*New Life*). Later a member of the Central Committee of Social-Democrats Internationalists, which he quit in 1918, abandoning political activity altogether.—II 144, 173, 174, 179, 189, 191, 299.

AVKSENTIEV, N. D. (born 1878)—One of the oldest leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Member Executive Committee of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies in 1905; member Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party in 1907. Since then in the Right Wing of his party, which defended legality and the abolition of terrorism. During the war, extreme chauvinist, participant in defencist Socialist-Revolutionary organs, *Za Rubezhom* (*Beyond the Border*) and *Novosti* (*News*) and co-editor of the social-chauvinist magazine, *Prizyv* (*Call*) appearing in Paris (other participants being Plekhanov, Alexei Lubimov, Argunov, Volsky, and Bunakov). Member of one of the coalition cabinets under Kerensky. After the November Revolution, one of the organisers of the civil war on the Czechoslovakian front. Member of the Ufa Directory (1918), early dispersed by Kolchak. At present lives abroad and is engaged in work against the Soviet government.—II 302.

AXELROD, P. B. (1850-1928)—Well-known Russian Menshevik leader. In the seventies a follower of Bakunin, participant in the Narodnik movement. Arrested in a village, where he was engaged in propaganda work; escaped and emigrated abroad, where, together with Plekhanov, founded the Liberation of Labour Group in 1883. In 1900, member of the editorial staff of *Iskra*. At the Second Party Congress in 1903, he joined the Mensheviks. Subsequently initiated the idea of a "workers' congress," i. e., of dissolving the Social-Democratic Party into non-partisan labour organisations. One of the leaders of Liquidators. Member of the Zimmerwald Conference, centre group.

Active in attempts at organising Two-and-one-half International; conducted an active campaign against Communism. Member of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International. Died in Berlin in April, 1928.—I 83, 147, 222, 242.

AZEF, E. F. (1870-1918)—Famous provocateur, one of the founders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, leader of its terrorist organisation, and perennial member of the Central Committee until 1908, when, exposed by Burtzev and the ex-chief of the police department, Lopukhin, fled party trial. During the war, lived in hiding in Germany.—II 157, 264.

B

BADAIEV, A. E. (born 1883)—Member of the Fourth Imperial Duma elected by the Workers' Electoral College of Petersburg Province. Bolshevik. Worker. Tried during the war, together with the Bolshevik Duma fraction, and banished to Siberia. After the revolution, active in supply and co-operative organisations.—I 74.

BALBANOVA, ANGELICA—Born in Ukraine. First a Menshevik; later emigrated abroad, where she became active in the Italian Socialist Party. During the war was an internationalist and, as member of the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, was active in founding the Zimmerwald Union; member of the International Socialist Commission. In 1917, moved from Switzerland to Stockholm to support the Russian Revolution. Returned to Russia in 1919, where she joined the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern. In 1924, expelled from the Comintern for collaboration with "centrists."—I 222.

BAUER, OTTO (born 1882)—Leader of Austrian Social-Democracy, prior to the war an adherent of its Left Wing. During the war was called to colours, made war prisoner in Russia, and sent to Siberia, where he was released by the Kerensky government at the demand of the Petrograd Soviet. During his brief stay in Petrograd, being himself in favour of defending his Austrian fatherland, he supported the policy of the Russian defencists. After the November (1918), Revolution in Austria, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in coalition government. As opponent of the Third International, published several books against Communism and the Soviet system. One of the organisers of the Two-and-one-half International. Head of "Austro-Marxian School." In July, 1927, utilised all his influence as head of Austrian Social-Democracy to suppress uprising of Vienna workers. Bauer is the perfect type of centrist politician, in practice constantly capitulating before the bourgeoisie.—I 92.

BAZAROV, V. (pseudonym for V. A. Rudnev; born 1874)—Russian economist and philosophical essayist. Belonged to the Bolshevik Party after the Congress of 1903. In 1905, member of the Petersburg Committee of Bolsheviks. Contributed to the legal and illegal Bolshevik press; co-editor of the central Bolshevik organ and member of the Bolshevik central organisation. In the period of reaction which followed 1907, he deviated from Bolshevism. Remained internationalist during the war, contributing to the magazines, *Soore-*

mennik (*Contemporary*) and *Lietopis* (*Annals*), and in 1917 to the paper, *Novaia Zhizn*. In 1919, during Denikin's rule in the South, contributed, together with the Mensheviks, to the magazine, *Mysl* (*Thought*) published in Kharkov. Together with Stepanov, undertook a new Russian translation of *Capital*. Machist in philosophy. At present works in the State Planning Commission.—II, 141, 144, 189-191, 201.

BEBEL, AUGUST (1840-1913)—One of the founders of the German Social-Democratic Party and its leader. Son of a Prussian soldier, and an orphan since the age of twelve, he entered a wood-turning shop at the age of fourteen. As a journeyman, he travelled for two years through Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Met Wilhelm Liebknecht in 1865, and joined the First International. In the elections of 1867, first held after the introduction of universal suffrage, was elected to the Reichstag. At the Eisenach Congress of 1869 founded, together with Wilhelm Liebknecht, the German Social-Democratic Party. During the Franco-Prussian War refrained, together with Liebknecht, from voting military appropriations, and after the September upheaval in France and the promulgation of a republic, voted against a loan and protested against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. Consistently fought against every attempt at transforming Social-Democracy into a democratic-reformist party (Dühring, Bernstein, Vollmar). Considering himself a disciple of Marx and Engels, he defended both the immediate workers' demands and the general, ultimate aims of the movement. Counteracting Right Wing tendencies in Social-Democracy, Bebel put the formal unity of the party above everything else. Therefore, he was often compelled to compromise with the Right Wingers, drawing a line of demarcation between himself and the Left radical movement growing up under Rosa Luxemburg's leadership in the last years before the war. Leader of the Second International prior to the war.—I 161.

BERGER, VICTOR L. (born 1860)—Head of the American Socialist Party, a revisionist and advocate of fusion with bourgeois reformist political groups for which he was fought in former years, to-day is the ideological leader of the party. First Socialist to be elected to Congress (1910). Teacher by profession. Editor of the Socialist paper, *The Milwaukee Leader*, since 1911. During the war was an extreme German chauvinist and his opposition to America's entrance into the war was dictated by his pro-German attitude and the consideration of the Milwaukee German voters to whom he was responsible for his successive elections. In 1919, Berger was instrumental in the expulsion of the Left Wing from the Socialist Party which later organised itself as the Communist Party. In Congress as well as in his party work and in his writings he aims to impress the bourgeoisie with the loyalty of the Socialists to American institutions. At present, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and member of the Masons. During the elections of 1928, Berger, the only Socialist member of Congress was defeated in the district which he represented for many years.—I 146.

BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, THEOBALD (1856-1921)—Chancellor of the German Empire and Prime Minister of Prussia since 1909, also during the war. Representative of the Junker and banking interests. Close collaborator of Wilhelm

in the preparation and organisation of the imperialist war. Held Chancellorship when the Empire broke down.—I 92, 189; II 30.

BIEDNY, DEMIAN (pseudonym of E. A. Pridvoznov; born 1833)—Satirical poet, author of numerous political satires in verse. One of the most popular Russian writers. During the civil war his verses were a source of inspiration to Red Army. Decorated with order of the Red Flag. Communist.—II 93.

BISMARCK, OTTO VON (1815-1898)—Chancellor at the time the German Empire was formed. Accomplished unification of Germany, with Prussian Kingdom and Hohenzollern dynasty as foundation, by means of wars with Denmark, Austria and France. Annexed Silesia that belonged to Denmark and Alsace-Lorraine that belonged to France. Introduced universal suffrage in Germany with the aim of winning over the working class and playing them off against the liberal bourgeoisie. Author of the "Anti-Socialist" laws which were abolished in 1891 after his resignation. Was known as the "Iron Chancellor."—I 174.

BISSOLATI, L. (1857-1919)—One of the founders of the Italian Socialist Party and many times editor of its central organ, *Avanti*. In 1911 supported the war against Turkey, undertaken with the purpose of acquiring colonies in Africa (Tripoli), for which he was expelled from the party. Formed a separate reformist group. From the beginning of the imperialist war advocated Italy's joining it on the side of the Entente. After war was declared enlisted voluntarily and was wounded. In 1916-1918 was a member of the cabinet without a portfolio.—I 146; II 192.

BLANC, LOUIS (1811-1882)—French Utopian Socialist, publicist, and historian. In his book, *Organisation of Labour* (1840), he advanced the theory of the gradual introduction of Socialism by means of organising industrial and agricultural associations which, supported by the State, successfully compete with and drive out private enterprises. Proceeding from the idea of solidarity of interests within society, Blanc categorically rejected the class struggle and the method of revolutionary force. "If the bourgeoisie once becomes animated with noble aspirations, it will do everything to rejuvenate the country. . . . Let it merge with the people and take the initiative in passing from competition to association." During the 1848 Revolution, Blanc entered the Provisional Government as a workers' representative; futilely demanded the organisation of a Ministry of Labour. By way of concession, the Provisional Government organised a totally powerless commission under his chairmanship to study the situation of the workers (Luxembourg Commission), whose moderate suggestions, however, were rejected. In persuading the workers to wait and let their representatives act, Louis Blanc dreamt of creating a "social republic" which would accomplish class co-operation by doing away with class contradictions. In the words of Marx, this proved to be a "social enslavement of the workers by the Republic." In attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable, Blanc was a plaything in the hands of the bourgeoisie. After the suppression of the June uprising of the Paris workers he was compelled to emigrate. Returned to France after the fall of the second monarchy, and was elected to the National Assembly. In 1871, when the

Paris Commune was organised, he remained with the Versailles crew that crushed the Commune. Was more important as an historian than as a political leader.—I 42, 43, 46, 111-113, 123, 138, 251, 252; II 21, 22, 93, 191, 229, 255, 257, 258.

BORCHJERG, FREDERIK (born 1866)—Outstanding Danish Social-Democrat; opportunist. Came to Russia in 1917 with the proposal of calling an International Socialist Conference on termination of war and possible conditions of peace. Member of Stauning's Social-Democratic cabinet in 1924. Represented Denmark in the League of Nations.—I 288-291, 300, 314.

BOSH, EUCENIE (1879-1925)—Old member of Bolshevik Party. During the war was very active, together with Piatakov, in publishing the magazine, *Communist*, abroad. After her return to Russia in 1917, worked in the Ukraine; was a member of the first Ukrainian Soviet Government; later was active at civil-war fronts.—I 21.

BOURDERON, A. (born 1858)—Member of the French Socialist Party. Workingman. Secretary Coopers' Union. Participated in the Zimmerwald Conference.—I 149, 151.

BRANTING, HJALMAR (1860-1925)—Leader of the Swedish Socialist Party. One of the leaders of the Second International. Right Wing reformist, favouring Franco-British orientation during the war. Prime Minister of the Royal Swedish Government after the war and member of the Council of the League of Nations.—I 146.

BRESHKO-BRESHKOVSKAIA, E. K. (born 1847)—Called by the Socialists-Revolutionists "The Grandmother of the Revolution." Started revolutionary activities in 1873. Was tried in 1878 and convicted to five years of hard labour. Having returned from Siberia in 1896, was active in creating the Workers' Party for the Political Liberation of Russia, which in 1902 joined the newly organised Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Adhered to the policy of political terror; devoted her major energy to working among the peasants. Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. In 1907, arrested and banished to Siberia; she was liberated by the March Revolution. Joined the Right Wing of the party (*Volia Naroda*); favoured the war and the coalition government. After the November Revolution a vicious opponent of the Soviet power; while living abroad is conducting a veritable crusade of lies and calumny against the Soviet government.—II 285.

BRONSKI, M. G. (born 1882)—Old Polish Social-Democrat. Bolshevik. Represented Polish Social-Democracy at Kienthal Conference. Now member of Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finances in U.S.S.R.—I 92, 188.

BUCHANAN, GEORGE WILLIAM (1854-1924)—British ambassador to Russia, 1910-1918. Exercised great influence over Russian politics, actually dictating the will of British imperialists. The Octobrist and Cadet bourgeois besought him for aid and protection. In the March Days, 1917, Guchkov and Miliukov acted on an understanding with him. When Kornilov advanced against Petrograd in 1917, there were British armoured cars in his "Wild Division." Buchanan's demands were law for Kerensky, who upon his in-

sistence established severe punishment for abusing the Allied powers or their representatives in the press. Under this law the *Social-Democrat*, organ of the Moscow Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks), was dragged to court for disclosing Buchanan's assistance to Kornilov. The ill-fated military advance undertaken by Kerensky in 1917 was due to the pressure of Buchanan and other Allied ambassadors.—I 31.

BYKOVSKY—*Narodnik*. Active in co-operatives.—I 219.

C

CARLSON, C. N. (born 1865)—One of the pioneers of the Swedish labour movement. Internationalist during the war. Member of the Left Wing Socialist Party which in 1919-1922 was a section of the Communist International. Later returned to the Second International.—I 92, 149, 187.

CATILINA, LUCIUS SERGIUS (108-62 B.C.)—Led a movement in 63 B.C. aiming at introducing democratic agrarian reform. To fight the "conspiracy," the frightened patrician Senate clothed Cicero with unlimited authority. Catilina suffered defeat at consular elections, fled from Rome, and induced a number of legions to start an insurrection, but was defeated and fell in battle. Catilina's "conspiracy" was the last link in a long series of attempts at introducing agrarian reform, starting with the attempt of the Gracchus brothers.—II 240.

CAVAIGNAC, EUGÈNE LOUIS (1802-1857)—French general, Minister of War in Provisional Government of French Republic after Revolution of February, 1848; clothed with dictatorial powers, during the June days, he crushed the uprising of Paris workers. Member of the Constitutional Convention and President of Council of Ministers in 1849. Was Republican candidate for President of the Second Republic, but was defeated by Prince Louis-Napoleon (Napoleon III). Cavaignac has become synonymous with "butcher of the working class."—II 249, 255, 256, 258, 261.

CHEREVANIN, F. A.—Menshevik-Liquidator and defencist. Writer. Started Social-Democratic activities towards the end of the nineties. Contributed to all Menshevik publications in 1906-1907. Delegate to Stockholm and London Congresses of the party. In 1917, one of the editors of the Menshevik organ *Rabochiaia Gazeta* (*Worker's Gazette*). Member Menshevik united Central Committee after the August, 1917, congress of the Menshevik Party.—I 178, 180; II 143, 147, 302.

CHERNOMAZOV, M. S. (known as Miron; born 1882)—Was active in the Bolshevik Party and was night editor of the Bolshevik paper, the *Pravda*. Under suspicion of being a provocateur, he was removed from party activities in the fall of 1912; all party connections with him were severed. After the March Revolution it became evident from the Police Department archives that the suspicion against Chernomazov was well founded. The Cadet press wrote insinuatingly about his connections with the Bolsheviks in order to discredit them.—I 73-76.

CHERNOV, V. M. (born 1876)—Started political activities in the nineties; theoretician and leader of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party since its founda-

tion. During the war he occupied a vacillating position between internationalism and defencism; participated in the Zimmerwald Conference, but refrained from voting for its Manifesto. Rabid defencist after the March Revolution upon his return to Russia. As Minister of Agriculture in the first coalition cabinet of the Provisional Government, he fought against the peasants seizing the landowners' land. Resigned after the July events. In January, 1918, he was elected chairman of the Constituent Assembly which had a two-thirds majority of Right Socialists-Revolutionists and was dispersed by the Soviet Government. Was active in the uprising of the Czechoslovaks and Socialists-Revolutionists in the Volga region in 1918 and headed the Ufa congress of the members of the Constituent Assembly. Was arrested by Kolchak but soon released. Participated in the Paris congress of members of the Constituent Assembly in 1921. Attempted to aid the Kronstadt uprising in 1921 and went there for this purpose.—I 69, 167, 242, 248; II 33, 34, 45, 46, 48-51, 58, 61, 63, 65, 69, 80, 94, 133, 142, 146, 155, 157, 159, 160, 176, 180-182, 221, 222, 230, 231, 233, 248, 256, 257, 259, 271-273, 277, 278, 285, 286, 291-293, 295, 300, 302, 303, 306, 308.

CHKHEIDZE, N. S. (1864-1926)—Menshevik leader from the Caucasus. Participated in the Third and Fourth Imperial Dumas as leader of the Social-Democratic fraction. Maintained a confused, vacillating position in relation to the war. Chairman Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, from March to the end of Summer, 1917. Defencist. Favoured coalition with the bourgeoisie. After the November Revolution he retired from political activities, still aiding from abroad the Georgian Mensheviks. Ended life by suicide.—I 19-21, 26, 36-42, 45, 46, 67, 70, 71, 73, 79, 80, 83, 84, 96, 98, 102, 107, 109, 111, 113, 116, 117, 120, 123, 126, 127, 134, 136, 145, 147, 148, 154, 174, 186, 193, 202, 206, 209, 211, 214, 227, 228, 233, 234, 248, 249, 265, 274, 277, 286, 296; II 33, 34, 76.

CHKHENKELI, A. I. (born 1874)—Menshevik; lawyer; member Third Imperial Duma.—I 19, 21, 26.

D

DAN, F. J. (born 1871)—Leader of Mensheviks, physician and writer. Participated in many revolutionary organisations and revolutionary publications prior to 1905; was banished to Siberia. The 1905 Revolution made possible his return to Russia. Participated in party congresses in 1906 and 1907. Was repeatedly elected to Organisation Committee and Central Committee of Mensheviks. In the years of reaction supported the Liquidators; during a war a pacifist and moderate internationalist ("centrist"). After the March Revolution Dan was "revolutionary" defencist and conciliationist; after the November Revolution active opponent of the Communist Party and Soviet power in the name of bourgeois democracy. At present émigré, member Second International.—II 286, 302.

DAVID, EDUARD (born 1863)—German Social-Democrat, reformist, author *Socialism and Agriculture*, defender of petty-bourgeois peasant interests; revisionist. During the imperialist war extreme social-chauvinist. On the eve

of the November (1918) Revolution, entered ministry of Prince Maximilian of Baden, which aimed to save the Hohenzollern Empire by concessions. After the 1918 Revolution, Minister without portfolio in Scheidemann's cabinet. In 1919, elected chairman of the National Assembly.—I 30, 87, 148, 190.

DEUTSCH, L. G. (born 1855)—Joined the revolutionary movement in the seventies as Narodnik, holding Bakunin's views. Together with Stefanovich, attempted to arouse peasants in 1877; was arrested and escaped. In 1883 was one of the founders of the Liberation of Labour Group, together with Plekhanov, Zasulich, Axelrod. Emigrated abroad, but was extradited from Germany to Russia. Spent sixteen years at hard labour and in banishment; fled via America in 1901. In 1906 again arrested in Petersburg and banished to Siberia, from where he again fled abroad. During the war, held an extremely chauvinist and conciliationist position. In 1917 was a member of the *Yedinstvo* group headed by Plekhanov.—I 262; II 133.

DMITRIEV, RADKO (died 1918)—General, commanding the joint Bulgarian and Serbian army in the Balkan War, and victor over Turks in 1912. Commander of Bulgarian army in war against Serbia, Greece and Rumania, where he suffered complete débâcle. With the beginning of the World War, being an extreme enemy of Austria, entered Russian service and commanded one of the Russian armies against the Central Powers joined in by Bulgaria. "Hero of Three Wars" and favourite of Russian bourgeois press after beginning of war. Executed in Piatigorsk in 1918.—I 230.

DOBROSKOKOV, N. V.—Provocateur; was active among Mensheviks; after exposure became officer in the Petersburg military police, then Chief of Police of Petrozavodsk.—II 157.

DURNOVO, P. N. (1835–1923)—Governor-General of Moscow in 1905; member Imperial Council. After the March Revolution his suburban summer home in Petrograd was occupied by workers' organisations, which act aroused the ire of the bourgeois press as an act of "anarchy."—II 238.

DZHUNKOVSKY, V. F. (born 1855)—Governor-General of Moscow, then Assistant Minister for Internal Affairs in charge of police. Having learned that his predecessors had secured the services of the Duma member, Malinovsky, to spy upon his fellow-members, and considering secret service inadmissible among the Deputies, Dzhunkovsky secretly informed the Duma president, Rodzianko, of Malinovsky's rôle. Without informing either the Social-Democratic fraction or the Duma as a whole, Rodzianko demanded that Malinovsky quit the Duma, whereupon the provocateur resigned and left the country.—II 265.

DZIERZYNSKI, FELIX (1877–1926)—One of oldest members of Polish Social-Democracy, active since the early nineties. Many times arrested, imprisoned and sent to Siberia and to hard labour. After the April, 1917, Bolshevik Conference, was made member of the Central Committee, which he remained to his very death. Chairman of Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution (commonly known as Che-ka). People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, later People's Commissar for Communications, finally President Supreme Economic Council of the U.S.S.R.—I 314.

E

ENGELS, FRIEDRICH (1820-1895)—Closest friend and inseparable comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx, co-founder of scientific Socialism and dialectical materialism. (Cf. a sketch of Engels' life written by V. I. Lenin in 1895—*Collected Works*, Vol. I, and D. Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*.)—I 50, 110, 119, 124, 139, 154, 156, 204, 271, 282, 316, 328; II 17, 18, 92, 94, 152, 197.

G

GAPON, G. A. (died 1906)—Priest, leader of workers' organisation created by police authorities to divert workers from politics. Politically a complete nonentity, Gapon was raised on the crest of the mass movement to the position of organiser and leader of the January 22, 1905, workers' mass march to the Winter Palace, where it was met by volleys fired by soldiers killing several hundred and wounding many more. January 22 is considered the starting-point of the 1905 Revolution. After January 22 Gapon unfrocked himself and emigrated abroad, where he joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, only to quit it later and to return to Russia under another name. Was exposed as keeping relations with Count Witte and the Police Department and killed by workers, his former followers, with the aid of the Socialist-Revolutionist Ruthenberg.—I 241.

GEORGE, DAVID LLOYD (born 1863)—English statesman, lawyer by profession. Liberal M.P. since 1890; from 1908-1915 Chancellor of the Exchequer. Prior to the war advocated democratic and social reforms, like extension of suffrage, social insurance against old age, sickness, and unemployment; fought against the opposition of the House of Lords by limiting its veto right. During the war Minister of Munitions, Minister of War, and between 1916 and 1922 Premier and Chairman of the Military Council with dictatorial powers. His policies, both internally and abroad, were directed towards ruthlessly carrying out the dictates of British imperialism; in a bloc with the Conservatives he introduced universal military service, annihilated the achievements of the working class in their struggle against the employers, suppressed Ireland in 1916 with blood and iron. For three years, with the means of the British Treasury, supported the struggle of the Russian counter-revolution against the Soviet power. At present leader of the Liberal Party.—II 271, 272.

GOLDENBERG, I. P. (pseudonym of Meshkovsky; born 1873)—Leading Bolshevik during 1905 Revolution and member of the Central Committee; defencist and conciliatorist in 1917.—I 109, 110.

GORKI, MAXIM (pseudonym of A. M. Peshkov; born 1868)—Famous Russian writer, one of the most outstanding figures in modern Russian literature. Actively participated in public life, keeping in touch with the labour movement and the Social-Democratic Party. Being close to Bolsheviks, variously aided the party; kept close relations with V. I. Lenin, who considered Gorki's literary activities of great value for the working class. During the war Gorki remained internationalist, taking a leading part in the publication of the internationalist magazines, *Sovremennik* and *Lietopis*. In 1917 he participated in

the *Novaya Zhizn*, a conciliation paper advocating unity. The November Revolution, however, confused Gorki. Refusing to accept it as a whole, he at the same time was unable to offer active opposition to it and to the proletariat that had accomplished it. Returned to Russia in 1928, closer to the Revolution and the proletarian dictatorship than before.—I 56, 57.

GORTER, HERMANN (1894-1927)—Dutch poet and Left Wing Socialist, later Communist. In 1907 founded, together with Pannekoek, Henrietta Roland-Holst, Wynkoop, and others, a radical weekly *De Tribune*. Expelled from the official party in 1909, participated in founding the Left radical Dutch Social-Democratic Party. Belonged to the Zimmerwald Left during the war supporting Lenin's policies. Marxian theoretician and head of the "Dutch Marxian school" which was the Dutch Left opposition to the Communist International.—I 149.

COUJON—Large-scale Moscow capitalist and manufacturer. French citizen.—II 301, 303.

GREULICH, HERMANN (1842-1925)—Swiss Right Wing Social-Democrat, member of Gruetli Verein, a social-reformist organisation which up to 1915 existed as autonomous part of Swiss Social-Democratic Party.—I 151.

GRIMM, D. D. (born 1864)—Professor of Roman Law and Rector of Petersburg University; member of Imperial Council as representative of Academic Electoral College; Constitutional Democrat; later Assistant Minister of Education in Provisional Government.—I 36.

GRIMM, ROBERT (born 1881)—Secretary Swiss Social-Democratic Party during the war; internationalist of a pacifist brand; chairman Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conference; member Zimmerwald Secretariat; editor of the official organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, *Berner Tagwacht*. In 1917 came to Russia and was expelled by the Kerensky Government in consequence of intercepted telegraphic correspondence between Grimm and the Swiss Minister, Hoffman, who was probing into possible conditions of peace. One of the organisers of the Two-and-one-half International.—I 83, 147, 151, 315; II 192, 223.

GROMAN, W. G. (born 1874)—Menshevik. Statistician and economist. Writer. Active in co-operative movement. Member Petersburg Soviet in 1917. At present active in the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—II 145.

GUCHKOV, A. I. (born 1862)—Large Moscow real-estate owner and industrialist. Participated as volunteer in Boer War; participated in uprising of Macedonian rebel bands. In the Russo-Japanese War was attached to the Red Cross in the Far East. Founder of the Octobrist Party in 1905. Representative of reactionary circles of the big bourgeoisie. President of the Third Imperial Duma. During the war chairman Central War Industries Committee. Minister of War and Navy in the First Provisional Government. Annexationist and advocate of "war to victory"; favoured re-establishment of rigid discipline in the army. Resigned in May, 1917. Supported all counter-revolutionary movements of 1917-1921. Emigrated to Berlin.—I 19, 21, 28, 31, 32, 34-

38, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50-52, 55, 57-60, 62, 65-67, 70-73, 75-80, 83, 84, 97, 100, 113, 121, 123, 126, 134, 135-137, 155, 159, 162, 171, 181, 182, 199, 201, 208, 211, 225, 228, 230, 234, 235, 243, 246, 248, 250, 263, 273, 276, 278, 286; II 20, 21, 23, 29, 33, 53, 159, 176, 230, 248, 262, 272.

GUESDE, JULES (1845-1922)—Leader and theoretician of French orthodox Marxism. Prior to the war fought against revisionism (Millerand and Jaurès who supported Millerand) and the anarcho-syndicalists. With the declaration of the war shifted to an extremely defencist position, advocating the *union sacré*. Minister without portfolio in the bourgeois "defence of the fatherland" cabinets. One of the most influential leaders of the Second International.—I 72, 87, 103, 146; II 192.

GUILBEAUX, HENRI (born 1885)—French poet and writer, member of the French Socialist Party. During the war emigrated to Switzerland, where he edited an internationalist magazine, *Demain*. Belong to the Left Wing Zimmerwaldists. At present Communist. Wrote a book on Lenin.—I 92, 149, 187; II 81.

GVOZDEV, K. A.—Menshevik-Liquidator; worker. During the war defencist; chairman labour group Central War Industries Committee. Assistant Minister of Labour in one of the coalition cabinets of the Provisional Government. At present works in the People's Commissariat for Communications.—I 21, 26, 30, 35, 39.

H

HAASE, HUGO (1863-1919)—One of the leaders of German Social-Democracy, close to its centre group; friend and supporter of Bebel. During the war occupied, together with Ledebour and Kautsky, a vacillating position, voting in the Reichstag against military appropriations (at first voting, August 4, 1914, voted for appropriations), but failed to draw the necessary conclusions from this act. In 1916 left the official party and joined the Independent Social-Democratic Party, which he founded together with Ledebour. After the November (1918) Revolution, he was a member of the cabinet composed of Independents and Scheidemannists. Was treacherously killed by a German officer in 1919.—I 82, 87, 147, 148, 289.

HANECKI, J. S. (born 1879)—One of the oldest members of Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania. Chairman Polish Social-Democracy at the second, fourth, and fifth congresses of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Participated in the Basel International Congress, 1912. After the March Revolution, lived in Stockholm, keeping up communications between the Bolsheviks in Russia and the revolutionary Social-Democrats abroad. At present active in the People's Commissariat for Trade. One of his underground pseudonyms is Kuba.—I 69, 72, 149.

HARTSTEIN. See *Levi, Paul*.

HEILMANN, ERNST (born 1881)—German Social-Democrat, Right Winger, editor of the social-patriotic paper, *Volksstimme*. Held the same views as Parvus, and contributed to his chauvinist magazine, *Die Glocke*.—I 151.

HENDERSON, ARTHUR (born 1863)—English trade unionist; one of the leaders of the British Labour Party, M.P., active in the Second International. During the war, member of the coalition (Liberal-Conservative) cabinet of Lloyd George. In 1917, however, was forced to quit, after expressing himself in favour of convoking in Stockholm a Socialist conference of the Second International with a view of preparing the beginning of peace negotiations, which idea enraged the British bourgeoisie. Home Secretary in Macdonald's Labour Cabinet in 1924.—II 178, 181-183, 192.

HERZEN, A. I. (1812-1870)—Famous Russian publicist, father of Russian Narodnik theory and liberalism. In the forties, he was a Left Wing Hegelian and fought at the head of the Russian "Westerners" (those advocating the acquisition of Western European culture and institutions) against the Slavophiles (those advocating national seclusion and autocracy as a peculiar national characteristic). Having emigrated abroad, published in London and Geneva the magazines, *Poliarnaiia Zvezda* (*The Polar Star*) and *Kolokol* (*The Bell*), in which he fought against tsarism and demanded the liberation of the peasants.—II 184.

HILLQUIT, MORRIS (born 1870)—Wealthy corporation lawyer, leader and theoretician of the American Socialist Party. Came to the United States from Riga in 1886. Member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for many years. Represented his party at various international Socialist congresses of the Second International; author of a number of books popularising Socialism. During the war he occupied a centrist position and in 1920 he was even in favour of the American Socialist Party joining the Communist International "with reservations." Later he moved more to the Right, becoming an open enemy of Communism and Soviet Russia. At present he is an advocate of the League of Nations, class collaboration and fusion with bourgeois political groups. Fathered the proposal of the Socialist Party abandoning the class struggle provision in the platform and basing the party organisation on loosely formed clubs of Socialist voters, which was carried into effect at the 1928 convention of the party. Was instrumental in the attack of the official trade union leaders against the Left Wing, particularly of the needle workers' unions.—I 147.

HOBSON, JOHN ATKINSON (born 1858)—Outstanding English economist, author of a series of books dealing with modern capitalism; first of the modern bourgeois economists to point out the transition of capitalism into a new phase, imperialism. Professor of Oxford University.—I 320.

HÖGLUND, ZETH (born 1884)—Leader of Swedish Left Socialist Party. During the war joined the Zimmerwald Left. Parliamentary Deputy. Since 1922 Communist and editor of the Communist paper, *Stormklockan*. Expelled from Communist Party for opportunism in 1924. At present a member of the Second International and editor of the collected works of the revisionist Branting.—I 149.

HUYSMANS, CAMILLE (born 1871)—Belgian Socialist, Secretary International Socialist Bureau of the Second International prior to the war.

Professor of philosophy. Was a member of one of the bourgeois Belgian cabinets.—I 151, 315; II 175.

HYNDMAN, HENRY MAYERS (1842-1922)—Organiser and leader of British Socialist Party, which had little influence over the British labour movement. Swerved to social-chauvinism with the beginning of the war, for which he was expelled from the party.—I 146.

J

JORDANIA, NOE (pseudonym of Kostrov; born 1869)—Georgian Social-Democrat; many times arrested. One of the founders of Georgian Social-Democracy and influential among the Russian Mensheviks. Member of the first Imperial Duma and leader of the Duma fraction. Head of the Menshevik Government of Georgia after the November Revolution. At present plotting abroad against the U.S.S.R.—I 303.

K

KALININ, M. I. (born 1875)—Tver Province peasant, later Petersburg worker; joined the Socialist Party in 1898. First arrested for belonging to the Petersburg Union of Struggle. Active in party work in Petersburg, Reval and Moscow. Participated in the Stockholm Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (1906). In the years of reaction following 1907, continued party activity and was repeatedly arrested and banished to Siberia. Was freed from prison by the March Revolution. Member of the Bolshevik committee in Petrograd (1917). In 1919 elected Chairman All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets. Since 1924 chairman Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. Member Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Political Bureau.—I 205, 214.

KAMENEV, L. B. (born 1883)—Social-Democrat since 1901; joined Bolsheviks in 1903; worked in Moscow, Tiflis, and Petersburg; participated in third and fifth party congresses. After 1908 worked abroad in Bolshevik organs. Early in 1914 was sent by the Central Committee to Russia to direct activities of Social-Democratic Duma fraction and the editorial staff of the *Pravda*. Arrested and banished to Siberia together with five Bolshevik Duma Deputies. Was freed by the March Revolution. At the All-Russian April Conference of the Bolsheviks, where he opposed Lenin's theses, was elected a member of the Central Committee. Arrested by Kerensky Government after the July events. In the fall of 1917, opposed uprising, fighting against Lenin for the idea of a "democratic" development of the Russian Revolution. After the victory of the November Revolution was in favour of a coalition government composed of all Socialist parties, including Bolsheviks; disagreeing with the majority he resigned from the Central Committee. At the second Soviet Congress Kamenev was elected chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, but within a few days was replaced by J. N. Sverdlov. From 1918 to 1926, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet. Later Acting Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of the Council of Labour and Defence. In 1923-24 fought energetically against

the Trotsky Opposition, joining, however, in 1925 the "New Opposition"; in 1926 formed a bloc with Trotsky and became one of the leaders of the Trotsky Opposition. Was expelled from the party in 1927, but later disavowed his errors and was readmitted.—I 72, 73, 75, 125, 127, 128, 209, 285-287, 290.

KAMKOV, B. D.—Member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party; internationalist. After the return to Russia in 1917 opposed the official S.R. Party. After the November Revolution, he was leader of the Left Wing Socialists-Revolutionists which split away from the official party and joined the Council of People's Commissars. In July, 1918, being a member of the Central Committee of his party, he was instrumental in organising the assassination of the German ambassador, Count Mirbach, and the insurrection of the Left Wing Socialists-Revolutionists in Moscow. After the failure of the attempt to provoke war with Germany, Kamkov kept in hiding, but was soon arrested.—II 177.

KARL HAPSBURG (1887-1922)—Austrian Emperor and King of Hungary, 1916-1918 (under the name of Karl IV). Dethroned by the November Revolution. Died in exile.—I 262.

KAUTSKY, KARL (born 1854)—Theoretician of German Social-Democracy and of the Second International, economist and historian. In 1880, living in Zürich, contributed to the Socialist press together with Eduard Bernstein, at that time still a Marxist. Having started scientific work under the direct supervision of Engels and having taken over the literary inheritance and the unfinished works of Marx and Engels, Kautsky continued their theoretical work. Editor since 1887 of the theoretical Marxian magazine, *Neue Zeit*. When Bernstein attempted to revise Marx, Kautsky unreservedly criticised his revisionism. With the beginning of the war, Kautsky took a centrist position, making every effort theoretically to combine internationalism with defensism. After the November Revolution he wrote a number of books criticising the Soviet system and defending bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism. After the war was very active in attempting to unite the Independent Socialist Party and the Social-Democratic Party. Once the celebrated revolutionary theoretician of international fame, a man considered the greatest Marxian since Marx and Engels, he sank to open counter-revolution following the war.—I 20, 50, 63, 71, 82, 87, 99, 102, 109, 111, 116, 140, 141, 147, 148, 151, 154, 176, 204, 289, 315, 317, 320.

KERENSKY, A. F. (born 1881)—First became known as defence counsel in political trials. As a Socialist-Revolutionist, joined the Trudovik fraction when he became a member of the Fourth Imperial Duma. Social-patriot from the very beginning of the war. After the March Revolution, being Assistant Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, accepted the post of Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government, despite the decision of Soviet to the contrary. After Guchkov's resignation, became Minister of War and Navy. At the insistence of the Entente Powers, led the Russian army which was tired of war and unwilling to fight, into the June offensive, which turned into a débâcle. Having suppressed the July movement of the Petrograd

workers by military force, became Premier in a number of coalition cabinets that followed one another with kaleidoscopic change. After Kornilov's abortive march on Petrograd in August, Kerensky became Commander-in-Chief, but without real power. Conducted a conciliationist policy, sinking from reformism to counter-revolutionism and Bonapartism. After the November Revolution had swept away the last coalition government, Kerensky fled from Petrograd after being defeated in an attempt to lead the army against the revolution. Emigrated abroad, where he sank into total insignificance.—I 19, 21, 23, 26, 36-42, 46, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69-71, 79, 84, 131, 134, 145, 180, 182, 188, 205, 210, 243, 276; II 69, 146, 155, 159, 181, 182, 184-186, 196, 230, 257, 273, 285, 286, 304, 305.

KOKOVTSSEV, V. N., COUNT (1853-1928)—Finance Minister in Stolypin's Cabinet and Premier after Stolypin. Later devoted himself to banking. During the civil war was active in counter-revolution of the South. Monarchist. Died in Paris.—I 181.

KOLLONTAL, A. M. (born 1872)—First worked with the Mensheviks; was active in the women's movement. Took an internationalist position from the very beginning of the war. Went to America, where she conducted internationalist propaganda. Upon her return to Russia after the events of July, 1917, was arrested by the Kerensky Government together with other Bolsheviks whom she had joined abroad. In 1921, during the discussion on the rôle of the trade unions, she belonged to the so-called Workers' Opposition. At present Soviet representative in Norway.—I 19.

KON, F. J. (born 1864)—Communist. First belonged to the Polish Proletarian Party; sentenced by court-martial to many years of hard labour in Siberia. Returned to Poland in 1904, where he joined the opposition to the Polish Socialist Party, and fought Pilsudski and his faction. Was a member of the Zimmerwald Conference. Joined the Communist Party of Poland after its formation. During the Polish war against Russia in 1920, Kon was a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee of Poland. In 1922-23 was one of secretaries of the Communist International.—I 222.

KONOVALOV, A. I. (born 1875)—One of the largest textile manufacturers of Russia; member of the Fourth Imperial Duma; outstanding member of the progressive bloc. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kerensky's cabinet. Arrested on November 7 in the Winter Palace during the revolutionary uprising, but soon released. Lives abroad; made efforts to unite the former manufacturers.—I 19, 181, 234; II 48, 80, 186, 230, 300.

KOSSOVSKY (M. J. Levinson; born 1867)—One of the oldest participants of the Jewish Social-Democratic movement; founder and member of the Central Committee of the Bund. Menshevik.—I 91.

KOSTROV.—See *Jordania*.

KOVALEVSKY, M. M. (1851-1916)—Outstanding Russian political scientist, professor, member Imperial Council. Deprived of professorship 1887, because of liberal views; lived abroad since then. Early in the twentieth century founded the Higher Russian School in Paris. Returned to Russia in 1905.

During the first Russian Revolution organised the Democratic Reforms Party, more moderate than the Cadet Party. Member First Imperial Duma.—I 183, 187.

KRUPSKAIA, N. K. (born 1869)—Lenin's wife. One of the oldest Bolsheviks. Became imbued with revolutionary sentiments in childhood under the influence of her family. In the early nineties joined the Marxists; worked in the Petersburg Union of Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class; was arrested in 1896 after the great textile strike and banished to Siberia, where she married Lenin; was his closest collaborator and assistant up to his last days. Emigrated abroad with him, where she continued party activities energetically. Secretary of *Iskra*. In 1905-1907, Secretary Central Committee, Bolshevik Party. Since the November Revolution unremittingly active in the field of education.—I 325.

KRUSSEK.—Lieutenant, arrested by the Provisional Government for anti-war propaganda at the front.—II 148, 149.

KRUTOVSKY.—Commissar of the Provisional Government in Yeniseisk Province, Siberia.—II 16.

KRYLENKO, N. V. (born 1885)—In 1905-1908 leader of revolutionary student movement; simultaneously active in the Petersburg Bolshevik organisation. The March Revolution found him at the front as lieutenant. Participated in the First Congress of Soviets, June, 1917; arrested at front for Bolshevik propaganda. In November, 1917, when Commander-in-Chief Dukhonin refused to follow the order about starting peace negotiations, Krylenko was appointed Chief Commander. Effected liquidation of White Guard activities at the front and election of new commanders. At present acting People's Commissar of Justice and Senior Assistant Attorney General for the R.S.F.S.R.—II 188.

KSHESINSKAYA, M. F. (born 1872)—Well-known ballet dancer in Petrograd opera.—Former mistress of Nicholas II and Grand Dukes. Now living abroad.—I 178, 186.

KUBA.—See *Hanecki*.

KUKOVETSKY.—Member Executive Committee First Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.—II 145.

KUTLER, N. N. (1859-1924)—Liberal bureaucrat, Assistant Minister of the Interior in 1904, then Assistant Minister of Finance and later Minister of Agriculture in Witte's cabinet. Presented a liberal plan for land reform, whereby part of the land was to be forcibly taken from the landowners with due compensation and turned over to peasantry; for this plan he was compelled to resign, after which he joined the Cadet Party and was elected as its representative to the Second and Third Imperial Duma. Being closely connected with banking and industrial circles, Kutler in 1917 participated in various parity commissions organised by the Ministry of Commerce as a representative of the interests of the Southern Russian industrialists. Member of the Board of the State Bank in 1922-24 where he was employed as a specialist.—II 78, 167, 287.

L

LARIN, J. (M. A. Lurie; born 1883)—Writer and publicist; old party functionary; originally Menshevik and Liquidator, author of the most Right Wing plan of convening a "general labour congress" to take the place of the party (1907). During the war followed the section of the Mensheviks headed by Martov. After the March Revolution took the most Left position among the Mensheviks-Internationalists. In July, 1917, joined the Bolshevik Party. Works in economic organisations.—I 215.

LAW, BONAR (1858-1923)—Conservative British statesman. State Secretary for the Colonies, 1915; Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, 1916-19; Premier, 1922.—I 20.

LAZZARI, CONSTANTINO (died 1927)—Member of the Italian Socialist Party and its Secretary; participated in the Zimmerwald Conference; signed its Manifesto; centrist; belonged to the same orientation as Serrati; sympathised with the Communist movement, but never mustered up enough courage to break with the Socialist Party. Suffered from brutal Fascist persecution in the last years of his life.—I 149.

LEDEBOUR, GEORG (born 1850)—Old Marxist, collaborator of Bebel and Haase; during the war took an internationalist position; signed the Zimmerwald Manifesto; notwithstanding revolutionary temperament, opposed the Zimmerwald Left. Belonged to the Independent Socialist Party of Germany; when the latter split in Halle in 1920, he refused to join the Communist International. When the Independent Socialist Party decided to join the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, however, he quit the former. Since then has been the leader of the Socialist Alliance, which in most questions of political action collaborates with the Communist Party of Germany.—I 147, 148, 289.

LEGIEN, KARL (1861-1920)—President General Commission German Trade Unions since 1890. Acknowledged leader of reformist trade unionism. With persistence and skill Legien utilised the upward trend of economic development of imperialism favourable to the union bureaucracy, in order to secure commanding positions for union leaders within the German labour movement. Since 1906 greatly influenced Central Committee of Social-Democratic Party; after Bebel's death became, together with Ebert, actual leader of the party, though not belonging to the Central Committee. With the outbreak of the World War secured full support of the Social-Democracy for the government. Participated actively in maintaining social truce and suppressing strikes during the war. In 1918 created, together with Stinnes, a Central Labour Association consisting of employers and trade-unionists. One of the outstanding social-chauvinists and counter-revolutionists, using all the power of trade union bureaucracy to save capitalism in Germany.—I 87, 148. •

LEVI, PAUL (pseudonym of Paul Hartstein; born 1883)—Lawyer; member of the Spartacus League; later member Central Committee Communist Party of Germany; member presidium Second Congress of Communist International. In 1920-21 supported the Italian Serrati, who disobeyed the Comintern's

demand to break with the reformists; together with Serrati attempted to organise Right Wing within Comintern. At the same time publicly criticised the tactics of the Communist Party of Germany during the uprising of 1921 in an uncommunist manner. Expelled from Comintern, he returned to the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International, where he conducts an anti-Bolshevik policy adorned with "revolutionary" phrases.—I 92, 152, 188.

LIBER (M. I. Goldmann; born 1880)—Leader of the Bund and member of its Central Committee. Exiled several times; escaped from exile for the last time in 1910. Represented the Central Committee of the Bund at general Russian conferences; member Central Committee of party after London Congress (1907); Menshevik-Liquidator; defencist during war; favoured coalition with bourgeoisie during Revolution. Influential member of First Central Executive Committee of Soviets.—II 244.

LIEBKNECHT, KARL (1871-1919)—Son of Wilhelm Liebknecht. Belonged to Left Wing of German Social-Democracy from beginning of his career; devoted much time to work among the youth. On August 4, 1914, as member of Reichstag, refused to vote military appropriations, while the entire Social-Democratic fraction, numbering 110 Deputies, voted for them. Carried his struggle for the International into the street, appealing to the workers to demonstrate against war and to fight for the Socialist revolution. One of the founders of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Spartacus League. At the May First demonstration of 1916 in Berlin Liebknecht, then drafted into the army, was arrested and sentenced to two-and-one-half years of hard labour, from which he was released by the November (1918) Revolution. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia, Liebknecht, then in prison, was one of the first to appeal to the workers to organise Soviets after the Russian example; in November, 1918, he actually organised Soviets. Was at the head of the uprising of the Berlin workers in January, 1919; when the movement was suppressed, Liebknecht, a member of the Revolutionary Committee, together with Rosa Luxemburg, was arrested by Scheidemann's government and treacherously assassinated by German officers. Liebknecht's name during the war became a synonym of Socialist revolution and a battle-cry for the Communist International, for which he helped lay the ideological foundation.—I 20, 87, 98, 102, 103, 148, 153, 166, 184, 188-191, 280, 282, 283; II 81, 192, 202, 248.

LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM (1826-1900)—One of the founders of German Social-Democracy. Participated in the Revolution of 1848 and was compelled to emigrate to London, where he came close to Marx and Engels. After the amnesty of 1860 he returned to Germany, where he fought first the influence of Lassalle, then of Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor and follower. At the elections of 1867, first held on the basis of universal suffrage, he was elected to Parliament. During the Franco-Prussian War, he, together with Bebel, abstained from voting military appropriations; after the overthrow of Napoleon III he voted against military appropriations. In 1872 he was accused of high treason and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Having served his sentence, he continued activities both in Parliament and among the

masses of workers; under the impediments of the anti-Socialist Law, he fought for the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy against every attempt to deviate from them (by Vollmar, Bernstein, etc.).—II 172.

LINDHAGEN, CARL (born 1860)—Originally a Swedish Liberal; later Socialist and Mayor of the City of Stockholm. During the war an Internationalist and a member of the Left Wing Socialist Party, which joined the Comintern in 1919. In 1922 left the Comintern to go back to the Second International.—I 92, 149, 187.

LIUDMILA (party name for L. N. Stahl; born 1872)—Old member of Bolshevik party; repeatedly arrested and exiled to Siberia. The March Revolution found her abroad as political émigré.—I 20, 21.

LONGUET, JEAN (born 1876)—French Socialist, grandson of Karl Marx. Was "pacifist" during the war, though continually voted for military appropriations. Was leader of minority opposition within the party. When at the Congress of Strassburg in 1918, the minority became a majority, Longuet became leader of the party and editor-in-chief of *L'Humanité*. After the Tours Congress of 1920, at which the Communists gained the upper hand, Longuet with his adherents quit the party. He joined the Two-and-one-half International, and, together with it, went back into the Second International in 1922.—I 82, 102, 109, 111, 147, 315.

LORIOT, FERNAND—Teacher by profession; during the war revolutionary Socialist and adherent of the Zimmerwald Left. One of the founders of the French Communist Party, where he fought against the Right Wing (Frossard and others). Later he turned to the Right, and in 1927 quit the Communist Party of France.—I 92, 149, 187; II 81.

LUNACHARSKY, A. V. (party name Voinov; born 1875)—Active in the revolutionary movement since school days. Beginning with 1904, did editorial work in Bolshevik central organs. In 1905 was close collaborator in editing open Bolshevik organ, the *Novaya Zhizn*. Participated in various party congresses, also in international Socialist Congress in Stuttgart (1907). In the years of reaction he, together with Bogdanov and others, formed the centre of a group disagreeing with the Bolsheviks both in relation to Duma activities and in philosophical problems. (See V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Collected Works*, Vol. XIII.) During the war belonged to the internationalists. After the March Revolution Lunacharsky returned to Petrograd, where he joined the Bolshevik Party. People's Commissar of Education of the R.S.F.S.R. since the November Revolution. Writer and playwright.—I 222.

LUXEMBURG, ROSA (1871–1919)—Participated in German, Polish and Russian labour movements. Author of many works on economics and other problems. In 1893 participated in founding the Social-Democracy of Poland and wrote a number of works giving a theoretical foundation to the Polish Social-Democratic movement. Since 1897 she participated actively in the German Social-Democratic movement, where she occupied a Left position and fought against Bernsteinism and its French counterpart Millerandism. Participated at the London Congress of the R.S.-D.L.P. in 1907, where she

worked jointly with the Bolsheviks. From the very beginning of the World War she occupied an internationalist position, publishing, together with Mehring and Zetkin, one copy of the magazine, *International*. Together with Karl Liebknecht formed the Spartacus League and wrote (in prison), under the pseudonym Junius, a pamphlet entitled *The Crisis of Social-Democracy*, where she pointed out the collapse of the Second International and the necessity of forming the Third International. After the November (1918) Revolution in Germany, she conducted a widespread Communist propaganda, but was soon assassinated, together with Karl Liebknecht, by German officers. Lenin, who always valued Luxemburg highly, wrote a number of articles directed against some of her errors, particularly those related to the national question.—I 110, 149, 312.

LVOV, G. J., PRINCE (1861-1925)—An outstanding public figure and Zemstvo leader. Member of Imperial Duma, President Zemstvo Union during the war. Prime Minister in the Provisional Government from March to July, 1917. Large landowner.—I 35, 37, 43, 58, 62, 65-67, 72, 84, 94, 97, 106, 113, 121, 123, 132, 133, 141, 177, 210, 225, 228, 248, 260, 261, 276; II 16, 22, 34, 61, 65, 142, 176, 184, 229, 231, 261, 292, 305.

M

MACDONALD, JAMES RAMSAY (born 1866)—Leader of Independent Labour Party and of the Labour Party of England, M.P. and advocate of class collaboration and gradual transition to Socialism (the so-called "constructive Socialism"). Pacifist during the war. Participated in 1921 in the Vienna Conference of the Two-and-one-half International. At present one of the leaders of the Second International, where he occupies an extreme Right position. In 1924 head of the Labour Cabinet, which pursued a moderate liberal policy.—I 82, 102, 109, 147; II 202.

MACLEAN, JOHN (1879-1923)—English Socialist; school teacher in Scotland, where he exercised a great influence over the labour movement, leading its Left Wing. During the war was imprisoned for internationalist propaganda. Belonged to the Comintern in the first years of its existence.—I 149, 190; II 202.

MAKLAKOV, V. A. (born 1869)—Well-known Moscow attorney; member of the Second, Third and Fourth Imperial Dumas; member of the Cadet Party, where he belonged to the Right Wing. Kerensky's ambassador in Paris in 1917.—II 50, 51, 200, 207, 230.

MALINOVSKY, R. V. (1878-1918)—Member of Fourth Imperial Duma, elected by the workers of Moscow Province; at the same time employed in the secret service of the Police Department. Due to oratorical talent, became a figure among the Deputies. In the summer of 1913, fearing exposure, was compelled to resign from the Duma and go abroad. In 1918 he returned to Petrograd, gave himself up voluntarily; was shot by decree of the Supreme Tribunal.—I 74; II 155-157, 264, 265, 307.

MANDELBERG, V. J. (born 1870)—Member of Second Imperial Duma from

Siberia, where he was in exile during elections. Menshevik. Physician.—I 222.

MANULOV, A. A. (born 1861)—Professor of Political Economy and Rector of Moscow University, also one of the editors of the *Russkie Viedomosti*. In 1910 forced to resign for not fighting the student movement with sufficient energy. Member Imperial Council, elected by the academic Electoral College. Minister of Education in Provisional Government. Prepared reform of Russian orthography, which was put into effect by the Soviet Government in 1918. Member Central Committee Constitutional-Democratic Party. In 1924 appointed member of the Board of the State Bank.—I 65, 146; II 262.

MARKOV, N. J. (born 1866)—Member of reactionary Union of Russian People; member of Third and Fourth Imperial Dumas and leader of the extreme Right. Large landowner in Kursk Province.—II 122, 123.

MARTOV, L. (1873-1923)—Leader of Mensheviks. Participated in Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. Contributed to *Iskra*. At Second Congress of R.S.-D.L.P. in 1903 headed the minority. During the war he was a Menshevik-Internationalist. Participated in the Zimmerwald Conference (Centre) and edited the pacifist *Nashe Slovo (Our Word)*, which appeared in Paris. After the March Revolution he, together with a group of like-minded Mensheviks, returned to Russia through Germany. During the first period of the revolution, he occupied an internationalist position, disagreeing with the majority of his party, which adhered to a social-defencist policy. At the Second Soviet Congress he advocated the formation of a government consisting of representatives of all Socialist parties; when the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionists left the Congress, he stayed. Soon, however, he succumbed to the Menshevik influence, and later passed into the camp of the enemies of the Soviet Government. In 1920 he emigrated to Berlin, where he edited the *Sozialistichesky Vestnik (Socialist Messenger)*, central organ of the Mensheviks.—I 69, 83, 91, 147, 153, 184, 187, 222, 242, 265; II 89, 177, 285.

MARX, KARL (1818-1883)—One of the foremost thinkers of the 19th century; founder of scientific Socialism and dialectical materialism. "Marx continued and completed, genius-fashion, the three main spiritual tendencies of the nineteenth century represented by the three foremost countries of humanity: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism" (Lenin). Cf. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII; also D. Riazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, and *Marx: Man, Thinker and Revolutionist*, a collection of essays edited by Riazanov.—I 50, 54, 80, 101, 110, 119, 124, 140, 154, 156, 204, 230, 231, 237, 271, 281, 287, 300, 309; II 92, 94, 197.

MASLOV, P. P. (born 1867)—Well-known Menshevik economist, specialist in agrarian questions. At the Stockholm Congress of the R.S.-D.L.P. in 1906, he advanced an opportunist agrarian programme ("municipalisation" of the land), which was adopted with Plekhanov's amendment as against Lenin's programme of "nationalisation." In 1907 he worked in the Social-Democratic fraction of the Second Duma as an "expert." During the years of reaction he was in the extreme Right Wing of the Liquidators. During the war he

occupied an imperialist position, adducing queer Marxist arguments to prove the necessity for the Russian proletariat of complete victory over Germany. His book, *The Agrarian Question*, clearly reveals a revisionist tendency. At present professor in the Moscow University.—I 303.

MASLOV, S. L.—Right Wing Socialist-Revolutionist; writer; active in the co-operative movement. Minister of Agriculture under Kerensky. Social-patriot and advocate of coalition with the bourgeoisie.—II 103-106.

MERRHEIM, ARTHUR—Leader of the French trade union movement; Secretary Metal Workers' Union. Right Wing Zimmerwaldist. Since 1917 an enemy of the Russian Revolution and Communism.—I 149, 151.

MICHAEL ALEXANDROVICH, GRAND DUKE (1878-1918)—Brother of Nicholas II, who in March, 1917, abdicated in his favour; Michael, however, refrained from declaring himself Emperor, and stated that he would receive the crown only from the Constituent Assembly. Was shot in 1918.—I 64, 66, 67.

MIKHELSON—Large coal operator of South Russia.—II 97.

MILIUKOV, P. N. (born 1859)—Leader of Constitutional-Democratic Party and of Russian liberalism in general; assistant professor of Moscow University. In the epoch of the First Duma he was singled out by the Cadets to be Prime Minister of a proposed cabinet responsible to the Duma. During the war he was the ideologist of the Russian imperialists, advocating the annexation of the Dardanelles, Galicia, East Prussia, and Armenia, and fighting internationalism severely. During the March Revolution he defended a Romanov monarchy with Michael as Tsar. His speech at the Cossack Congress during the first period of the Revolution, his speeches against Zimmerwald and Kienthal, and his newspaper articles are full of hatred for the revolution. As Foreign Minister in the First Provisional Government, on May 1, 1917, he sent a note to the Allied Powers confirming the adherence of the Provisional Government to the treaties concluded between Nicholas II and his allies, which note called forth a protest on the part of the workers (the May Crisis) that forced Miliukov to resign. Was ideological initiator of the Kornilov movement of August, 1917. After the November Revolution he inspired counter-revolutionary activities against Soviet Russia. Is in favour of overthrowing the Soviet power with the aid of foreign bayonets. When the Germans occupied the Ukraine, he rapidly changed his orientation from the Entente to the Germans, and appealed to the Kaiser for aid; the German Revolution, however, frustrated his plans. After the Soviet armies became victorious in the civil war, he made his residence in Paris. He is editor of a Left Wing Cadet paper, *Poslednie Novosti* (*The Latest News*), and heads the "Democratic Group" of the Cadet Party.—I 19, 20, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34-39, 46, 47, 50-52, 55, 57-60, 62, 63, 65-67, 69-73, 75-80, 83, 84, 92, 104, 113, 126, 136, 137, 152, 153, 162, 172-175, 179, 180, 182-184, 187, 188, 199, 200, 210, 225, 226, 228, 254, 235, 237, 240, 243, 246, 248, 249, 256, 263, 276, 278, 286, 287, 294, 314; II 20, 21, 24, 29, 33, 49, 64-66, 69, 70, 82, 149, 176, 177, 200, 204, 207, 210, 230, 231, 236, 243, 248, 261, 262, 272.

MIRON—See *Chernomazov, M. J.*

MODIGLIANI, EMANUELE—One of the oldest members of the Italian Socialist Party; social-reformist.—I 147.

MSTISLAVSKY, S. D.—Socialist-Revolutionist, to the Left of the Chernov "centre", contributed to the *Dielo Naroda (The People's Cause)*; later Left Socialist-Revolutionist.—II 146.

MUELLER, GUSTAV (1860-1921)—Swiss Right Wing Social-Democrat. Member of the National and Berne City Council. Artillery Colonel in the Swiss army during the war.—I 151.

MÜNZENBERG, WILLI (born 1889)—One of the founders of the Communist youth movement in Germany; worker in a shoe factory. In 1914-1921 Secretary International Socialist Youth League; later Secretary International Communist Youth League. Since 1924 Reichstag Deputy. Head of the International Workers' Aid.—I 151.

MURANOV, M. K. (born 1873)—Bolshevik. Member Fourth Imperial Duma, elected by the workers of Kharkov Province. In 1914 arrested, together with the Bolshevik Duma fraction, and exiled to Siberia. After March Revolution returned to Petrograd. At present member of Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and member of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R.—I 70, 72, 74.

MUZHNIK VREDNY—See *Biedny, Demian*.

N

NAPOLEON I, BONAPARTE (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-1814).—I 313; II 69, 71.

NATANSON, H. A. (Bobrov; 1850-1919)—One of the founders of the Land and Freedom Party in 1872. Repeatedly exiled to Siberia for revolutionary activities. Member of Party of Socialists-Revolutionists and of its Central Committee since its formation in the nineties. During the war occupied an internationalist position, participating, together with Chernov, at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. In August and September, 1917, he broke with Chernov, and headed the Left Socialists-Revolutionists, who then followed the Bolsheviks. After the November Revolution he represented the Left Socialists-Revolutionists in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. Later he joined the Group of Revolutionary Communists, which subsequently fused with the Communists. Natanson, being a Narodnik, unconditionally joined the proletarian revolution and the Soviet power, thus representing the best traditions of the revolutionary intelligentsia, which started a struggle against absolutism and for Socialism in the seventies, and which remained faithful to this task to the very end.—I 69, 91, 222, 242.

NEKRASOV, N. V. (born 1879)—Minister of Communications in Prince Lvov's cabinet and in the coalition cabinets under Kerensky; Left Constitutional-Democrat; in the summer of 1917 made an unsuccessful attempt to organise a radical democratic party somewhat to the Left of the discredited Cadets. As Minister of Communications he accentuated the conflict with the railroad workers by refusing to satisfy their just demand for an increase in wages.

At present he works in the central organisation of the co-operatives.—I 171, 172; II 261.

NEPENIN—Russian Admiral commanding the Baltic Fleet during the World War; became notorious for his cruel treatment of the marines. Killed by the marines in Helsingfors, March 17, 1917.—I 50, 80.

NERMAN, TURE (born 1886)—Left Swedish Socialist; adhered to the Zimmerwald Left during the World War; founder of Swedish Communist Party, and editor of the Communist *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*. Gifted proletarian poet.—I 92, 149, 187.

NICHOLAS I (1796-1855)—Russian Emperor 1825-1855.—I 135.

NICHOLAS NIKOLAIEVICH, GRAND DUKE (1856-1929)—Uncle of Nicholas II; Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army from July, 1914, to August, 1915. Lived abroad as pretender to Russian throne.—I 67.

NICHOLAS II (1868-1918)—Russian Emperor 1894-1917, called "Nicholas the Bloody." Executed together with his family in Ekaterinburg in 1918.—I 23-25, 28, 31, 37, 42, 50, 55-58, 60, 65, 77, 84, 119, 130, 135, 159, 174, 175, 177, 190, 205, 210-212, 225, 246, 262, 276, 277, 298, 313; II 33, 43, 58, 66, 70, 95, 114, 122, 126, 199, 208-210, 221, 287, 294.

NOCIN, V. P. (Makar; 1878-1924)—One of the oldest Bolshevik workers engaged in underground activities all the time between arrests and exile. As worker in a Petersburg factory, he participated in the Workers' Banner Group. Later participated in many more revolutionary workers' organisations. Repeatedly arrested and escaped, either from prison or from exile. In 1917, when the majority of the Moscow Soviet became Bolshevik, he was elected Chairman of the Soviet. Later he managed the Soviet textile industry.—I 287, 315.

O

OTSOV—See *Zhitomirsky, J. A.*

P

PALCHINSKY, P.—Organiser of the Coal Syndicate, which was closely connected with banking circles; Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kerensky's cabinet. Inspired sabotage of industrialists. Assistant to Kishkin, the Cadet Governor of Petrograd; head of the defence of the Winter Palace on November 7, 1917. During the Civil War he was arrested for counter-revolutionary activities. Lenin in a letter requested his release on the ground that his special knowledge might prove useful for the Soviet State. Works at present in Soviet institutions.—II 300, 302, 303.

PANNEKOEK, ANTON—Dutch Left Socialist; expelled from the party in 1907, together with a group of like-minded (Wynkoop, Gorter, etc.), he organised a Left Socialist paper, *De Tribune* ("Tribunists"), in 1909. Joined the Comintern after its formation, but later left it, giving up political activities. Professor of astronomy.—I 50, 149.

PARVUS (A. L. Helphand, 1869-1924)—Russian political emigrant who by the end of the nineties began work in the German Social-Democracy as a Left Winger. Well-known Marxian theoretician, author of a number of works dealing with world economy. Participated in the 1905 Revolution in Russia; developed the theory of "permanent revolution." During the war he was an extreme social chauvinist and agent of German imperialism; published a magazine, *Die Glocke*.—I 151.

PASHICH, NIKOLA (1846-1926)—Serbian Prime Minister during the war and one of its leading spirits. Leader of the old Radical Party and of the Serbian Nationalists. After the war became known for his cruel suppression of the revolutionary movement.—II 66.

PEREVERZEV, P. N.—Petersburg attorney; Trudovik. Widely known by his defence in political trials; Minister of Justice in the first Coalition Cabinet of 1917. Published documents forged by Alexinsky to discredit the Bolsheviks, although the Provisional Government was undecided about their publication. This episode put an end to his political career.—II 238, 306.

PESHKEKHONOV, A. V. (born 1867)—Narodnik; statistician and publicist. Leader of the People's Socialists, who occupied an intermediary position between the Constitutional-Democrats and the Socialists-Revolutionists without any influence among the masses. Minister of Supplies in the First Coalition Cabinet of the Provisional Government.—II 45, 46, 142, 176, 232, 233, 235, 237, 291, 309.

PETROVSKY, G. I. (born 1879)—Workingman; old Bolshevik; member Fourth Duma. Was arrested in November, 1914, and exiled to Siberia, together with entire Bolshevik Duma fraction. Returned to Petrograd after March Revolution. Chairman of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of Soviets and of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.—I 74.

PLUEGER, PAUL (born 1865)—Swiss-Social Democrat; Gruetlian. Pastor. Member of Canton Parliament.—I 151.

PIATAKOV, G. L. (born 1890)—Originally an Anarchist, joined the Bolsheviks in 1910; during the war actively collaborated on the Bolshevik magazine, *Communist*, published abroad. At the All-Russian May Conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917 defended his own stand on the national question. President first Ukrainian Soviet Government in 1918. Member Central Committee Communist Party of Soviet Union for a few years and Acting Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the U.S.S.R. One of the leaders of the Trotsky Opposition in 1923; expelled from the party, but later readmitted after disavowing his errors.—I 21, 312, 314.

PLATTEN, FRITZ (born 1883)—Secretary Swiss Socialist Party; internationalist; Zimmerwaldist. Was in Russia during the 1905 Revolution where he was imprisoned and released on bail. Accompanied Lenin and a group of Russian emigrants through Germany on their way to Russia. After the March Revolution wished to enter Russia, but was barred by the Provisional Government. Participated in first Congress of Comintern as one of its chairmen and reporters.—I 92, 152, 183, 187.

PLEKHANOV, G. V. (1856-1918)—Founder of Russian Marxism and one of the main theoreticians of the Second International. With the beginning of the World War he took an extreme social chauvinist position, advocating class truce; together with Alexinsky and the Right Socialists-Revolutionists he published a magazine, *Prizyv*, in Paris, counselling the Russian workers to refrain from strikes and to give up their struggle against tsarism in order to win a victory over Germany. After the March Revolution he published a paper, *Yedinstvo* in Petrograd, advocating war to victory and abstention from class-struggle. After the November Revolution the Plekhanovists fought bitterly against the Soviet Government. Plekhanov himself was undecided in the last few months of his life, and while an opponent of the Soviet Government he stated that "one must not take up arms against the working class even if it is mistaken." The Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow is now publishing his collected works which will make up twenty-odd volumes.—I 30, 35, 40, 84, 88, 103, 109, 110, 116, 124, 125, 140, 141, 145, 146, 148, 152, 154, 166, 176-180, 188-190, 204, 223, 227, 236-239, 243, 244, 249, 262, 265, 280, 282, 288, 289, 301, 311, 317; II 15, 21, 31, 32, 76, 134, 146, 147, 149, 155, 156, 176, 183, 192, 226, 273, 274.

POINCARÉ, RAYMOND (born 1860)—French statesman, lawyer by profession; Minister in various French cabinets; in 1912-13 Premier and Foreign Minister, energetically working for the preparation of war. Since 1913 and during the war President French Republic; as such visited Nicholas II in Petersburg a few days prior to the war. In 1920 Chairman of Reparations Commission; in 1922 again Premier; undertook Ruhr occupation in 1923. Staunch fighter for French imperialism; has connections with the Paris Bourse; a bitter enemy of the Russian Revolution.—II 176.

POKROVSKY, N. N. (born 1865)—Last Foreign Minister of Nicholas II before the March Revolution; former Assistant Finance Minister and State Comptroller.—I 181.

POTRESOV, A. N. (Starover; born 1869)—Social-Democrat. One of the participants of the Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. Banished in 1898 to Northern Russia; afterwards emigrated and became member editorial staff of *Iskra*. Participated in the second Congress R.S.-D.L.P. in 1903. After the split he became one of the Menshevik leaders. Subsequently led the extremist Right Wing of the Mensheviks-Liquidators. During the war he was the most consistent representative of social-patriotism among the Mensheviks. Lives abroad at present, occupying a position to the Right of the official Mensheviks.—I 19, 20, 26, 30, 35, 84, 145, 148, 154; II 285, 286.

PRESSEMANE, ADRIEN (born 1879)—French Socialist; during the war occupied a semi-defencist, semi-pacifist position. At present in the Right Wing of the French Socialist movement.—I 82, 147.

PROTOPOPOV, A. D. (1866-1918)—Member Fourth Imperial Duma: Octobrist. In 1916, as representative of banking circles and aided by Rasputin, became Minister of the Interior. Was a careerist and a flatterer in Court circles. During the war, conferred in Sweden with the German Ambassador, seeking

for the possibilities of starting peace negotiations, which action aroused the indignation of the Duma Cadets and Octobrists. In the last days of tsarism, inspired the blackest reaction. Was shot in the autumn of 1918.—I 186, II 32.

R

RADEK, KARL (born 1883)—Originally participated in the labour movement of Galicia; was active in the 1905 Revolution in Poland; edited party paper. Then emigrated to Germany, where he participated in various party publications. His investigations of the problems of imperialism and world politics were of great merit. Joined the Left Wing of German Social-Democracy grouped around Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and Clara Zetkin. During the war belonged to the Zimmerwald Left. In 1917 the Provisional Government prohibited his entrance into Russia, and up to the November Revolution he lived in Stockholm keeping up connections with the Bolsheviks and the revolutionary Socialists of the other countries. Immediately after the establishment of the Soviet Government he came to Russia, where he joined the Communist Party. As representative of the Russian Communists he went to Germany in December, 1918, participated in the formation of the Communist Party of Germany and, after the defeat of the so-called Spartacus uprising, he was arrested. Being in prison, he greatly influenced the policies of the German Communist Party through his writings. After his release in the winter of 1919 he returned to Russia. From 1919 to 1924, member Executive Committee Communist International and member Central Committee Soviet Union Communist Party; later Director Sun Yat-Sen University in Moscow. One of the leaders of the Trotsky Opposition bloc for which he was expelled from the party at the XV Congress at the end of 1927.—I 149, 152; II 81.

RAKOVSKY, CHRISTIAN (born 1873)—Communist; originally Rumanian Socialist. Participated in Zimmerwald Conference (Centre). Was imprisoned by Rumanian Government for internationalist propaganda. In 1917 he was freed by the Russian Revolutionary Army that approached the Rumanian frontier. Since then he has worked in Russia among the Communists. Became Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Represented the U.S.S.R. in England and France. One of the leaders of the Trotsky Opposition, expelled from the Communist Party.—II 192.

RASPUTIN-NOVYKH, GREGORY (1812-1916)—Siberian peasant; horse thief in youth; later became imbued with religious sentiments and turned into a "miracle-maker." Found his way to Court circles and, aided by the superstitions and the degeneracy of the Petersburg aristocracy, he exploited the mystic moods of the Empress Alexandra to gain a decisive influence on Nicholas II. Was killed in December, 1916, by a Russian prince with the aid of a Grand Duke and others, who thus hoped to save the dynasty.—I 28, 37, 234; II 32.

REICHESBERG, JULIAN (born 1867)—Professor University of Zürich; member Swiss Socialist Party; reformist; Russian emigrant; member Committee on Return of Russian Immigrants in 1917.—I 222.

RENAUDEL, PAUL (born 1871)—One of the leaders of the Right Wing in

French Socialist Party. In 1914-18 editor central organ, *L'Humanité*. Social-patriot.—I 87, 146.

RIAZANOV, D. B. (born 1870)—One of the oldest Russian Social-Democrats. In the nineties organised workmen's circles in Odessa. After five years of imprisonment he emigrated abroad. During the 1905 Revolution editor in Odessa; later organiser and leader of the union movement in Petersburg. Again emigrating abroad, he devoted himself to publishing the works of Marx and Engels as well as works on the history of the Internationals. From the beginning of the war occupied internationalist position. After March Revolution returned to Russia, where conducted propaganda that helped prepare November Revolution. Organised Communist Academy and Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, whose Director he is at present. Under Riazanov's editorship the Institute has begun the publication of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels and writings of other Marxian thinkers.—I 222.

RIBOT, ALEXANDRE (1842-1923)—French statesman, one of the creators of the Russian-French Alliance. Minister and Premier in various cabinets. During the war, Minister of Finance in the coalition cabinets of Viviani and Briand. In 1917 Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.—II 271, 272.

RIVET, CHARLES—Petrograd correspondent of the Paris paper, *Le Temps*.—I 66.

RODICHEV, F. I. (born 1856)—Landowner, leader liberal opposition in Zemstvos. One of the founders and leaders of Cadet Party. Deputy to all Dumas. In 1917 Provisional Government's Commissar in Finland.—I 55, 312-314; II 28.

RODZIANKO, M. V., (1859-1924)—Very large landowner in many provinces, Chairman Fourth Imperial Duma; Octobrist. After March Revolution Chairman Provisional Committee Imperial Duma. Very active organiser of bourgeois reaction under Kerensky. Emigrated after November Revolution.—I 36.

ROLAND-HOLST, HENRIETTA (born 1869)—Dutch writer and Marxian Socialist; organiser women's unions. In 1916 she quit the official Socialist Party and joined the Left Socialist Party. For a time member of the Communist Party, withdrawing later from political activities. Belonged to the Zimmerwald Left during the war.—I 149.

ROLLAND, ROMAIN (born 1866)—Well-known French writer; received Nobel Prize for literature in 1916. Attempted to create a revolutionary repertory for the theatre; clashed with the bourgeoisie, whose order and culture he severely criticised in his monumental novel, *Jean Christophe*. After the beginning of the war he wrote an anti-war book entitled *Au-dessus de la Mêlée*, whereby he aroused the enmity of all "patriotic" France. Conducted an active propaganda in favour of an international organisation of the intelligentsia against bourgeois culture and the imperialist war. Greeted the November Revolution, expressing confidence that the proletarian revolution would win because of social and moral causes.—II 81.

ROMANOV, NICHOLAS—See *Nicholas II*.

ROMANOV, MICHAEL—See *Michael*.

ROSENFELD—See *Kamenev*.

ROSTOV, N.—Pseudonym of a writer in *Rabochaia Gazeta*.—II 309.

RÜHLE, OTTO (born 1874)—German Left Social-Democrat, Reichstag Deputy. Teacher. On August 4, 1914, together with Karl Liebknecht, refused to vote for military appropriations.—I 148.

RUSSELL, BERTRAND ARTHUR WILLIAM (born 1872)—Renowned mathematician and British Socialist; pacifist during the war; writer on social and philosophical problems; author, *Theory and Practice of Bolshevism*.—I 149.

RYKOV, A. I. (born 1881)—One of outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik Party; participant in a number of party conferences and congresses. After the first revolution in 1905 during the years of reaction, he never interrupted his party activities. In 1910 was arrested and exiled to the North, but escaped. After the party decided to call a general conference, he went to Russia to visit local organisations and was arrested in Moscow and banished, but again escaped in 1914. The March Revolution found him in Siberian exile. After the November Revolution he was People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. Then for over three years head of the Supreme Council of National Economy; later Acting Chairman Council of People's Commissars and of Council of Labour and Defence. Since Lenin's death, Chairman Council of People's Commissars of U.S.S.R., member Central Committee (since 1906) and Political Bureau of C.P.S.U.—I 287; II 157.

S

SAMOILOV, F. N. (born 1882)—Workingman; Bolshevik; member Fourth Duma, exiled to Siberia, together with Bolshevik Duma fraction. Returned after March Revolution, 1917.—I 74.

SANDOMIRSKY, A.—Menshevik-internationalist in 1917; contributor to the *Novaya Zhizn*.—II 302.

SAVIN—Assistant Minister of Commerce under Kononov; representative of industrial circles.—II 300.

SCHEIDEMANN, PHILIP (born 1865)—Right Wing German Social-Democrat. In 1912 member Central Committee of his party and Vice-President of Reichstag. Prior to the war belonged to the "Marxist Centre" of the German Social-Democracy. After the beginning of the war, together with Ebert, became leading representative of Social-Democratic nationalist war policies. In October, 1918, Wilhelm II made him Chancellor in the Cabinet of Prince Max. During the November (1918) Revolution he did everything in his power to prevent the revolution from spreading and to save the monarchy; seeing, however, that the movement could not be stopped, he became "representative of the people" in the "German Socialist Republic." Together with Ebert and Noske, he organised the bloody crusade against the revolution. Was elected as Chancellor by the National Assembly in 1919, but left the cabinet in 1919, refusing to sign the Versailles Treaty. Mayor of Kassel until 1927.—I 30, 87, 103, 146, 148, 152, 166, 177, 189, 230; II 31, 32, 178, 183, 192.

SCHMIDT, JACQUES (born 1882)—Swiss Socialist, centrist; Kautskian. At present extreme Right Winger.—I 82.

SCHNEIDER, FRIEDRICH (born 1880)—Swiss Socialist, centrist; editor *Baseler Vorwärts* during the war.—I 82.

SEMBAT, MARCEL (1862-1922)—Member French Socialist Party, social-chauvinist; Deputy and Minister since the beginning of the war. Mason.—I 72, 87, 146; II 192.

SERRATI, G. (1872-1926)—Leader Italian Socialist Party; editor central organ *Avanti*. Internationalist during the war. Participated Second Congress Communist International; but later refused to carry out Comintern decision regarding complete breach with the reformists (Turati, Modigliani, Treves, etc.), in Socialist Party. The Centre of the party followed Serrati. The Italian Socialist Party was then expelled from Comintern and the Italian Communist Party organised. In 1924 Serrati joined the Italian Communist Party.—I 149.

SHAGOV, N. R. (1882-1918)—Workman; Bolshevik; member Fourth Imperial Duma. In 1914 was arrested, together with the Bolshevik Duma fraction, and exiled to Siberia. Was freed by March Revolution, and returned seriously ill.—I 74.

SHCHEDRIN-SALTYKOV, M. E. (1826-1888)—Well-known Russian writer, satirist, who, using "Æsopian language," ridiculed and scorned the Tsar's bureaucracy and the manners of the monarchy. One of the editors of the radical magazine, *Otechestvennye Zapiski (Notes of the Fatherland)*.—I 229.

SHINGAREV, A. I. (1869-1918)—Physician and Zemstvo leader; member Third and Fourth Imperial Dumas and leader Cadet Duma fraction. Finance Minister in the first coalition cabinets of Provisional Government. Resigned July 15, 1917, together with other Cadets, in an attempt to create a ministerial crisis. This precipitated the July events. After November Revolution he was arrested and having been transferred from the Fortress of Peter and Paul to a hospital, was killed by a group of marines.—I 19, 65, 164, 192, 219, 250, 253, 305, 307; II 35, 48, 80, 112, 114, 115, 117, 142, 230, 231, 261, 262, 292, 305.

SHUBA, G. V.—Member Executive Committee, First Petrograd Soviet.—II 144.

SHULGIN, V. V. (born 1878)—Nationalist, Zemstvo functionary, member Imperial Duma; editor Black Hundred paper. After the revolution active in Denikin's army. In 1925 came to Russia illegally, visiting Kiev, Moscow and Leningrad. Lives abroad, conducting a campaign against the U.S.S.R.—II 19-21, 49, 87, 262.

SKOBELEV, M. I. (born 1885)—Social-Democrat; Menshevik; member Fourth Duma. Vice-President and member Executive Committee Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. On May 17, 1917, joined first coalition cabinet of Provisional Government as Minister of Labour. Defencist; favoured coalition with bourgeoisie. At present active in Concessions Committee of R.S.F.S.R.—I 41-43, 46, 70, 79, 80, 83, 84, 145, 186, 193, 234; II 46, 70, 83-86,

94, 142, 151-153, 168, 176, 181, 182, 186, 231, 232, 273, 286, 291, 299, 300, 308.

SMILGA, I. T. (born 1892)—Bolshevik; elected member Central Committee at May Conference, 1917. Active on various fronts during civil war; was member Revolutionary Military Council of Republic. Later active in Supreme Council National Economy and other economic organisations. An adherent of the Opposition.—II 111, 115.

SNOWDEN, PHILIP (born 1864)—One of the Right Wing leaders of the British Labour Party; M.P. Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Cabinet in 1924.—I 82, 147.

SONNINO, SIDNEY, BARON (1847-1922)—Italian Foreign Minister during the war. Originally adherent of the Triple Alliance (Italy, Germany, and Austria), but after the end of 1914 advocated Italy's joining the war on the side of the Entente.—II 271.

STAKHOVICH, M. A. (born 1861)—Zemstvo leader, moderate liberal, member First and Second Imperial Dumas. Organised the Octobrist Party. Member of Imperial Council.—I 36.

STAUNING, TORWALD (born 1873)—Leader Danish Social-Democracy; reformist. After beginning of the war he became Minister in bourgeois cabinet. Premier many times afterwards.—I 146, 149.

STEKLOV, J. N. (born 1873)—Began Social-Democratic activities in Odessa. Was exiled in 1894 to Eastern Siberia for ten years, fled abroad in 1899. Participated, together with Riazanov, in the organisation of a publishing group "Borba" (Struggle). After the 1905 amnesty he returned to Russia, was arrested at a meeting of the Petersburg Soviet, but soon released. Later emigrated abroad, where he contributed to Bolshevik publications. After the March Revolution, as a "revolutionary defencist," he was close to the *Novaia Zhizn*. Member Executive Committee Petrograd Soviet and its Contact Commission, created to deal with Provisional Government. At present member C.P.S.U. Was editor-in-chief of *Izvestia*.—I 73, 96-99, 107, 111, 113, 116, 117, 120, 123, 126, 127, 134, 136, 145, 173, 174, 186, 193, 202, 209, 234, 274.

STEPANOV, V. A.—Assistant Minister of Commerce in the Provisional Government; Cadet.—II 300.

STOLYPIN, P. A. (1862-1911)—Large landowner, Chairman of cabinet under Nicholas II in the years of reaction that followed the 1905 Revolution. Was instrumental in crushing the revolutionary movement and drowning it in blood. Father of the law of June 16, 1907, whereby the system of representation to the Duma was changed and an obedient Duma majority of landowner and capitalist representatives was secured. Introduced land reform, whereby individual peasants were permitted to quit the village community and secure a parcel of land as private property. This stimulated development of rich peasantry at the expense of the poor ones. According to Stolypin, tsarism was "staking on the economically strong" peasantry. Was supported by the Right Wing Russian bourgeoisie, which after June 16, 1907, formed a bloc with the landowners and nobility. Assassinated in Kiev by a provocateur.—I 51, 65, 68, 86, 130, 307; II 221, 307.

STRÖM, FREDERIK (born 1880)—Left Wing Swedish Socialist; later Communist. Left the Comintern together with Hoeglund in 1924.—I 92, 149, 187.

STRUVE, P. B. (born 1870)—Russian economist and publicist; Social-Democrat in the nineties, representative of the so-called "legal Marxism." Later became liberal and editor of an illegal liberal magazine abroad. After the defeat of the 1905 Revolution he became leader of the Right Wing of the Cadets. Nationalist. Fought actively against the revolution after November, 1917. Minister of the "cabinets" of Denikin and Wrangel. At present lives abroad, publishing a magazine with monarchist inclinations.—II 285.

SUKHANOV, H. (born 1882)—Publicist who attempted to combine the Narodnik theory with Marxism. "Non-factional" Social-Democrat; internationalist; later Menshevik. One of the editors of the internationalist magazine, *Lietopis*, during the war, and member editorial staff of Gorki's *Novaia Zhizn* after the March Revolution. Member Committee first Petrograd Soviet; together with Steklov and Sokolov, he negotiated with the Provisional Committee of Imperial Duma concerning formation of First Provisional Government. Author of several books on agrarian problem and history of revolution. At present active in Russian economic organisations.—I 73.

T

TEODOROVICH, I. A. (born 1876)—Old Bolshevik, participant Second Congress R.S.-D.L.P. in 1903. Subsequently banished to Siberia. People's Commissar of Supplies in 1917. At present Acting People's Commissar of Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R.—I 135.

TERESHCHENKO, M. I.—Financier and sugar king; Minister of Finance in the First Provisional Government and Foreign Minister in a number of coalition cabinets in place of Miliukov, who resigned under pressure of the workers and whose imperialist policy he continued.—I 181, 234; II 65, 70, 80, 142, 176, 177, 186, 200, 204, 230, 231, 261, 305.

THOMAS, ALBERT (born 1878)—Member French Socialist Party; parliamentary Deputy; during the war Minister of Labour in charge of munitions. Extreme social-patriot. Came to Russia under Kerensky to arouse patriotic spirit of the Russian workers but failed. Chairman Labour Bureau of the League of Nations; member Second International.—II 64, 178, 181, 182, 192.

TOMSKY, M. I. (born 1880)—Lithographer by trade; Bolshevik. Member First Soviet of Workers' Deputies, City of Reval (1905). Exiled to Siberia in 1906; escaped from there and returned to Petersburg, where he continued party activities. Was again arrested 1908; later went abroad; then worked in the Moscow organisation of the party. After a new arrest he was sentenced to five years' hard labour. The March Revolution found him in Siberia. In 1917 he worked in Petrograd and Moscow. At Sixth Conference of Trade Unions was elected to the presidium of the Central Council of Labour Unions. Member Central Committee Russian Communist Party since 1919. Member Political Bureau C.P.S.U.; chairman Central Council of Labour Unions.—II 171.

TORNIAINEN, EDVARD—Finnish Social-Democrat; writer in the Helsingfors Social-Democratic paper, *Työmies*.—I 264.

TREVES, CLAUDIO—One of the oldest members of the Italian Socialist Party; editor central organ, *Avanti*, until 1912; parliamentary Deputy; theoretician of Italian reformism; follower of Turati; nationalist during the war.—I 83, 147.

TRIER, G.—Danish revolutionary Social-Democrat; internationalist.—I 149.

TROELSTRA, PIETER (born 1860)—Leader Dutch Socialist Party and leader Socialist parliamentary fraction. Was a member of the International Socialist Bureau of Second International. Fought against the Left Wing (the "Tribunists," who were expelled from the official party in 1909). Of late abstained from political activity due to illness.—I 146.

TROTSKY, L. D. (born 1879)—Started Social-Democratic activities in Nikolaiev, was active in the South Russian Labour Union; was arrested in 1898 and banished to Siberia, from where he fled abroad in 1902. Participated in the Second Congress of R.S.-D.L.P. (1903), and after the split remained with the Mensheviks, participating very actively in the *Iskra*. During 1905 Revolution was active in Petersburg. Embraced Parvus's theory of "permanent revolution." Was member of the Executive Committee and later Chairman of Petersburg Soviet of 1905. Was arrested together with Soviet Deputies and banished to Siberia, but fled during the trip. Living in Vienna, he formed a group of Social-Democrats and published a paper, *Pravda*. In 1912 he participated in the so-called "August Bloc" created to fight Bolshevism. During the imperialist war was one of the editors of the internationalist paper, *Nashe Slovo*, published in Paris; participated in Zimmerwald Conference, where he leaned toward the centre. In 1916 was banished from France, and later from Spain, and was compelled to go to the United States. Returning to Petrograd after the March Revolution, he joined the internationalist organisation of the "Interboroughites" (Mezhraiontsy) and, together with the latter, joined the Bolshevik Party and was elected to its Central Committee. When the Bolsheviks obtained the majority in the Petrograd Soviet in September, 1917, Trotsky became its chairman. After the November Revolution, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Was opposed to Brest-Litovsk peace, advocating first the policy of "neither war nor peace," then a revolutionary war. People's Commissar of Military Affairs and Chairman Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic from 1918 to 1924. During this period Trotsky occupied a leading position in the Communist Party and Communist International. Was head of a faction in the party in 1920-21 during the discussion on the rôle of the labour unions. In 1923 he started the Opposition to the party and in 1926 became leader of the "United" Opposition, which was declared by the Communist International to have degenerated into a social-democratic, counter-revolutionary tendency. At the end of 1927 expelled from the C.P.S.U., having been previously removed from all his positions in the party and the government.—I 21, 153, 184, 187, 214; II 161, 162.

TRUBETSKOY, E. N., PRINCE (born 1863)—Professor of Moscow University; member Imperial Council; close to the Cadet Party, but somewhat to the Right of it. During civil war supported Denikin.—I 36.

TSERETELI, I. G. (born 1882)—Menshevik; member Second Imperial Duma and leader of Social-Democratic fraction. After the dissolution of the Duma he, together with the entire fraction, was tried on a trumped-up charge of military conspiracy and sentenced to hard labour. Was freed from Siberia by the March Revolution. Upon returning to Petrograd, became the leader of the Mensheviks, defending the continuation of the war and a coalition with the bourgeoisie. On May 19, 1917, he joined the First Coalition Cabinet as Minister of Posts and Telegraph. Member of Executive Committee and first All-Russian Executive Committee of the Soviets. At present an émigré engaged in activity against the Soviet Government.—I 99, 106, 107, 111, 113, 116, 117, 120, 123, 126, 127, 134, 136, 145, 147, 148, 154, 167, 186, 193, 211, 233, 248, 249, 265, 274, 277, 296; II 19-22, 33, 34, 45, 46, 48-51, 58, 61, 63, 65, 69, 70, 80, 142, 151-153, 159, 160, 168, 176, 180-182, 221, 222, 230, 233, 245, 246, 248, 249, 255-257, 262, 271-273, 277, 278, 286, 291, 295, 300, 302, 303, 305, 308.

TULIAKOV, I. N. (born 1877)—Worker; Menshevik; member Fourth Imperial Duma from Don Region. Died during the Civil War.—I 80.

TURATI, FILIPPO (born 1857)—Italian Socialist reformist; jurist; writer. First elected to Parliament in 1896. For participation in the so-called hunger revolts was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in 1898 and was freed in 1909. After the beginning of the war, was against Italian participation, and after Italy joined the war, he was for a "democratic" peace in the spirit of Wilson. After the war, he led the Right Wing at the congresses of the Socialist Party, repudiating the proletarian dictatorship and affiliation with the Comintern. Leader of Unitarian Socialist Party after the split of 1922.—I 83, 102, 109, 111, 147, 151.

TYSZKA, LEO (Jogiches; 1867-1919)—Founder of Polish Social-Democracy and member of its Central Committee since the very beginning. For leading the uprising of the Warsaw and Lodz workers in 1905, he was sentenced by the Tsar's court to eight years' hard labour, but he escaped from prison, after having converted the guards. Participated at London Congress of R.S.-D.L.P., where he was close to the Bolsheviks. In 1910 he moved to Berlin, where, together with Rosa Luxemburg, he headed the Left Wing in opposition to Kautsky's centre. During the war he, together with Karl Liebknecht, organised the first illegal Spartacus groups. The November, 1918, German Revolution found him in prison. He continued activities after the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. In March, 1919, after a new attempt at uprising on the part of the Berlin workers, he was arrested by order of Scheidemann and killed in prison without trial.—I 149.

U

USTINOV, A. N.—Russian political emigrant; Socialist-Revolutionist and internationalist during the war; later Left Wing Socialist-Revolutionist; at present Bolshevik.—I 222.

V

VANDERVELDE, EMILE (born 1866)—President International Socialist Bureau prior to the war; member Belgian Socialist Party; revisionist. One of the

first Socialists of Second International to enter the cabinet of his country during the war; Minister of Justice up to 1921. Author in 1914 of an appeal to the Russian workers in the name of victory to refrain from fighting tsarism. In 1917 came to Russia, together with Thomas and others, to persuade Russian workers and soldiers to continue the war. In 1922 revisited Russia as Counsel at the trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists before the Supreme Tribunal. Was for a time Foreign Minister in the Belgian Cabinet.—I 151; II 176, 181, 192.

VASSILIEV, A. V. (born 1853)—Professor of mathematics; member First Imperial Duma; since 1908 member Imperial Council; member Cadet Party; at present member Academy of Sciences.—I 36.

VERNADSKY, V. I. (born 1863)—Professor of mineralogy; member of the Academy; member of Imperial Council and of Cadet Party.—I 36.

VIKHLAIEV, P. A. (born 1869)—Zemstvo statistician; Socialist-Revolutionist; Assistant Minister of Agriculture in First Coalition Cabinet of Provisional Government. At present Professor of Moscow University.—II 133.

VODOVOZOV, V. V. (born 1864)—Writer, economist; member People's Socialist Party; editor Left Wing papers. Contributed to the paper, *Dien (Day)*, in 1917. Now living abroad as an émigré.—II 66, 67.

W

WILHELM II (born 1859)—Last German Emperor and King of Prussia; reigned 1888-1918. Played a fateful rôle in the life of the German people. German bourgeoisie renouncing its revolution out of fear for the working class, Germany continued to be ruled by a semi-absolutist government in spite of the extraordinary development of German capitalism. Wilhelm determined the policy of the government. Parliament had only slight prerogatives, so that actual relations of class power could be realised only indirectly in governmental policy. Prior to Wilhelm, Bismarck had been the bearer of semi-absolutism. Wilhelm was his "own imperial chancellor," conducting a "personal régime" against which Parliament arose twice (1908 and 1910) without finding the power to carry its will into effect and introduce modern bourgeois conditions. The result of the contradiction between bourgeois rule and semi-absolutist, junker-bureaucratic government was a confused, uneven policy. Internally, Wilhelm tried to introduce a sort of "social empire" without effect. He then made himself the mouthpiece of the big industrialists and threatened to smash the labour movement. This only strengthened the police system. His foreign policy was characterised by bold offensives and feeble retreats, thus accentuating the contradictions between Germany and the other powers arising from the imperialist competitive struggle. The World War revealed the whole rottenness of his "personal régime." Forced to abdicate by the Revolution of November 9, 1918, he fled to Holland where he is still living.—I 31, 72, 84, 153, 162, 164, 169, 173, 176, 177, 189, 202, 212, 225, 234, 246, 262, 263, 298; II 30, 33, 58, 81, 176, 192, 224.

WILSON, ROBERT—Petrograd correspondent, *London Times*.—I 66, 172.

WYNKOOP, D. (born 1877)—Left Wing Dutch Socialist; later Communist. In 1907 he, together with a group of Left Wingers (Pannekoek, Roland-Holst, Gorter, etc.), organised a Left paper, *De Tribune* ("Tribunists"). In 1909 he was expelled from the official Socialist Party, and participated in the creation of a Left Social-Democratic Party. From 1918 to 1925 Deputy in Dutch parliament. In 1919 he joined the Comintern. At present he is outside the Communist movement.—I 149.

Y

YEFREMOV, I. N. (born 1866)—Large landowner. Dumas Deputy and chairman of Progressive fraction, which was more moderate than the Cadets.—I 19.

YONOV, F. M. (Koigen; 1870-1923)—One of the oldest Social-Democrats of Russia; member of the Bund and its Central Committee. Internationalist during the war. After the Bund split, became a member of the Communist Party.—II 157.

YORDANSKY, N. I. (born 1876)—Menshevik, Plekhanovist and defencist. Editor of the magazine, *Sovremennyy Mir* (*Contemporary World*). Later shared the ideas of Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo*. After the November Revolution, shifted to the Left, closer to the Communist Party.—II 133.

YOURI.—See *Piatakov*.

Z

ZASLAVSKY, D. J.—Menshevik; Liquidator and defencist; member of the Bund. In 1917 one of the editors of the *Dien*. At present contributes to the *Moscow Pravda*.—II 284.

ZASULICH, VERA (1851-1919)—Famous revolutionist, who in 1878 fired a shot at the Petersburg Governor-General, Trepov, for ordering corporal punishment to be administered to the imprisoned revolutionist, Bogoliubov. Having been freed by the jury, she emigrated abroad, where she was one of the founders of the Liberation of Labour Group in 1883. In 1896 she represented the Petersburg Union of Struggle at the International Socialist Congress. After the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks she joined the latter. During the war she was among the social-patriots. In 1917 she was a member of the *Yedinstvo* group.—I 84, 262.

ZHITOMIRSKY, J. A. (born 1889)—Provocateur; physician. Informed the Police Department about Bolshevik organisation. One of his pseudonyms was Otsov.—II 157.

ZINOVIEV, G. J. (born 1883)—Joined Social-Democracy in 1901; after the Second Congress (1903) he joined the Bolsheviks. Up to 1905 studied at Berne University while engaged in party work. During the First Russian Revolution he worked in Petersburg, where he was soon elected member of the Central Committee. Was arrested and later emigrated abroad; participated at London Party Congress. In 1908 he again attempted to work in Russia, but was again arrested and compelled to leave the country. Living

abroad he participated in the Bolshevik organ, *Social-Democrat*. Participated at Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences. After the March Revolution returned to Petrograd together with Lenin. After November Revolution he was elected Chairman Petrograd Soviet. From 1919 to 1926 was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. During the period of preparation for the November uprising and also later, Zinoviev repeatedly manifested indecision: in the fall of 1917 he was against the uprising; after the November Revolution he was in favour of a coalition government of all the Socialist parties. In 1923-24 he energetically fought the Trotsky Opposition; in 1925 he was at the head of the New Opposition; in 1926 he entered into a bloc with Trotsky, and became one of the leaders of the United Trotsky Opposition for which he was expelled from the party at the end of 1927. Later he repudiated his errors and was reinstated.—I 21, 71, 91, 94, 104, 118, 152, 168, 176, 186, 187, 189, 193, 213, 315; II 76, 81, 82.

ZURABOV, A. G. (born 1873)—Social-Democrat; first Bolshevik, then Left Wing Menshevik; member Second Imperial Duma. During the war internationalist, for which the British Government attempted to prevent his return to Russia after the revolution. In the last years of his life he was close to the Communists.—I 104, 184, 187, 193.

DOCUMENTS AND OTHER MATERIAL

I

MANIFESTO OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY "TO ALL CITIZENS OF RUSSIA" *

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

CITIZENS! The fortresses of Russian tsarism have fallen. The fortune of the tsarist gang, built on the people's bones, has collapsed. The capital is in the hands of a risen people. Sections of the revolutionary troops have gone over to the side of the insurgents. The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary army must save the country from the utter ruin and collapse that were prepared by the tsarist government.

By tremendous efforts, at the price of blood and life, did the Russian people shake off the age-old slavery.

It is the task of the working class and the revolutionary army to create a *Provisional Revolutionary Government* which is to head the new republican order now in the process of birth.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government must take it upon itself to create temporary laws defending *all the rights and liberties of the people, to confiscate the lands of the monasteries and the landowners, the crown lands and the appanages, to introduce the 8-hour work-day and to convoke a Constituent Assembly* on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage, with no discrimination as to sex, nationality or religion, and with the secret ballot.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government must take it upon itself to secure provisions for the population and the army; for this purpose it must confiscate all the stores prepared by the former government and the municipalities.

The hydra of the reaction may still raise its head. It is the task of the people and its revolutionary government to suppress all counter-revolutionary plots against the people.

It is the immediate and urgent task of the Provisional Revolutionary Government to establish relations with the proletariat of the belligerent countries for the purpose of leading a struggle of the peoples of all the countries against their oppressors and exploiters, against royal governments and capitalist cliques, and for the purpose of terminating the bloody war carnage imposed upon the enslaved peoples against their will.

The workers of shops and factories, also the rising troops, must immediately elect their representatives to the Provisional Revolutionary Government which must be created under the protection of the rising revolutionary people and the army.

Citizens, soldiers, wives and mothers! On to the struggle, all of you! To an open struggle against the tsarist power and its satellites!

The red banner of insurrection is rising *over all of Russia!* Take the cause of liberty into your own hands everywhere, overthrowing the Tsar's henchmen, calling the soldiers to struggle.

* See page 67, Book I of this volume.

Establish in all cities and villages in Russia the government of the revolutionary people.

Citizens! By the brotherly united efforts of the insurgents have we fortified the new order of freedom that is being born on the débris of autocracy!

Forward! There is no way back! Merciless struggle!

Forward under the red banner of the revolution!

Long live the Democratic Republic!

Long live the revolutionary working class!

Long live the revolutionary people and the insurgent army!

March 11, 1917.

Central Committee, R.S.-D.L.P.

Pravda, No. 1, March 13, 1917.

II

WITHOUT SECRET DIPLOMACY *

BY L. KAMENEV

THE war continues. The great Russian Revolution has not interrupted it. And nobody cherishes any hopes that it will end to-morrow or the day after. The soldiers, the peasants and the workers of Russia who went to war obeying the call of the now overthrown Tsar and who shed blood under his banners, have freed themselves; the Tsar's banners have been replaced by the red banners of the revolution. Yet the war will continue, for the German army has not followed the example of the Russian army and still obeys its emperor who greedily strives for loot on the fields of death.

When an army faces an army, it would be the most absurd policy to propose to one of them to lay down arms and go home. This would not be a policy of peace, it would be a policy of slavery which a free people would repudiate with scorn. No, we will firmly hold our posts, we will answer a bullet by a bullet and a shell with a shell. This is beyond dispute.

A revolutionary soldier or officer, having overthrown the yoke of tsarism, will not vacate a trench to leave it to a German soldier or officer who has not mustered up courage to overthrow the yoke of his own government. We must not allow any disorganisation of the military forces of the revolution! The war must be ended in an organised fashion, by treaties among peoples who have liberated themselves, and not by submitting to the will of the neighbouring imperialist conqueror.

However, a people that has liberated itself has a right to know what it is fighting for; it has a right to define for itself its aims and tasks in a war it has not initiated. It must declare openly, not only to its friends but also to its enemies, that it strives for no conquests, for no annexations of others' lands, that it leaves it to every nationality to decide how to organise its own life.

But this is not all. A people that has liberated itself must say openly to the whole world that it is ready at any moment to enter into negotiations for the purpose of stopping the war. On conditions of giving up annexations and indemnities and recognising the right of nations to self-determination we must

* See page 73, Book I of this volume.

be ready every minute to enter into negotiations for the purpose of liquidating the war.

Russia is bound by alliances to England, France, and other countries. It can not act on the questions of peace without them. This means, however, that revolutionary Russia, freed from tsarist yoke, must directly and openly address itself to its Allies proposing to them to reconsider the question of opening peace negotiations. What the answer of the Allies will be we do not know, neither do we know what will be the answer of Germany should this proposal be made.

But one thing we know: Only then will the peoples who were drawn into the imperialist war against their will be able to make a clear account of the war aims. And when the millions of workers and soldiers on all the fronts will have made clear to themselves the real aims of the governments who drew them into the bloody war, this will be not only the end of the war but also a decisive step towards an open struggle against the system of suppression and exploitation which causes all wars.

Not a disorganisation of the revolutionary army that becomes ever more revolutionary is our slogan; neither is it the meaningless, "Down with the war!" Our slogan is—pressure on the Provisional Government with the aim of forcing it openly, before world democracy, and immediately to come forth with an attempt to induce all the belligerent countries forthwith to start negotiations concerning the means of stopping the World War.

Up to that time, however, each remains at his post.

Therefore, in greeting warmly the above published appeal of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, "To the Peoples of the Whole World," we view it only as the beginning of an extensive and energetic campaign for the triumph of peace and the cessation of world bloodshed.

Pravda, No. 9, March 28, 1917.

III

OUR DIFFERENCES *

BY L. KAMENEV

In yesterday's issue of the *Pravda* Comrade Lenin published his "theses." They represent the *personal* opinion of Comrade Lenin and by publishing them Comrade Lenin did something which is the duty of every outstanding public man—to submit to the judgment of the revolutionary democracy of Russia his understanding of current events. Comrade Lenin did it in a very concise form, but he did it *thoroughly*. Having begun with a characterisation of the World War, he came to the conclusion that it is necessary to create a new Communist Party. In his report he naturally had to criticise not only the policy of the leaders of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, but also the policy of the *Pravda* as it appeared at the time of the Soviet Congress and expressed itself in the activities of the Bolshevik delegates at the congress. This policy of the *Pravda* was clearly formulated in the resolutions on the Provisional Government and on the war, formulated and made public at the same congress after they were prepared by the Bureau of the Central Committee and approved of by the Bolshevik delegates to the congress.

Pending new decisions of the Central Committee and of the All-Russian

* See page 125, Book I of this volume.

conference of our party, those resolutions remain our platform which we will defend both against the demoralising influence of "Revolutionary defencism" and against Comrade Lenin's criticism.

As regards Comrade Lenin's general line, it appears to us unacceptable inasmuch as it proceeds from the assumption that the bourgeois-democratic revolution *has been completed* and it builds on the immediate transformation of this revolution into a Socialist revolution. The tactics that follow from such analysis are greatly at variance with the tactics defended by the representatives of the *Pravda* at the All-Russian Congress both against the official leaders of the Soviet and against the Mensheviks who dragged the Soviet to the Right.

In a broad discussion we hope to carry our point of view as the only possible one for revolutionary Social-Democracy in so far as it wishes to be and must remain to the very end the one and only party of the revolutionary masses of the proletariat without turning into a group of Communist propagandists.

Pravda, No. 27, April 21, 1917.

IV

REPORT ON THE PASSAGE THROUGH GERMANY *

UPON receiving, on March 19, the first news of the beginning of the revolution in Russia, there took place, on the initiative of the International Socialist Commission (the Zimmerwald Commission), a congress of representatives of all the Russian and Polish parties that were adhering to the Zimmerwald alliance. When the congress was closing, a conference devoted to the question of political emigrants' return to Russia took place. It was participated in by Martov, Bobrov, Zinoviev and Kossovsky. Among other proposals the conference took up Martov's plan about a possibility of returning through Germany and Stockholm, on the basis of exchanging for the emigrants an equal number of Germans and Austrians interned in Russia. All conferees agreed that Martov's plan was the most feasible and acceptable. Grimm was instructed to enter into negotiations with the Swiss Government.

A few days later Comrade Grimm met Bagotsky, an agent of the committee on the return of the Russian emigrants (a committee in which all groups were represented). The meeting took place in the presence of Comrade Zinoviev. Grimm told Bagotsky that he had had a conversation with Hoffman, member of the Federal Council in charge of the political department. Hoffman, according to Grimm, had declared that the Swiss Government could not act as official mediator because this might be construed by the Entente Powers as violation of neutrality. Grimm then, so he said, privately approached the representative of the German Government with a view of learning whether he had no objection in principle. Bagotsky and Zinoviev declared that they considered that course to be promising of results, and they asked him to bring the negotiations to a fruitful conclusion.

The following day, however, representatives of some parties in Zürich declared that they did not agree with Grimm's plan. It was necessary to wait* for a reply from Petrograd, they said.

The members of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party then declared that they would not take upon

* See page 91, Book I of this volume.

themselves the responsibility for further delaying their return to Russia, whereupon they sent to Martov and Bobrov the following communication:

The Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has decided to accept Comrade Grimm's proposal concerning the return of the political emigrants to Russia via Germany. The circumstances are the following:

1. Negotiations were conducted by Comrade Grimm with the representative of a government of a neutral country, Minister Hoffman, who finds it impossible for the Swiss Government to take official steps in this matter, since it is obvious that the English Government, interested in not allowing the return of the internationalists to Russia, would construe this as a violation of neutrality on the part of Switzerland.

2. Grimm's proposals are perfectly acceptable, since they guarantee freedom of passage, and are entirely independent of any political orientation or any attitude towards the questions of national defence, continuation of the war, conclusion of peace, etc.

3. This proposal is based on an exchange of the emigrants for those interned in Russia, and the emigrants have no reason whatever to oppose propaganda in favour of such an exchange.

4. Comrade Grimm has made this proposal to all the groups of political emigrants, even stating that, under conditions as they exist at the present moment, this is the only way out and is perfectly acceptable.

5. On the other hand, everything possible has been done to convince the representatives of other groups of the necessity of accepting this proposal, as further delay is absolutely not permissible.

6. Unfortunately, the representatives of some groups have expressed themselves in favour of delay. This decision is highly deserving of condemnation and may do the greatest injury to the Russian revolutionary movement.

Taking the above into consideration, the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee has decided to inform all party members that we have accepted the proposal to depart immediately, and that all wishing to go with us must register. A copy of the present decision will be forwarded to the representatives of all the groups

Zürich, March 31, 1917.

N. LENIN.

G. ZINOVIEV.

When this document, with the commentaries of the opposing groups, was handed to Grimm, he made the following semi-official declaration:

Berne, April 2, 1917.

To the Central Committee Organising the
Return of Russian Emigrants in Zürich.

Dear Comrades:

I have just learned of the circular letter of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party concerning the return of emigrants to Russia. I am extremely amazed at the contents of that letter, not only because it ascribes to me an entirely incorrect position, but also because of the extraordinary (one word illegible) mention of the member of the Federal Council, Hoffman, which makes further negotiations with Swiss authorities highly difficult.

In any event, I find myself constrained to state the following facts, and I leave it to your discretion to make use of the present letter in the way you deem fit.

1. Negotiations are under way, but their origin is not Comrade Grimm's proposal concerning the return of the emigrants to Russia. I have never made such a proposal. I merely served as an intermediary between Russian comrades and the Swiss authorities.

2. In accordance with the decisions of a conference of Russian comrades that met in Berne on March 19, I proposed to the Political Department of the Swiss Government to make clear whether it would not be possible to arrange something like an exchange of Russian emigrants for those interned in Russia. The proposal was rejected on the ground of the country's neutrality which does not depend on one or the other government, and without knowledge as to whether the Entente Powers, England in particular, would or would not put obstacles in the way of the emigrants' departure.

3. While the negotiations were in progress there sprang up the idea of organising in Holland a bureau for the exchange, but in view of the delays such a plan would entail, it was dropped.

4. The final results of the negotiations are the following: The Russian comrades were compelled to address themselves directly to the Provisional Government through the Minister of Justice Kerensky. It will be kept informed and will be shown the impossibility of returning through England, so that, in view of the existing situation, it will have to approve a return through Germany. In consequence of such an agreement, the passage through Germany may take place without subsequent complications. On Friday, March 30, I notified the representatives of the Central Committee present in Berne about these facts, adding my personal opinion that this proposal, *i. e.*, an agreement with Kerensky or Chkheidze, and the subsequent passage through Germany, were acceptable. I added that it would be up to your committee to accept or reject the proposal, and that I considered my mission ended.

5. On April 1, I received a telegram from Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev informing me that their party had decided to accept without reservations the plan of passing through Germany and of immediately organising the departure. I let them know by telephone that I would gladly help them find a mediator to conclude the negotiations between the authorities entrusted with regulating conditions for passage and the comrades who had telegraphed to me; that, personally, however, I could under no circumstances take part in those negotiations since I considered all negotiations with the Swiss authorities finished and my mission over. As the above-mentioned circular letter seems to have given rise to misunderstandings, I find it necessary to establish these points, in order to avert right now the possibility of rumours being spread. I am very sorry that our efforts were so light-heartedly made the subject of a circular letter, which was not even confidential.

With Socialist greetings,

GRIMM.

When Zinoviev afterwards demanded explanations from Grimm, he declared in the presence of Comrade Platten that he considered it his duty to make such a declaration, particularly since the exposure of Hoffman's rôle might have caused substantial injury to Swiss neutrality. At the same time Grimm declared himself ready to undertake also further steps to facilitate the departure of that group which had decided to go forthwith. However, in view of the equivocal behaviour of Grimm, the organisers of the departure deemed it more appropriate to reject his services and to ask Comrade Platten to bring negotiations to a conclusion.

On April 3 Platten informed the German Embassy in Berne that he was to continue the negotiations begun by Grimm. He proposed, in a written form, the following conditions:

Basis for Negotiations Concerning the Return to Russia of Political Emigrants Living in Switzerland.

1. I, Fritz Platten, under my own full responsibility and at my own risk, accompany the railway car with the political emigrants and refugees who return to Russia through Germany.

2. Platten alone communicates with German authorities and officials. Nobody has a right to enter the car without his permission.

3. The railway car is considered extraterritorial. There shall be no control of passports or passengers upon entering or leaving Germany.

4. Passengers will be admitted into the car irrespective of their views or their attitude towards war or peace.

5. Platten takes it upon himself to provide the passengers with railway tickets at the current rates.

6. The passage is to be made, as far as possible, without interruptions. Nobody shall leave the car, either voluntarily or by order. The car shall not be delayed during the passage unless this is technically unavoidable.

7. Passage is allowed on the basis of an exchange for German or Austrian war prisoners or for those interned in Russia.

8. The mediator and the passengers take it upon themselves personally and privately to insist among the working class that point 7 be adhered to.

9. Passage from the Swiss to the Swedish frontier should be accomplished as speedily as technical facilities permit.

Berne-Zürich, April 4, 1917.

(Signed) FRITZ PLATTEN,
Secretary, Swiss Socialist Party.

Two days later Comrade Platten made it known that the German Government had accepted those conditions.

On April 2, before the issue was brought to a conclusion, the representatives of the other groups adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, in view of the obvious impossibility of returning to Russia via England due to resistance offered by the English and French authorities, all parties have found it necessary to ask of the Provisional Government, through the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, authorisation to exchange a number of political emigrants for an equal number of German citizens;

And whereas the comrades who represent the Central Committee have decided to go to Russia through Germany without awaiting the outcome of the steps undertaken in this direction.—

Therefore we consider the decision of the comrades from the Central Committee to be a political error, as it has not been proven that it is impossible to obtain the authorisation of the Provisional Government for such an exchange.

The organisers of the trip agreed with the first part of the resolution, but they could not accept the proposition that the Provisional Government's resistance to the return of the Russian emigrants to Russia had not been proven. There is not the slightest doubt that the Provisional Government under the Entente's dictatorship will do everything in its power to halt the return of the revolutionists who fight against the predatory war of imperialism. In view of these facts the undersigned see themselves placed before an alternative of either deciding to return to Russia through Germany or remaining abroad till the end of the war. Despite the above quoted declaration of the representatives of the other groups, Platten, having obtained the consent of the German Government to his conditions, found it necessary once more to propose to the Zürich delegates to participate in the journey. While this protocol is being composed, their reply is not yet known to us.

We are informed that the paper *Petit Parisien* carried the news about Miliukov's decision to have all citizens returning through Germany tried in the courts. We therefore declare that if our trip to Russia becomes the object of such measures, we will demand that the present Russian Govern-

ment, which continues the reactionary war, should be tried by the people. This government, to prove that it is against imperialist policies, continues the practices of the former government, it confiscates telegrams addressed to workers' deputies, etc.

It is our conviction that the conditions offered us for passage through Germany are perfectly acceptable to us. The Miliukovs would certainly make it easy for men like Liebknecht to return to Germany if they were in Russia. The Bethmann-Hollwegs have the same attitude towards the Russian internationalists. The internationalists of all countries have a right and a duty to utilise this gamble of the imperialist governments in the interests of the proletariat without changing their course and without making the slightest concession to the governments. Our viewpoint in relation to the war has been expounded by us in No. 47 of the *Social-Democrat* where we state that we consider admissible a revolutionary war against imperialist Germany—after the proletariat has seized political power in Russia. This viewpoint has been defended by Lenin and Zinoviev also in public speeches, as well as in an article published by Lenin at the beginning of the Russian Revolution in the paper *Volksrecht*.

Simultaneously with this we are addressing to the Swiss workers an open letter in which we express our viewpoint. From the first to the last day we have been organising our journey in full accord with the representatives of the Zimmerwald Left Wing.

From the Swiss frontier our train will be accompanied by Comrade Platten as far in the direction of Petrograd as this will be possible for him; we hope that we will be met at the Swedish frontier by the Swedish internationalists, Ström and Lindhagen.

From the very beginning our steps were perfectly open, and we are convinced that this act will be completely and absolutely approved by the workers-internationalists in Russia. This declaration is binding for all the members of our party who participate in the journey. Persons who participate in it without being members of our party, do so on their own responsibility.*

Declaration

The undersigned are appraised of the difficulties put by the Entente Governments in the way of the Russian internationalists' departure and of the conditions under which the German Government allows them to pass. The undersigned are fully aware of the fact that the German Government allows the passage of the Russian internationalists only in order thus to strengthen the anti-war movement in Russia. They declare:

The Russian internationalists who, during the war, tirelessly and with all their power have been fighting against the imperialism of all nations, particularly that of Germany, now go back to Russia to work for the revolution; by these actions they will help the proletariat of all countries and especially the proletariat of Germany to begin their struggle against their governments. The example of the heroic struggle of the Russian proletariat is the best stimulant for such a struggle. For all these reasons the undersigned internationalists of Switzerland, France, Germany, Poland, Sweden and Norway, consider it not only the right but also the duty of the Russian comrades to take advantage of the possibility offered them to return to Russia. At the same time we wish them the best successes in their struggle against the im-

* This is the end of the declaration of those participating in the journey. The rest is a declaration of representatives of other parties and their appreciation of the step taken by the Russian emigrants.—Ed.

perialist policy of the Russian bourgeoisie, a struggle that is part of a general struggle of the proletariat for a social revolution.

Berne, March 17, 1917.

PAUL HARTSTEIN (Paul Levi) (Germany)
 HENRI GULBEAUX (France)
 F. LORiot (France)
 BRONSKI (Poland)
 FRITZ PLATTEN (Switzerland)
 LINDHAGEN, Mayor of Stockholm (Sweden)
 STRÖM, Deputy, Secretary Swedish Socialist
 Party (Sweden)
 CARLSON, Deputy, President Accident Com-
 pensation Fund (Sweden)
 TURE NERMAN, Editor *Politiken* (Sweden)
 KILBOM, Editor *Stormklokkan* (Sweden)
 HANSEN (Norway)

Lenin Collection, II.

V

PROPOSED RESOLUTION OF THE ZIMMERWALD LEFT AT THE ZIMMERWALD CONFERENCE IN SEPTEMBER, 1915 *

The World War and the Tasks of Social-Democracy

THE World War, which has been devastating Europe for the last year, is an *imperialist war* waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, export markets, sources of raw material, spheres of capital investment, etc. It is a product of capitalist development which connects the entire world in a world economy but at the same time permits the existence of national state capitalist groups with opposing interests.

If the bourgeoisie and the governments seek to conceal this character of the World War by asserting that it is a question of a forced struggle for *national independence*, it is only to mislead the *proletariat*, since the war is being waged for the oppression of foreign peoples and countries. Equally untruthful are the legends concerning the defence of democracy in this war, since imperialism signifies the most unscrupulous domination of big capital and political reaction.

Imperialism can only be overcome by overcoming the contradictions which produced it, that is, by the *Socialist organisation* of the sphere of capitalist civilisation for which the objective conditions are already ripe.

At the outbreak of the war, the majority of the labour leaders had not raised this only possible slogan in opposition to imperialism. Prejudiced by nationalism, rotten with opportunism, *they surrendered the proletariat to imperialism, and gave up the principles of Socialism and thereby the real struggle for the every-day interests of the proletariat.*

Social-patriotism and social-imperialism, the standpoint of the openly patriotic majority of the formerly Social-Democratic leaders *in Germany*, as well as the opposition-mannered centre of the party around Kautsky, and to

* See page 148, Book I of this volume. See also note 73 of the Explanatory Notes, Book I.

which in France and Austria the majority, in England and Russia a part of the leaders (Hyndman, the Fabians, the Trade-Unionists, Plekhanov, Rubanovich, the group *Nashe Dielo*) confess, is a more dangerous enemy to the proletariat than the bourgeois apostles of imperialism, since, misusing the banner of Socialism, it can mislead the unenlightened workers. *The ruthless struggle against social-imperialism constitutes the first condition for the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat and the reconstruction of the International.*

It is the task of the Socialist parties as well as of the Socialist opposition in the now social-imperialist parties, to call and lead the labouring masses to the *revolutionary struggle* against the capitalist governments for the conquest of political power for the Socialist organisation of society.

Without giving up the struggle for every foot of ground within the framework of capitalism, for every reform strengthening the proletariat, without renouncing any means of organisation and agitation, the revolutionary Social-Democrats, on the contrary, must utilise all the struggles, all the reforms demanded by our minimum programme for the purpose of sharpening this *war crisis* as well as every social and political crisis of capitalism, of extending them to an attack upon its very foundations. By waging this struggle *under the slogan of Socialism* it will render the labouring masses immune to the slogans of the oppression of one people by another as expressed in the maintenance of the domination of one nation over another, in the cry for new annexations; it will render them deaf to the temptations of national solidarity which has led the proletarians to the battlefields.

The signal for this struggle is the struggle against the World War, for the speedy termination of the slaughter of nations. This struggle demands the refusal of war credits, quitting the cabinets, the denunciation of the capitalist, anti-Socialist character of the war from the tribunes of the parliaments, in the columns of the legal, and where necessary illegal, press, the sharpest struggle against social-patriotism, and the utilisation of every movement of the people caused by the results of the war (misery, great losses, etc.) for the organisation of street demonstrations against the governments, propaganda of international solidarity in the trenches, the encouragement of economic strikes, the effort to transform them into political strikes under favourable conditions. "Civil war, not civil peace,"—that is the slogan!

As against all illusions that it is possible to bring about the basis of a lasting peace, the beginning of disarmament, by any decisions of diplomacy and the governments, the revolutionary Social-Democrats must repeatedly tell the masses of the people that only the social revolution can bring about a lasting peace as well as the emancipation of mankind.

VI

THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT LABOUR PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) PROPOSED AT THE KIENTHAL CONFERENCE, APRIL, 1916 *

1. JUST as every war is only a continuation of the politics practised by belligerent states even in the preceding period of peace—with peaceful means,

* See pages 145-153, Book I of this volume. See also note 73 of the Explanatory Notes, Book I.

to be sure—so the peace concluding the war can only be a registration of the realignment of forces achieved in the course of the war.

2. As long as the pillars of present-day bourgeois social relations continue to exist, an imperialist war can only lead to an imperialist peace, that is, to the extension and augmentation of the oppression of small peoples and states by finance capital which made a gigantic upward swing not only before the war but also in the course of the war.

The objective content of that policy which was conducted by the bourgeoisie and the governments of both belligerent groups before the war and during it, leads to the increase of economic pressure, national enslavement, political reaction. Consequently, the conclusion of peace, no matter what the outcome of the war may be, can only establish the fact that the political and economic condition of the masses has become worse, since bourgeois society continues to exist.

To assume a "democratic peace" as a result of the imperialist war is to voice an empty phrase instead of studying the policy of the powers before the war and during the war; is to mislead the masses by withholding what is most important: the impossibility of a democratic peace without a series of revolutions.

3. The Socialists in no way renounce the struggle for reforms. Even now, for example, they must vote in the parliaments for every improvement in the condition of the people, small as it may be; for adequate support of the inhabitants of territories affected by the war, for mitigation of national pressure, etc. It is a bourgeois deception, however, to preach reform politics on questions which history and the whole political situation stamps as capable of solution only by revolution. These are the basic questions of imperialism, *i. e.*, the questions of the continued existence of capitalist society as a whole, the questions of the possibility of delaying the overthrow of capitalism by attempting a new division of the earth in accord with the new alignment of forces between the great powers which had developed not only with extraordinary speed but also—which is the most important—with extraordinary unevenness. Real political activity which, without deceiving the masses, is suited to change the alignment of forces of present-day society, can only be achieved in one of the following forms: either one helps one's "own" national bourgeoisie to rob foreign countries, and calls this help "defence of the fatherland" or "saving the country"; or one helps to guide the Socialist revolution of the proletariat onto the road by augmenting the ferment already commencing among the masses, supporting strikes and demonstrations, etc., by supporting the beginnings—at present still weak—of the revolutionary mass struggle and intensifying them to a general attack of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Just as all social-chauvinists now deceive the people when they speak of an "honourable" defence against a "dishonourable" attack on the part of this or that group of capitalist robber powers, so it is also pure deception and empty phrase-mongering when one speaks of a "democratic peace," as if the coming peace, which is even now being prepared by the capitalists and diplomats, could render a new "dishonourable" attack impossible and establish the former "honest" relations; as if it were not rather a continuation and sanctioning of imperialist policy, the policy of capitalist robbery, of national oppression, of political reaction, of increasing capitalist exploitation. These "Socialist" lackeys are doing good service to the capitalists and their diplomats now by confusing the people and hiding the true situation with phrases about democratic peace, and diverting the people from a revolutionary struggle.

4. The programme of "democratic peace" which was defended to-day by the most outstanding leaders of the Second International, appears as just such deception and hypocrisy. At the Dutch Congress in Arnheim (see the *Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1915), this programme was formulated as follows by most influential official representatives of the Second International: Renunciation of revolutionary struggle until the imperialist governments have concluded peace; till then—phrases about the rejection of annexations and indemnities, recognition on paper of the right of self-determination of nations, the democratisation of foreign policy, courts of arbitration for the liquidation of political disputes, United States of Europe, etc.

Viewed objectively, this "programme of peace" leads to the increased subordination of the working class, for it reconciles the workers, who are beginning to take up a revolutionary struggle with their chauvinist leaders, by obliterating the depth of the crisis in Socialism, to return to that condition within the Socialist Party which existed before the war and which resulted in most of the leaders going over to the side of the bourgeoisie. The danger of this policy is all the greater as it is adorned with high-sounding phrases and is conducted not only in Germany but also in other countries. In England most of the leaders defend this policy. In Russia, the chauvinist idea of "defence of the fatherland" is cloaked in the phrase about "saving the fatherland." Thus Chkheidze, for example, on the one hand claims to stand on the ground of the Zimmerwald Conference, and on the other, praises, in the official fraction declaration in the Duma, the infamous speech of Huysmans (in Arnheim) and has not a single word against the voluntary participation of the workers in the tsarist, big-bourgeois war industries committees. Another leader of the Duma fraction, Deputy Chkhenkeli, delivers social-patriotic speeches in the Duma quite openly, supports the participators in the war industries committees, etc. In Italy, a similar policy is practised by Treves (see *Avanti*, March 5, 1916).

5. The most important peace questions to-day are those of annexations. And it is just this question that reveals the "Socialist" hypocrisy of to-day, and makes clear, on the other hand, the tasks of the real Socialist propaganda and agitation. It must be made clear what annexation really is, how and why Socialists must struggle against annexations. Not every acquisition of a new territory is annexation, for, in general, Socialism stands for the disappearance of boundaries between nations and, for the formation of larger states. Not every breach of the *status quo* is annexation. To believe that, would be reactionary and would contradict the basic principles of historical science. Not every acquisition of a country by the violence of war is annexation, for Socialism cannot reject in principle wars that are waged in the interest of the majority of the population. By annexations we merely understand the acquisition of a country against the will of its inhabitants. In other words: the concept of annexations is most intimately bound up with the concept of the right of self-determination of nations.

But in the present war, just because it is an imperialist war on the part of both groups of belligerent powers, we see that the bourgeois and social-chauvinist politicians come out against annexations in so far as these are practised by a hostile power. It is clear that such a "struggle" against annexations, such "unity" in the question of annexations, is nothing but hypocrisy. It is clear that the French Socialists, who are supporting the war for Alsace-Lorraine, or the German Socialists who do not demand the freedom of separation for Alsace-Lorraine or German-Poland from Germany, or the Russian

Socialists who call the war, which leads to the renewed enslavement of Poland by tsarism, "saving the fatherland"—that all these Socialists are actually annexationists.

If the struggle against annexations is to be more than an empty phrase, if it is really to educate the masses in the spirit of internationalism, then the question must be formulated in such a way as to open the eyes of the people, so that it perceives the deception in the question of annexations, and not in such a way as to cover up this deception. It is not sufficient for a Socialist to claim that he is for the equality of nations and swear that he wants to come out against all annexations. Every true Socialist, on the contrary, is obliged to demand immediately and unconditionally the freedom of separation for the colonies and nations that are oppressed by his own "fatherland."

Without this condition, even the recognition of the right of self-determination and the principles of internationalism in the Zimmerwald Manifesto is at best a still-born word.

6. An exposure of the lie of a "democratic peace," of the "peaceful" intentions of the belligerent countries, and so forth, must lie at the basis of the "peace programme" of the Socialists as well as of their struggle for the termination of the war—the lie with which demagogic Ministers, social-chauvinists and Kautskians of all countries appeal to the masses.

Every "peace programme" is hypocrisy if it does not rest upon propaganda for the necessity of the revolution and upon increasing the revolutionary ferment which is beginning everywhere among the masses (protests, fraternisation connections in the trenches, strikes, demonstrations, letters from those fighting at the front to relatives, who are called upon not to subscribe to the war loans, etc.).

The support of every mass movement in favour of terminating the war is a duty of the Socialists. In reality, however, this duty is fulfilled only by those Socialists who—like Liebknecht from the speaker's tribune in parliament—call upon the soldiers to lower their arms, and preach the revolution and the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for Socialism.

In order to draw the masses into the revolutionary struggle, in order to convince them of the necessity of revolutionary measures for the possibility of a "democratic peace," the slogan of "Refuse to pay the national debt" must be raised.

It is not sufficient for the Zimmerwald Manifesto to indicate the revolution by saying that the masses must make sacrifices for their own cause and not for some one else's. The people must know where it is to go and why. It is obvious that revolutionary action during the war must transform the imperialist war into a civil war for Socialism. This goal must be stated without equivocation, difficult as the achievement of this goal may be, since we are only at the beginning of the road. It is not sufficient to say with the Zimmerwald Manifesto that the capitalists are lying when they speak of a defence of the fatherland in the present war, and that the workers, in their revolutionary struggle, need not reckon with the military condition of their country. It must be stated clearly what is only indicated here: That not only the capitalists but also the social-chauvinists are misleading the masses when they apply the concept of the "defence of the fatherland" in this imperialist war; that revolutionary action during the war is impossible without threatening one's own government with defeat in the war; that every defeat of the government in a reactionary war facilitates the revolution which is alone capable of bringing

about a lasting democratic peace. Finally, the masses must be told that without the establishment of an illegal organisation and an illegal press not subject to censorship, it is impossible to extend the beginning revolutionary struggle, to prepare the revolutionary struggle.

7. As for the parliamentary action of the Socialists, it must be considered that the Zimmerwald Conference not only expressed its sympathy for the five Social-Democratic Deputies of the Duma who are now pining in Siberia, but also declared itself in agreement with their tactics. One cannot recognise the revolutionary struggle of the masses and at the same time be satisfied with an exclusively legal activity.

Such tactics lead solely to the justified dissatisfaction of the masses, to their quitting the Social-Democracy and their going over to anti-parliamentary anarchism and syndicalism.

It must be clearly stated that the Social-Democratic Deputies must utilise their position not only to appear in parliament but also to develop an all-around, extra-parliamentary activity in harmony with the illegal organisations and the revolutionary struggle of the workers; that the masses themselves, through their illegal organisations, must control their leaders.

8. The question of convening the I.S.B. [International Socialist Bureau, as the leading committee of the Second International called itself.—*Ed.*] raises the fundamental question of principle, whether a unity of the old parties and of the Second International is possible. Each further step of the international labour movement on the road that was pointed out from Zimmerwald, shows the illogic of the position of the majority of the Zimmerwald Conference: on the one hand, the policy of the old parties and the Second International is identified with the bourgeois policy in the labour movement, with a policy which furthers the interests of the bourgeoisie and not those of the proletariat; on the other hand, the I.S.C. [International Socialist Commission—the central committee of the Zimmerwald Union.—*Ed.*] fears a split with the I.S.B. and promises to liquidate officially should the I.S.B. be convened again. We affirm that such a promise in Zimmerwald was not only not voted upon, but that it did not even get as far as being expressed.

The half year which has gone by since the Zimmerwald Conference has shown that the activity in the spirit of the Zimmerwald Conference—we do not speak of empty words, but of activity—in all countries is actually bound up with a deepening and extension of the split. In Germany, illegal proclamations against the decision of the official party are issued. When Otto Rühle, next to Comrade Liebknecht, openly declared that there were two parties, one that supports the bourgeoisie, and another that fights against the bourgeoisie, many, to be sure, among them Kautsky, criticised Rühle, but no one refuted him. In France, the Socialist Bourderon, an avowed opponent of the split, proposed to his party a resolution, which, if adopted, would decidedly result in a split, namely: to disavow the party committee and the parliamentary fraction (*désapprouver la Comm. Adm. Perm. et le Fr. Parl.*). In England, the I.L.P. member T. Russell Williams, in the moderate paper *Labour Leader*, openly recognises the unavailability of the split and he is supported in letters from English workers. But perhaps the example of America is even more instructive, for even there, in the neutral country, there are manifested two irreconcilably hostile tendencies within the Socialist Party: on the one hand, supporters of so-called "preparedness," i.e., of the war, of militarism and navalism; on the other hand, such Socialists as Eugene Debs openly preach the civil war for Socialism and indeed in connection with the coming war.

In the whole world, the split is actually here already. There are two irreconcilable attitudes of the working class towards the war. Simply to close one's eyes will not do; it can only lead to the confusion of the labouring masses, to beclouding their consciousness, to rendering difficult that revolutionary struggle with which all Zimmerwaldists officially sympathise, and to strengthening the influence of those leaders who are accused by the I.S.C. in the circular of February 10, 1916, of misleading the masses and preparing a conspiracy ("Pact") against Socialism.

Let the bankrupt I.S.B. be restored by the social-chauvinists of all countries. The Socialists, however, have the task of enlightening the masses on the unavoidability of the split from those who carry on a policy of the bourgeoisie under the banner of Socialism.

VII

RESOLUTION ON THE CRISIS IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT'S NOTE, ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY, MAY 3, 1917 *

THE note of the Provisional Government has proven the perfect correctness of the stand taken by our party in the resolution of the Petrograd city conference, namely: 1. That the Provisional Government is a thoroughly imperialist government bound hand and foot by Anglo-French and Russian capital; 2. That all promises which it made or could have made (like revealing the people's will to peace," etc.) contain nothing but deceptions; 3. That the Provisional Government, no matter what persons compose it, cannot give up annexations, because in the present war, and particularly at the present moment, the class of capitalists is bound by bank capital; 4. That the policy of the petty bourgeoisie as conducted by the Narodniks, Mensheviks, the majority of the leaders of the present Soviet of Workers' Deputies, a policy consisting in nurturing illusory hopes about the possibility of "improving" the capitalists (*i. e.*, the Provisional Government) "by means of suasion," again stands exposed by this note.

In view of the above, the Central Committee arrives at the following conclusions:

I. All changes in the personnel of the present government (Miliukov's resignation, Kerensky's recall, etc.) will be an imitation of the worst practices of bourgeois parliamentary republicanism which substitutes clique rivalries and shiftings of persons for the struggle of classes.

II. The only salvation for the mass of the petty-bourgeois population which is vacillating between the capitalists and the working class is unreservedly to join the side of the revolutionary proletariat which alone is capable of actually breaking the fetters of finance capital and annexationist policies. Only after taking over—with the aid of a majority of the people—all state power, will the revolutionary proletariat, together with the revolutionary soldiers, in the person of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, create a government that will have the confidence of the workers of all the countries and will be able speedily to end the war with a really democratic peace.

Pravda, No. 37, May 4, 1917.

* See page 245, Book I of this volume.

VIII

RESOLUTION OF THE MOSCOW REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY ON THE ATTITUDE
TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT *

HAVING discussed the question of our attitude towards the Provisional Government, the Regional Conference of the Central Industrial Region has come to the following conclusions:

1. The Provisional Government, being an organ of power of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, is closely connected with Anglo-French imperialism and is, in its essence, counter-revolutionary.

2. Expressing the interests of these classes, the Provisional Government very slowly and reluctantly, and only under the pressure of revolutionary democracy, puts into practice the program of reforms announced by it, and offers resistance to a further expansion and a deepening of the conquests of the revolution.

3. At the same time the forces of the bourgeois and landowner counter-revolution, now in the process of organisation, are striving, with the silent permission of the Provisional Government and sometimes with its direct aid, to split the masses of revolutionary democracy and to prevent them from completing the proletarian-peasant revolution.

For this purpose the Provisional Government allows counter-revolutionary propaganda in the army, it helps organise the high commanding officers against the soldiers, it puts obstacles in the way of introducing the eight-hour work-day, it delays the designating of a date for the elections to the Constituent Assembly, it offers resistance to the passing of the whole land into the hands of the people, etc.

4. Every step of the Provisional Government, in foreign as well as in domestic politics, furnishes material that reveals the true character of this government and thereby emphasises more and more the necessity for the proletarian, semi-proletarian and revolutionary petty-bourgeois strata of city and village to concentrate all power in the organisations of these revolutionary-democratic groups of the population.

5. At the present time, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and other Deputies—the organs of revolutionary power and organisation centres of the masses of revolutionary democracy—are, in a substantial majority not only devoid of sovereign power, but they do not even exert a sufficiently concentrated, organised pressure on the various local organs of the revolutionary period, namely, the Provisional Executive Committees of the provinces, the city committees of public safety, etc.; at the same time they show confidence in the Provisional Government and support its activities, sometimes even when they are clearly directed against the people (support of the "Liberty Loan").

Proceeding from these considerations the Conference states the following:

1. In order to accomplish the passing of the state power into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and other Deputies or other organs that are the direct expression of the will of revolutionary democracy, it is necessary to do extensive work of clarifying proletarian class-consciousness and of uniting the city and village proletarians against petty-bourgeois vacillation, for it is only work of this nature that will assure the successful advance of the whole revolutionary people.

* See page 272, Book I of this volume.

2. In order that such work may bring results, it is necessary, first of all, to strengthen the Soviets as mass organisations and incessantly to widen their connections with the masses of revolutionary democracy, as well as to conduct many-sided activities within the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies tending to consolidate within them the proletarian internationalist groups of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

3. In the process of transforming themselves into sovereign organs, the revolutionary masses of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and other Deputies which organise around themselves all the groups of revolutionary democracy, must exercise control over the activities of all the organs of the revolutionary period, exposing the counter-revolutionary character of the steps undertaken by the Provisional Government, by the provincial and city public committees, etc. This control, in the course of the development of a victorious proletarian-peasant revolution, will inevitably turn into control over all elements of the economic life of the state, and will appear as a forward step towards the seizure of all state power by the organised masses of the proletariat and poor peasants.

Social-Democrat, No. 45, May 15, 1917.

IX

APPEAL TO THE SOLDIERS OF ALL THE BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES *

BROTHER SOLDIERS:

We are all tired of this terrible war which has taken millions of lives, has crippled millions of people and has caused unheard-of misery, ruin, and starvation.

Day by day there grows the number of people who ask themselves, "Why was this war begun? Why is it being continued?"

Day by day it becomes clearer to us workers and soldiers, who bear the most trying burdens of the war, that the war was started and is being continued by the capitalists of all countries for the interests of the capitalists, for domination over the world, for markets to benefit the manufacturers and bankers, for the purpose of robbing weak nationalities. Colonies are being divided, territories are being seized in the Balkans and in Turkey—and this is why the European peoples must be ruined, this is why we must perish, this is why we must witness ruin, starvation, the death of our families.

The capitalist class waxes rich in all the countries on war contracts and deliveries, on concessions in the annexed countries, on high prices for goods; they gather gigantic, unheard-of, scandalous profits. Moreover, the capitalist class has saddled the peoples with a heavy burden in the form of high interest on war loans, to be borne for long decades to come. We workers and peasants face death, ruin, starvation, and still we patiently tolerate all this, we even strengthen our oppressors, the capitalists, in that the workers of the various countries exterminate each other and become imbued with hatred for each other.

Is it possible that we should continue patiently to bear our yoke, to tolerate the war between the capitalist classes? Is it possible that we should

* See page 279, Book I of this volume.

prolong this war by siding with our national government, with our national bourgeoisie, with our national capitalists, thus destroying the international unity of the workers of all countries, of the whole world?

No, brother soldiers, it is time we opened our eyes, it is time we took our fate into our own hands. In all the countries there grows, widens, and deepens the people's indignation against the capitalist class which has drawn the people into this war. Not only in Germany, but also in England, known before the war as a very free country, hundreds and hundreds of real friends and representatives of the working class are languishing in prisons for honest and truthful utterances against the war and against the capitalists. The revolution in Russia is only the first step of the first revolution after which others must and will follow.

The new government in Russia, that which has overthrown Nicholas II, a crowned handit of the same kind as Wilhelm II, is a government of capitalists. It wages the same predatory imperialist war as do the capitalists of Germany, England, and other countries. It has confirmed the predatory secret treaties concluded by Nicholas II with the capitalists of England, France, etc.; it does not publish these treaties for public information, as the German Government does not publish its secret and no less predatory treaties with Austria, Bulgaria, etc.

On May 3, the Russian Provisional Government published a note in which it once more confirms the old predatory treaties concluded by the Tsar, and expresses its readiness to continue the war to complete victory. Thus it makes indignant even those who hitherto trusted and supported it.

The Russian Revolution, however, created, besides the government of the capitalists, revolutionary organisations established by initiative from below and representing an overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants, namely, the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd and in a majority of the cities of Russia. A majority of the soldiers and a part of the workers has hitherto followed in Russia—as do very many workers and soldiers in Germany—a policy of unconscious confidence in the government of capitalists, in their empty and false speeches on peace without annexation, on a defensive war and the like.

The workers and the poorest peasants, however, differ from the capitalists, in that they are not interested either in annexations or in conserving the profits of the capitalists. This is why every day, every step of the government of capitalists will, both in Russia and in Germany, expose the fraud of the capitalists and show that as long as the rule of the capitalists continues there can be no real democratic peace concluded without violence and based on a real renunciation of annexations, *i. e.*, on the liberation of all colonies without exception, of all oppressed, forcibly annexed or semi-sovereign nationalities without exception, and just so long will the war in all probability be continued and accentuated.

Only where state power in two now opposing states, for instance, in Russia and Germany, will have passed entirely and completely into the hands of revolutionary Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies capable, not in words, but in deeds, to break the whole network of relations and interests of capital;—only there will the workers of both belligerent countries become imbued with confidence in each other and will be able speedily to put an end, to the war on the basis of a really democratic peace which really liberates all peoples and nationalities.

Brother soldiers!

Let us do all in our power to hasten the coming of this, to reach this goal:

let us not be afraid of sacrifices, for any sacrifice in favour of a workers' revolution will be less burdensome than the sacrifices of war.

Every victorious step of the revolution will save hundreds of thousands, even millions of people from death, ruin, and starvation.

Peace to the cottages, war to the palaces! Peace to the workers of all countries! Long live the brotherly unity of the revolutionary workers of all countries! Long live Socialism!

Central Committee, Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

Petrograd Committee, Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

Editors *Pravda*.

May 4, 1917.

Pravda, No. 37, May 4, 1917.

X

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN APRIL (MAY) CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.-D.L.P., MAY 7-12, 1917 *

I. ON THE WAR

I.

THE present war, on the part of both belligerent groups, is an imperialist war, *i. e.*, it is waged by capitalists for the division of the benefits derived from the domination of the world, for markets, for finance (bank) capital, for the subjection of weak nationalities, etc. Each day of war enriches the financial and industrial bourgeoisie and impoverishes and saps the strength of the proletariat and the peasantry of all the belligerents, as well as of the neutral countries. In Russia, moreover, the prolongation of the war involves a grave danger to the conquests of the revolution and its further development.

The passing of state power, in Russia, into the hands of the Provisional Government, a government of the landowners and capitalists, did not and could not alter the character and meaning of Russia's participation in the war.

This fact became particularly apparent when the new government not only failed to publish the secret treaties concluded between Tsar Nicholas II and the capitalist governments of England, France, etc., but even formally and without consulting the people confirmed these secret treaties, which promised Russian capitalists freedom to rob China, Persia, Turkey, Austria, etc. The concealment of these treaties from the people completely deceived them as to the true character of the war.

For this reason a proletarian party can support neither the present war, nor the present government, nor its loans, without breaking completely with internationalism, *i. e.*, with the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all lands in their struggle against the yoke of capital.

No confidence can be placed in the promises of the present government to renounce annexations, *i. e.*, conquests of foreign countries, or in the promise to renounce forcible retention within the confines of Russia of this or that nationality. For, in the first place, the capitalists, bound by thousands of threads of bank capital, cannot renounce annexations in the present war without renouncing the profits on the billions invested in loans, in concessions, in war industries, etc. And, in the second place, the new government,

* See pages 271-319, Book I of this volume.

having renounced annexations in order to deceive the people, declared through Miliukov (Moscow, April 27, 1917) that it had no intention of renouncing annexations, and, in the note of May 1, and in the explanations of it of May 5, confirmed the annexationist character of its policies. In warning the people against the empty promises of the capitalists, the Conference therefore declares that it is necessary to distinguish sharply between a renunciation of annexations in words and a renunciation of annexations in deeds, *i. e.*, the immediate publication and abrogation of all the secret predatory treaties and the immediate granting to all the nationalities of the right to determine by free voting whether they wish to be independent states or to be part of another state.

II.

The so-called "revolutionary defencism" which in Russia has permeated all the Narodnik parties (the People's Socialists, Trudoviks; Socialists-Revolutionists) as well as the opportunist party of the Social-Democratic Mensheviks of the Organisation Committee (Chkheidze, Tsereteli, etc.) and the majority of the unaffiliated revolutionists, represents, by its class character, on the one hand the interests and the standpoint of the wealthier peasants and a part of the small proprietors who, like the capitalists, profit by oppressing weak peoples; on the other hand "revolutionary defencism" is the outcome of the deception by the capitalists of part of the city and village proletarians, who, by their class position, have no interest in the profits of the capitalists and in the imperialist war.

The Conference declares that any concessions to "revolutionary defencism" are absolutely not permissible and would actually signify a complete break with internationalism and Socialism. As for the defencist tendencies present among the great masses, our party will struggle against these tendencies by ceaselessly emphasising the truth that any attitude of uncritical confidence in the government of the capitalists at the present moment is one of the greatest obstacles to a speedy conclusion of the war.

III.

As for the most important question of the manner of concluding as soon as possible the present capitalist war, not by an oppressive peace but by a truly democratic one, the Conference recognises and declares the following:

This war cannot be ended by a refusal of the soldiers of one side only to continue the war, by a simple cessation of war activities on the part of one side only.

The Conference reiterates its protest against the base slander circulated by the capitalists against our party to the effect that we are in favour of a separate peace with Germany. We consider the German capitalists robbers no less than the capitalists of Russia, England, France, etc., and Emperor Wilhelm just as much of a crowned bandit as Nicholas II and the monarchs of England, Italy, Rumania, and all the rest.

Our party will patiently and persistently explain to the people the truth that wars are carried on by governments, that wars are always indissolubly bound up with the policies of certain classes, that this war may be terminated by a democratic peace only if the entire state power, in at least several of the belligerent states, has passed to the class of the proletarians and semi-proletarians who are really capable of putting an end to the bondage of capitalism.

In Russia, the revolutionary class, upon having seized the state power, would

inaugurate a series of measures to undermine the economic rule of the capitalists, as well as of measures that would render the capitalists completely harmless politically, and would immediately and frankly offer to all the peoples a democratic peace on the basis of a complete relinquishment of every possible form of annexation or indemnity. Such measures and such an offer of peace would bring about an attitude of complete confidence of the workers of the belligerent countries towards each other and would inevitably lead to uprisings of the proletariat against such imperialist governments as might resist the offered peace.

Until the revolutionary class in Russia shall have taken over the entire state power, our party will, by all means, support those proletarian parties and groups in foreign countries as are, already during the continuance of the war, conducting a revolutionary struggle against their own imperialist governments and their own bourgeoisie. Particularly will our party support the mass fraternisation of the soldiers of all the belligerent countries that has already begun at the front, thereby endeavouring to transform this instinctive expression of solidarity of the oppressed into a class-conscious, well-organised movement for the taking over of all state power in all the belligerent countries by the revolutionary proletariat.

2. ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The All-Russian Conference of the R.S.-D.L.P. recognises that

1. The Provisional Government, by its class character, is the organ of landowner and bourgeois domination;

2. The Provisional Government and the classes it represents are bound with indissoluble economic and political ties to Russian and Anglo-French imperialism;

3. The Provisional Government does not fully carry out even the programme which it has promulgated, and when it does, it is only because of the pressure of the revolutionary proletariat and, partly, the petty bourgeoisie;

4. The forces of the bourgeois and feudal counter-revolution, now in the process of organisation, have already, under the cover of the Provisional Government and with its obvious encouragement, launched an attack on revolutionary democracy: thus the Provisional Government is postponing the calling of elections to the Constituent Assembly, is interfering with the general arming of the people, is opposing the transfer of the land to the people by foisting upon it the landowners' way of settling the agrarian question, is blocking the introduction of an eight-hour workday, is condoning counter-revolutionary propaganda in the army (Guchkov and Co.), is organising the high commanding officers of the army against the soldiers, etc.;

5. The Provisional Government, while guarding the interests of the capitalists and landowners, is incapable of taking a number of revolutionary measures in the economic field (supply of foodstuffs, etc.) which are absolutely and urgently necessary in view of the impending economic catastrophe;

6. While doing this, the Provisional Government is relying at the present moment on the confidence of, and, to a certain extent, on an actual consent of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies which now is the leading organisation of a majority of workers and soldiers, *i. e.*, peasants;

7. Each step made by the Provisional Government, both in the realm of its domestic and foreign policies, is bound to open the eyes of the city and village proletarians and semi-proletarians and force various strata of the petty bourgeoisie to choose between one and the other political alignment.

Proceeding from the above assumptions, the conference resolves that

1. It is necessary to do extensive work in clarifying proletarian class-consciousness and to unite the city and village proletarians against petty-bourgeois vacillation, for it is only work of this nature that will assure the successful passing of the entire state power into the hands of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies or other organs directly expressing the will of the majority of the people (organs of local self-government, the Constituent Assembly, etc.);

2. Such work requires comprehensive activity within the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, an increase in the number of Soviets, an increase in their power, a welding together, within the Soviets, of the proletarian internationalist groups of our party;

3. In order immediately to insure and widen the conquests of the revolution, it is necessary, in basing ourselves on a solid majority of the local population, to develop, organise, and strengthen local activities springing from below and directed at introducing liberty, removing the counter-revolutionary authorities, introducing measures of an economic nature, such as control over production and distribution, etc.;

4. The political crisis of May 2-4 created by the note of the Provisional Government, has shown that the governmental party of the Constitutional-Democrats, in actually organising counter-revolutionary elements both in the army and in the streets, is already trying to fire at the workers. In view of the unstable situation which is the outcome of the existence of two powers, the repetition of such attempts is inevitable, and it is the duty of the party of the proletariat to tell the people as forcibly as possible that, in order to forestall the seriously threatening danger of such mass shooting of the proletariat as took place in Paris in the June days of 1848, it is necessary to organise and arm the proletariat, to establish a union between the proletariat and the revolutionary army, to break with the policy of confidence in the Provisional Government.

3. ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

The existence of landed estates in Russia is the material basis of the power of the semi-feudal landowners and augurs for the possibility of re-establishing the monarchy. This landownership inevitably dooms an overwhelming mass of the population of Russia, namely, the peasantry, to poverty, serfdom and dumbness, and the entire country to backwardness in all realms of life.

Peasant landownership in Russia, both *nadéls** (of the village communities and of homesteads) and private lands (rented or bought), is from top to bottom and in every other direction enmeshed in old semi-feudal connections and relationships, the peasants being divided into categories inherited from the times of bondage, the land representing a maze of strips, etc., etc. The necessity of breaking all these antiquated and injurious partitions, to "unfence" the land, to reconstruct all relationships of landownership and agriculture on a new basis, in accordance with the new conditions of Russian and world economy, forms the material basis for the peasantry's striving to nationalise all land in the state.

Whatever the petty-bourgeois utopias, in which all the Narodnik parties, and groups clothe the struggle of the peasant masses against the feudal

* *Nadél* was the share which the individual peasant received of the land owned by the village community collectively. The *nadél* was held by the peasant for a number of years, pending the redistribution of the community land according to the changes in the village population.—Ed.

landed estates and against all feudal fetters imposed on all landownership and land usage in Russia in general,—this struggle by itself expresses a true bourgeois-democratic, absolutely progressive and economically necessary tendency to break resolutely all these fetters.

Nationalisation of the land, being a bourgeois measure, signifies the very maximum of freedom for the class struggle thinkable in capitalist society and freedom of landownership from all non-bourgeois remnants of the past. Nationalisation of the land as abolition of private property on land would, besides, signify in practice such a powerful blow to private property in all means of production in general, that the party of the proletariat must offer every possible assistance to such a reform.

On the other hand, the well-to-do peasantry of Russia has long produced elements of a peasant bourgeoisie, and the Stolypin agrarian reform* has undoubtedly strengthened, multiplied, and fortified those elements. At the other pole of the village there have equally become strengthened and multiplied the agricultural wage-workers, the proletarians and the mass of semi-proletarian peasantry which is close to the former.

The more resolute and consistent the breaking up and elimination of noble landownership, the more resolute and consistent the bourgeois-democratic agrarian reform in Russia in general, the more vigorous and speedy will be the development of the class struggle of the agricultural proletariat against the well-to-do peasantry (the peasant bourgeoisie).

Whether the city proletariat will succeed in leading the village proletariat and in allying with itself the mass of semi-proletarians of the village, or whether this mass will follow the peasant bourgeoisie which gravitates towards a union with Guchkov, Miliukov, with the capitalists, landowners and the counter-revolution in general, the answer to this question will determine the fate and the outcome of the Russian Revolution, provided the incipient proletarian revolution in Europe does not exercise a direct powerful influence on our country.

Proceeding from this class situation and relationship of forces, the Conference decides that

1. The party of the proletariat fights with all its might for a full and immediate confiscation of all landed estates in Russia (as well as appanages, church lands, crown lands, etc.);

2. The party is decisively in favour of immediate passing of all lands into the hands of the peasantry organised into Soviets of Peasant Deputies or in other organs of local self-government that are elected on a really democratic basis and are entirely independent of the landowners and officials;

3. The party of the proletariat demands the nationalisation of all land in the state, which means giving to the state title to all the land, with the right of local democratic institutions to manage the land;

4. The party must wage a decisive struggle; first, against the Provisional Government which, through Shingarev's declarations and through its own collective actions saddles the peasants with "voluntary agreements between peasants and landowners," *i. e.*, in practice with a land reform after the landowners' desire, and threatens with punishment for "wilful acts," *i. e.*, with violent measures on the part of the minority of the population (landowners and capitalists) against the majority; second, against the petty-bourgeois vacillations of a majority of Narodniks and Menshevik Social-Democrats who counsel the peasants to refrain from taking over the land pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly;

* See note 76, Book I of this volume.

5. The party counsels the peasants to take the land in an organised way, by no means allowing the slightest damage to property and taking care to increase production;

6. All agrarian reforms generally can be successful and of abiding value only when the whole state is democratised, *i. e.*, when on the one hand the police, the standing army and the actually privileged bureaucracy have been abolished,—on the other, hand there is the most comprehensive local self-government entirely free from control and tutelage from above;

7. It is necessary immediately and everywhere to start organising a separate organisation of the agricultural proletariat both in the form of Soviets of Agricultural Workers' Deputies (as well as separate Soviets of Deputies from the semi-proletarian peasantry) and in the form of proletarian groups or fractions organised within the general Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, within all the organs of local and city government, etc.);

8. The party must support the initiative of those peasant committees who, in a number of localities of Russia, give over the landowners' property and agricultural implements in the hands of the peasantry organised into those committees, for the purpose of cultivating all the land under social control and regulation;

9. The party of the proletariat must counsel the proletarians and semi-proletarians of the village to strive to form out of every landowner's estate a sufficiently large model farm which would be managed at public expense by the Soviets of Agricultural Workers' Deputies under the direction of agriculturists and with the application of the best technical methods.

4. ON BORGBJERG'S PROPOSAL

In connection with the arrival of the Danish "Socialist" Borgbjerg and his proposal for participation at a congress of Socialists to support the peace proposed by the German Socialists of Scheidemann's and Plekhanov's orientation on the basis of Germany's renouncing the major part of its annexations, the Conference decides:

Borgbjerg appears in the name of three Scandinavian parties, the Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian. He received his mandate from that Swedish party which is headed by Branting, a Socialist who has joined the side of "his" bourgeoisie and betrayed the revolutionary union of the workers of all countries. This Swedish party cannot be recognised as Socialist. We consider as a Socialist party in Sweden only that party of the youth which is headed by Höglund, Lindhagen, Ström, Carlson and others.

The Danish party, from which Borgbjerg had a mandate, we also fail to consider a Socialist party because it is headed by Stauning, a member of a bourgeois cabinet. Stauning's entrance into the bourgeois cabinet was the cause of a protest on the part of a group of Socialists, including Comrade Trier who left the party declaring that the Danish Socialist Party had become bourgeois.

According to his own admission, Borgbjerg acts in accord with Scheidemann and other German Socialists who have gone over to the side of the German Government and the German bourgeoisie.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that, directly or indirectly, Borgbjerg is in reality an agent of the German imperialist government.

In view of this the Conference considers participation of our party in a conference which includes Borgbjerg and Scheidemann to be inadmissible in principle, since it is our task to unite, not the direct or indirect agents

of the various imperialist governments, but the workers of all countries who, already during the war, have begun to fight, and are fighting in a revolutionary way, against their imperialist governments.

Only a conference and a rapprochement with such parties and groups are capable of actually furthering the cause of peace.

We warn the workers against placing confidence in the conference which is being organised by Borgbjerg, since in reality this conference of pseudo-Socialists will be a comedy covering up the machinations of diplomats behind its back, *viz.*, interchange of annexations, like "giving" Armenia to the Russian capitalists, "giving" the German colonies to England (after the latter had grabbed them), possibly "ceding," instead, to the German capitalists a section of the Lorraine iron ore lands which contain stupendous wealth in the form of excellent ore, etc.

The Socialists can neither directly nor indirectly participate in this filthy and covetous deal between the capitalists of the various countries made for the purpose of dividing the loot, without betraying the proletarian cause.

At the same time the Conference recognises that, even through the mouth of Borgbjerg, the German capitalists do not renounce all of their annexations, to say nothing of immediately removing the armies from all the regions that they have forcibly seized. For the Danish territories of Germany, its Polish territories, its French sections of Alsace, are just as much annexed lands in the hands of the German capitalists as Courland, Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, etc., are annexed lands in the hands of the Russian Tsars and the Russian capitalists.

As to re-establishing Poland's independence, this promise is a deception on the part of the German-Austrian capitalists, as well as on the part of the Russian Provisional Government which speaks of an alleged "free" military alliance of Poland with Russia. For, in order really to make clear the will of the peoples of all the annexed regions, it is necessary that the armies be removed and the will of the population be freely determined. Only such measures applied to the whole of Poland (*i. e.*, not only to that part of it which was seized by the Russians, but also to that which was seized by the Germans and Austrians) and to the whole of Armenia, etc., would be a step towards transforming the government's promises into deeds.

The Conference, further, establishes the fact that the English and French Socialists who had gone over to the side of their capitalist governments have refused to join the conference that is being organised by Borgbjerg. This fact clearly proves that the Anglo-French imperialist bourgeoisie, whose agents these pseudo-Socialists are, *wish to continue and wish to prolong* this imperialist war without even wishing to discuss the question of those concessions which the German imperialist bourgeoisie is compelled to promise through Borgbjerg's mediation under the influence of growing exhaustion, starvation, economic chaos and mainly the approaching workers' revolution in Germany.

The Conference decides to make all these facts widely known, and particularly to inform the Russian soldiers at the front about them with as much detail as possible.

Let the Russian soldiers know that the Anglo-French, and with them the Russian, capitalists *are prolonging the war* not even wishing to allow such a conference on the conditions of peace as is being planned by Borgbjerg.

Let the Russian soldiers know that under the slogan, "War to victory," there are now hidden the ambitions of England to strengthen its domination in Bagdad and in the German colonies of Africa, the ambitions of the German

capitalists to rob and strangle Armenia and Persia, etc., the ambitions of the Allies to bring about a complete débâcle of Germany. Let the Russian soldiers at the front vote in every military unit, in every regiment, in every company, whether they wish the war thus to be prolonged by the capitalists or whether they wish that, in order that the war be speedily terminated, all power in the state should pass, completely and fully, into the hands of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The party of the Russian proletariat will go to a conference, and will join a brotherly union, only with such workers' parties of the other countries as are fighting in a revolutionary way within their own country for the passing of the entire state power into the hands of the proletariat.

5. ON A COALITION CABINET

All countries drawn into the war, including Russia, are moving with extraordinary rapidity towards an unheard-of catastrophe in consequence of the approaching complete economic chaos, and also in consequence of the utter exhaustion and sentiments of revolt of the soldiers.

The capitalist governments that have started or are prolonging the present war and are responsible for it, appear, therefore, particularly alarmed, and the Russian Government which, besides, has made promises incapable of fulfilment by the bourgeoisie and has bound itself by an agreement with the petty-bourgeois democratic parties of the Narodniks and Mensheviks,—an agreement which it violates daily,—is not only alarmed but publicly appeals in a manifesto issued on May 9 to the Narodniks and Mensheviks, its fellow-partners to the agreement, to help it form a coalition cabinet.

In this critical situation, one of the ways open, at least for a very short time, to the government of capitalists is to draw the leaders of the Soviet, *i. e.*, the leaders of the Narodnik parties (Chernov, Peshekhonov, etc.) and the Menshevik party (Chkheidze, Tsereteli, etc.) into giving more active support to the imperialist war by including them in the cabinet.

The broad mass of the people, especially the soldiers, begin to feel disappointed with the Provisional Government, they begin to doubt the usefulness of an agreement with it, of a policy of confidence in it. They still cherish illusions, however, that the situation can be improved by drawing into the cabinet the leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy, an illusion which it is the duty of the party of the proletariat to dissipate with all the energy at its disposal.

The leaders of the Petrograd Soviet who are on the side of the Narodniks and Mensheviks, having entered into an agreement with the Provisional Government, having accepted the imperialist war, having supported the loan and having created for themselves by all their policies the situation of Ministers without portfolios, are now compelled to take upon themselves greater formal responsibility for the government of capitalists.

In view of all these circumstances, a coalition cabinet has become the question of the day.

The party of the proletariat declares: Every one who will enter the cabinet that conducts an imperialist war will, irrespective of his good wishes, become an accomplice to the imperialist policies of the capitalists.

On the basis of all this, the party of the proletariat expresses itself most categorically against the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies sending representatives into a coalition.

The party warns the people against the attempts to concentrate the attention of the population on the problem of substituting one person for another or one group of bourgeois politicians for another in the cabinet. In contrast to the unprincipled struggle of parliamentary cliques, the revolutionary Social-Democracy advances the struggle of classes; it especially raises the question of fundamentally changing the whole policy of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and of all power passing into their hands.

6. ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The policy of national oppression, being an inheritance of autocracy and monarchy, is supported by the rich landowners, the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie in their attempt to safeguard their class privileges and to sow discord among workers of different nationalities. Present-day imperialism, by strengthening the tendency towards subjugating weak peoples, is a new factor leading to a sharpening of national oppression.

In so far as the removal of national oppression is at all possible in capitalist society, it is possible only when the state is organised and governed in a thoroughly democratic republican manner, with equality for all nations and languages fully guaranteed.

All nations composing Russia must have full right freely to separate and to form independent states. Denial of such a right and failure to take measures that guarantee its practical realisation, are tantamount to supporting the policy of seizures and annexations. Only recognition by the proletariat of the right of nations for separation guarantees full solidarity of the workers of different nations and contributes to a real democratic rapprochement of nations.

The conflict that has now risen between Finland and the Russian Provisional Government shows with particular clarity that denial of the right of free separation leads to direct continuation of the tsarist policy.

It is not permissible to confuse the question of the right of nations to free separation with the question of the advisability of this or that nation forming a separate state at this or that moment. This latter question must be solved by the party of the proletariat in every particular case with full independence, with a view to the interests of the entire social development and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for Socialism.

The party demands far-going regional autonomy; abolition of control from above; abolition of a compulsory state language; drawing of the boundary lines of self-governing and autonomous regions on the basis of consideration by the local population itself of economic and ethnic conditions, of the national composition of the populations, etc.

The party of the proletariat decidedly rejects the so-called "national culture autonomy," *i. e.*, the plan to eliminate the schools, etc., from state jurisdiction and to place it under something like national diets. Autonomy of national culture draws artificial lines of adherence to "national cultures" between workers who live in the same locality and even work in the same enterprises, *i. e.*, it strengthens the connection between the workers and the bourgeois culture of the respective nations, whereas the task of Social-Democracy consists in strengthening the international culture of the world proletariat.

The party demands the inclusion into the constitution of a fundamental law declaring void any privileges of one of the nations and any encroachments on the rights of national minorities.

The interests of the working class demand the merging of the workers of

all nationalities of Russia into the same proletarian organisations, whether political, trade union, co-operative or educational, etc. Only such a merging in the same organisations of the workers of various nationalities will enable the proletariat to wage a victorious struggle against international capital and bourgeois nationalism.

7. ON UNITING THE INTERNATIONALISTS AGAINST THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS DEFENCIST BLOC

Whereas, (1) the party of the Socialists-Revolutionists and the party of the Social-Democratic Mensheviks, etc., have, in an overwhelming majority, gone over to the position of "revolutionary defencism," i. e., the position of supporting the imperialist war (voting in favour of the loan and supporting the Provisional Government which represents the interests of capital);

And whereas, (2) these parties in all their policies defend the interests and the point of view of the petty bourgeoisie and thus corrupt the proletariat with bourgeois influence by trying to persuade it that it is possible, by means of agreements, "control," participation in the cabinet, etc., to change the course of the imperialist policy of the government and to divert it from the road of counter-revolutionary encroachments on liberty;

And whereas, (3) this policy nurtures and enhances the naïvely trustful attitude of the masses towards the capitalists at a time when such attitude is the chief obstacle to the further development of the revolution, and is the source of a possible victory over the revolution on the part of the landowner and bourgeois counter-revolution,—

Now, therefore, the Conference decides that

1. Unity with parties and groups that pursue this policy is absolutely impossible; and,

2. That rapprochement and unity with groups and trends that are following an internationalist tone in practice, are necessary on the basis of breaking with the policy of the petty-bourgeois betrayal of Socialism.

8. THE SITUATION WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE TASKS OF THE R.S.-D.L.P.

Under the conditions of a peaceful period that began after 1871, when the national bourgeois revolutions in most of the countries of Western Europe had been fully completed, a period when the colonial policy was developing, etc., there was formed, toward the end of the nineteenth century, an opportunist tendency in most of the parties of the Second International (1889-1914).

The social bases of opportunism are:

1. A labour aristocracy, a comparatively thin layer of workers who are bought by their bourgeoisie which "sacrifices" some crumbs from its profits to bribe them;

2. Petty-bourgeois "fellow-travellers" of Social-Democracy, drawn to the latter not by its Socialist programme but by its democratic demands.

In most of the European workers' parties opportunism gained the upper hand before the beginning of the present war. With the beginning of the imperialist war in 1914, opportunism turned into social-chauvinism, into "defencism." The defencists proclaimed "national defence" in the predatory imperialist war and perpetrated a betrayal of the cause of the working class. Opportunism caused the collapse of the Second International.

During the war three main tendencies were developed inside the world labour movement:

1. The "defencists" of all countries broke with Socialism; they became a tool of their respective imperialist governments; they helped the imperialist governments to prolong the war; in practice they became class enemies of the proletariat;

2. The "centre," whose main leaders are Kautsky and Haase in Germany, Longuet and Pressemane in France, Axelrod and others in Russia, Robert Grimm in Switzerland, Turati and others in Italy, have substituted pacifism for revolutionary Socialism. The "centre" does not call the workers to overthrow the capitalist governments, but it tries to persuade the present imperialist governments to conclude a democratic peace. Vacillating as it does between internationalism and defencism, not advocating in war time a revolutionary struggle of the workers against their governments, the "centre" insists on unity with the defencists on an international scale without drawing the necessary conclusions from the split that occurred in the Social-Democratic parties, a split that has taken place even in a country like Germany;

3. The revolutionary internationalists who have started a struggle against the war in all countries in spite of martial law and an iron-clad régime. Such are the groups of Karl Liebknecht and that of the *Arbeiterpolitik* in Germany; MacLean, Tom Mann, the Left Wing of the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labour Party in England; Loriot (the Secretary of the Committee for the Establishment of International Connections) and his comrades in France; the Left Wing of the Socialist Party in Italy; the comrades grouped around the Viennese Karl Marx Club in Austria; the Socialist Labour Party and the group publishing the periodical *Internationalist* in the United States of America; the party that has broken with the "defencists" and which is led by Comrades Höglund and others in Sweden; the Tribunist Party (Pannekoek, Roland-Holst, Gorter and others) in Holland; the comrades grouped around the periodical *Youth International* in Switzerland. The tendency that is at the present moment represented by the above-named groups has started a struggle against the capitalists of the respective countries during and in spite of the war, it has broken with the respective "defencists" and it has started a struggle against the "centre." This is the only tendency that has remained loyal to Socialism. The Socialist future belongs to this tendency alone.

The majority in Zimmerwald and Kienthal belonged to the "centre." This weakened the Zimmerwald bloc from the very start. The Zimmerwald bloc as a whole rejected the proposal made by its Left section relative to calling the workers of all countries to an immediately revolutionary struggle against their governments. The Zimmerwald bloc refused to recognise the necessity of a straight split with the social-chauvinists' majority of the old official parties and thus it weakened the Zimmerwald movement. The Kienthal Conference in words condemned both bourgeois and Socialist pacifism, in reality, however, the majority of the parties and groups that belong to the Zimmerwald bloc continue a policy of social-chauvinism. The vacillating tactics of the Zimmerwald majority have brought about a situation where in some countries Zimmerwald is already beginning to serve as a brake on the revolutionary movement.

The task of our party, operating as it does in a country where the revolution started earlier than in other countries, is to take the initiative of creating the Third International which is finally to break with "defencism" and to wage a decisive struggle against the middle-of-the-road policy of the "centre" as well.

The Conference is against the plan of the so-called "reconstruction of the International" by means of a mutual amnesty of the leaders of "defencist" parties. The Conference warns against organising international congresses with the participation of the social-chauvinists.

Our party remains in the Zimmerwald bloc with the aim of defending the tactics of the Zimmerwald Left Wing there, and it authorises the Central Committee immediately to take steps leading to the establishment of the Third International.

The new Socialist International can be created only by the workers themselves, by their revolutionary struggle in their own countries. The Conference decidedly protests against the attempts of the Berne International Socialist Commission to enter into an agreement with the organisers of the Stockholm Conference, the social-patriots Troelstra, Branting and others, in whom the Socialist proletariat can have no political confidence.

The Conference decides to take part in the International conference of the Zimmerwaldists scheduled for May 31 and authorises the Central Committee to organise a delegation to that conference.

9. THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

The World War, brought about by the struggle of world trusts and bank capital for domination over the world market, has already resulted in a mass destruction of material values, in an exhaustion of production forces, and in such a growth of war industry that even the production of an absolutely necessary minimum of goods for consumption and means of production proves impossible.

Thus the present war has brought humanity to a blind alley; it has placed it on the brink of ruin.

The objective conditions for a Socialist revolution that undoubtedly existed even before the war in the more developed and advanced countries, have been and are ripening with tremendous rapidity as a result of the war. The crowding-out and ruin of small and medium-sized economic enterprises is proceeding at an accelerated pace. The concentration and internationalisation of capital are making gigantic strides, monopoly capitalism is changing into state monopoly capitalism. Social regulation of production and distribution is, under the pressure of circumstances, being introduced in many countries. Some are introducing universal labour service.

When private property in the means of production is retained, all these steps towards a greater monopolisation and nationalisation of production are inevitably accompanied by an increased exploitation of the labouring masses, by an increase of oppression, by a growing difficulty in offering resistance to the exploiters, by a growth of reaction and military despotism. At the same time these steps lead to a gigantic increase in the profits of large capitalists at the expense of all the other strata of the population; they deliver the labouring masses to the bondage of capitalists through tributes imposed on them in the form of billions of interest to be paid on war loans for many decades to come. The same measures, however, when private property in the means of production has been abolished, when state power has completely passed into the hands of the proletariat, are the guaranty for the success of a transformation of society that will do away with the exploitation of man by man and insure the well-being of every one and all.

On the other hand, the forecast of the Socialists of the whole world who unanimously declared in the Basle Manifesto of 1912 the inevitability of a

proletarian revolution in connection with the imperialist war that was then approaching and is now raging, that forecast has been fully confirmed by the course of events.

The Russian Revolution is only the first stage of the first of the proletarian revolutions that are inevitably being brought about by the war.

In all the countries there grows a rebellious spirit among large masses of the people against the capitalist class, and there grows the consciousness of the proletariat that only the passing of power into its hands, and the abolition of private property in the means of production, will save humanity from ruin.

In all the countries, especially in the most advanced of them, England and Germany, hundreds of Socialists who have not gone over to the side of "their" national bourgeoisie, have been thrown into prison by the governments of capitalism who have thus given an object lesson that they are afraid of the proletarian revolution that is growing in the depths of the masses of the people. The rise of the revolution in Germany is seen both in the mass struggles which have assumed particularly large proportions in the last weeks, and in the growth of fraternisation between the German and the Russian soldiers at the front.

Thus, fraternal confidence and a fraternal unity among the workers of the various countries, the very same workers who, at present, are exterminating each other for the interests of the capitalists, is gradually being restored. This, in its turn, will create prerequisites for concerted revolutionary actions of the workers of the various countries. Only such actions are capable of guaranteeing the development of the world Socialist revolution according to the best conceived plan, and the success of such a revolution on the most unflinching basis.

The proletariat of Russia operating in one of the most backward countries of Europe, surrounded by a vast petty peasant population, cannot make its aim the immediate realisation of a Socialist transformation.

Yet it would be a grave error to infer from the foregoing that the proletariat must support the bourgeoisie, or that we must keep our activities within the boundaries acceptable to the petty bourgeoisie, or that the proletariat must renounce its leading rôle in the matter of explaining to the people the imperative urgency of a number of measures that are ripe to be put into practice and that lead to Socialism.

Such inference would be in practice equivalent to going over to the side of the bourgeoisie.

Such steps are, first, nationalisation of the land. Such a measure which does not directly overstep the boundaries of the bourgeois system would, at the same time, be a hard blow to private property in the means of production, and to the same degree it would strengthen the influence of the Socialist proletariat over the semi-proletarians of the village.

Such measures are, further, the establishment of government control over all the banks which are to be united into a single central bank, also control over insurance companies and the large capitalist syndicates (for example, the sugar syndicate, the coal syndicate, the metal syndicate, etc.), all this to be accompanied by a change to a more just and progressive taxation of income and property. Economic conditions are ripe for such measures. From the technical point of view they can be carried out immediately. From the political point of view they are likely to get the support of the overwhelming majority of the peasants who in every respect will gain by such reforms.

The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', Peasants', and other Deputies now cover-

ing Russia with an ever-growing network would introduce not only the above measures but also universal labour service, for the character of these institutions guarantees, on the one hand, that all these reforms would be introduced only in so far as an overwhelming majority of the people has realised clearly and firmly their practical necessity, on the other hand, the character of these institutions guarantees, not a realisation of reforms through a system of police and officials, but a voluntary participation of organised and armed masses of the proletariat and the peasantry in regulating their own economic life. All the measures just indicated as well as others of the same nature could and should be not merely discussed and prepared so that they might be carried out on a national scale in case the proletarians and semi-proletarians gain power, but, whenever opportunity presents itself, should be carried into life immediately by local revolutionary organs of people's power.

In carrying out the above measures it is necessary to exercise extreme circumspection and caution and to win a solid majority of the population as well as its intelligent conviction that the country is ready for the practical introduction of this or that measure, but it is in this direction that we must rivet the attention and the efforts of the class-conscious vanguard of the proletarian masses who are in duty bound to help the peasant masses find an escape from the present economic chaos.

10. THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES

Having discussed the reports and communications of the comrades who work in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in various localities of Russia, the Conference establishes the following:

In a whole series of provincial localities the revolution progresses by the proletariat and the peasantry organising on their own initiative into Soviets; by removing, on their own initiative, old local authorities; by the creation of a proletarian and peasant militia; by the passage of all lands into the hands of the peasantry; by the introduction of the control of the workers over the factories; by the introduction of the eight-hour work-day; by increasing the wages; by insuring undiminished production; by establishing a control of the workers over the distribution of supplies, etc.

This growth, in scope and intensity, of the revolution in the provinces marks, on the one hand, the growth of a movement towards giving over all power to the Soviets and towards control by the workers and peasants themselves over production; on the other hand, it marks the preparation, on an all-Russian scale, of forces for the second stage of the revolution which must give over all state power into the hands of Soviets or other organs expressing directly the will of the majority of the people (organs of local self-government, the Constituent Assembly, etc.).

In the capitals and in a few other large cities, the task of the assumption of state power by the Soviets offers the greatest difficulties and requires an especially prolonged preparation of the forces of the proletariat. Here the largest forces of the bourgeoisie are concentrated. Here there is more apparent a policy of agreement with the bourgeoisie, a policy that often thwarts the revolutionary initiative of the masses and weakens their independence; a circumstance which is particularly dangerous in view of the leading rôle of those Soviets locally.

It is, therefore, the task of the proletarian party on the one hand to support in every possible way the indicated development of the revolution locally, on the other hand to conduct a systematic struggle inside of the

Soviets (by means of propaganda and new elections) for the victory of the proletarian line; to concentrate all its efforts and all its attention on the mass of workers and soldiers; to draw a line of demarcation between proletarian and petty-bourgeois policy, between the internationalist policy on the one hand and the defencist and opportunist policy on the other; to organise and arm the workers; to prepare their forces for the next stage of the revolution.

The Conference reiterates the necessity of comprehensive activity within the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, of increasing the number of Soviets, of increasing their power, of welding together, within the Soviets, the proletarian internationalist groups of our party.

Soldatskaiя Pravda, No. 13, May 16, 1917.

11. THE REVISION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME

The Conference recognises as imperative the revision of the party programme along the following lines:

1. Evaluating imperialism and the epoch of imperialist wars in connection with the approaching Socialist revolution; struggle with the distortion of Marxism by the so-called defencists who have forgotten Marx's slogan, "The workers have no fatherland";

2. Amending the theses and the paragraphs dealing with the state; such amendment to be in the nature of a demand for a democratic proletarian-peasant republic (*i. e.*, a type of state functioning without police, without a standing army and without a privileged bureaucracy) and not for a bourgeois-parliamentary republic;

3. Eliminating or amending the obsolete portions of the political programme;

4. Recasting a number of points in the political minimum programme so as to point out with greater precision more consistent democratic demands;

5. Completely recasting in very many places the out-of-date economic portion of the minimum programme and points relating to popular education;

6. Recasting the agrarian programme in conformity with the adopted resolution on the agrarian question;

7. Inserting a demand for the nationalisation of a number of syndicates already ripe for such a step;

8. Adding a characterisation of the main currents in contemporary Socialism.

The Conference directs the Central Committee to work out, on the basis of the above suggestions, a draft for a party programme. This is to be carried out within two months and is to be submitted for ratification to the party congress. The Conference calls upon all organisations and all members of the party to consider drafts of the programme, to correct them, and to work out counter-proposals.

12. DRAFT OF RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL QUESTION SUBMITTED BY G. PIATAKOV IN THE NAME OF THE SECTION ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The policy of national oppression, being an inheritance of autocracy and monarchy, is supported by the rich landowners, the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie in their attempt to safeguard their class privileges and to sow discord among workers of different nationalities.

Modern imperialism, by strengthening the tendency towards subjugating weak peoples, is a new factor leading to a sharpening of national oppression.

In so far as removal of national oppression is at all possible in capitalist society, it is possible only when the state is organised and governed in a thoroughly democratic republican manner, with equality for all nationalities and languages fully guaranteed.

The R.S.-D.L.P. demands such a system. At the same time it strives towards a far-going regional autonomy; abolition of control from above; abolition of a compulsory state language; drawing of the boundary-lines of self-governing and autonomous regions on the basis of consideration by the local population itself of economic and ethnic conditions, of the national composition of the population, etc. It demands the inclusion into the constitution of a fundamental law declaring void any privileges of one of the nationalities and any encroachments on the rights of national minorities.

The party warns, however, against assuming that the realisation of those measures may solve the national question. The only effective method of solving it is the method of a Socialist revolution under the slogan, "Down with boundaries!" for only thus can one do away with imperialism,—this new factor leading to a sharpening of national oppression.

The party also warns against anti-proletarian methods of "solving" the national question.

It rejects the so-called "national culture autonomy," *i. e.*, the plan to eliminate the schools, etc., from state jurisdiction and to place it under something like national diets. This plan draws artificial lines of adherence to national cultures between workers who live in the same locality and even work in the same enterprises, *i. e.*, it strengthens the connections between the workers and the bourgeois culture of the respective nations, whereas the task of Social-Democracy consists in strengthening the international culture of the world proletariat.

It also rejects in principle the splitting up of large state formations into small national states. Waging an active revolutionary struggle against every kind of national oppression and against the forcible retention by the bourgeoisie of one or the other nation within the framework of a given state, the party at the same time conducts a vigorous propaganda among the proletariat and among those strata of the population of the oppressed nation that follow the proletariat, to the effect that the formation of national states under conditions of an imperialist epoch, *i. e.*, on the eve of the Socialist revolution, is a harmful and reactionary utopia. On the other hand, the international party of the proletariat, having a majority on an international scale, cannot heed the will of the majority of a nation, if that will is at variance with the will of its proletarian minority.

Proceeding from the above considerations, the Conference of the R.S.-D.L.P. declares that

Whereas (1) "the right of nations to self-determination" is a mere phrase without any definite meaning;

And whereas (2) this phrase is interpreted as meaning much more than is thought of in the ranks of revolutionary Social-Democracy, particularly

(a) in regions inhabited by so-called oppressed nations;

(b) in times of imperialist wars;

And whereas (3) it is the task of Social-Democracy, as far as the national question is concerned, not to proclaim abstract rights, but to determine those principles on which it considers necessary to base the mutual relations of nations,—

Therefore the Conference, considering itself as lacking in authority to change the party programme, and considering the question insufficiently

analysed, proposes to the local organisations to prepare themselves for the coming party congress which shall have to undertake a change of the programme. As far as the Conference is concerned, it assumes that paragraph 9 of our programme should be eliminated and, instead, while retaining paragraph 8, specific indications should be given, as to which forms of national existence in general, and which forms of existence for the nations now composing the Russian state in particular, the R.S.-D.L.P. shall actually strive for.

As to the structure of proletarian organisations, the interests of the working class demand the merging of the workers of all nationalities of Russia into the same proletarian organisations, whether political, trade union, co-operative or educational, etc. Only such a merging in the same organisations of the workers of various nationalities will enable the proletariat to wage a victorious struggle against international capital and bourgeois nationalism.

Petrograd City Conference and All-Russian Conference, April and May, 1917. 1st part, 1925.

Istpart, 1925.

XI

COMMENTS ON THE GENERAL (THEORETICAL) PART OF THE PROGRAMME MADE AT THE SECTION ON PROGRAMME DURING THE APRIL CONFERENCE *

THE Section on the Revision of the Party Programme came to the conclusion that the mere *adding* of Comrade Lenin's preliminary draft to the general part of the programme would mean to create a mechanical combination out of keeping with the latter. Hence the Section expressed itself in favour of recasting the entire general part of our programme in conformity with the propositions expressed by Comrade Lenin in his preliminary draft and taking into account the arguments advanced at the sessions of the Section.

To carry this out, the Section, at its general meeting, elected a sub-committee of three. The sub-committee came to the following conclusions:

1. The first paragraph of the programme must be recast to mean that "a close bond of unity" is created not only by the exchange of commodities but also by the export of capital, by the struggle for an economic territory, in general by a number of economic processes of recent times. While the exchange of commodities has led to the establishment of such "bonds of unity" directly, the export of capital, etc., lead to it as a result of a complex struggle of various contradictory tendencies brought about by these processes. Emphasise that modern capitalism brings about a levelling of the peculiarities of capitalism in the various countries, creates common methods and common aims, etc. (In favour, Bogolepov and Sokolnikov.)

2. Paragraph 2 retains the old wording (unanimous).

3. Paragraph 3 to be recast in accordance with the most recent data on the economic rôle of syndicates and trusts; substantiate the statement as to the world passing to the most recent phase of finance capital. Formulate the end of the paragraph more categorically (eliminating "more or less").

4. Amplify paragraph 4 by mentioning the tendency of capital to utilise, in ever-growing proportions, the labour of backward uncivilised peoples (two for, and one against).

* See page 330, Book I of this volume.

5. The fifth paragraph needs fundamental recasting. Add observations on the export of capital, the struggle for economic territories, the commercial policy of finance capital at home and abroad, the sharpening of competition and the rivalry between the capital of various nations aspiring to world hegemony. Crises and depressions sharpen this rivalry still more. Explain the proposition that we have entered an era of imperialist wars; add that military conflicts are inevitable.

In the statements on crises, strike out "more or less" and substitute "and depressions." As to the expression "over-production," part of the comrades moved that it be avoided as lacking in precision. At the end of the paragraph it was proposed to eliminate the word "sometimes" and to substitute for it "at the present time" (Oppokov, Bogolepov, Sokolnikov).

6. In paragraph 6 make reference to mounting cost of living, to impoverishment, financial control, decrease in real wages, etc. (Attempts at enslavement of labour.) (Unanimous.)

7. Amplify second part of paragraph. It is necessary to mention the influence of finance capital and banks on concentration of production, the trend towards state regulation of production and distribution, the formation of interstate economic coalitions. There comes into being what practically amounts to a dictatorship of finance capital which, in the course of a powerful clash of forces in present-day society, must inevitably be replaced by a dictatorship of the proletariat. (Oppokov, Sokolnikov, Bogolepov.)

8. Paragraph 8 remains.

9. It is proposed to formulate the ninth paragraph approximately as follows:

"A necessary prerequisite of this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, *i. e.*, the conquest by the proletariat of such political power as would enable it to suppress every resistance on the part of the exploiters. Setting itself the task of preparing the proletariat, in all possible ways and without delay, for the conquest of political power which will enable it to introduce the economic measures which are the essence of the social revolution, international Social-Democracy organises the proletariat into an independent political party opposed to all the bourgeois parties; it gives direction to all the expressions of class struggle on its part; it reveals to it the irreconcilable clash of interests of the exploiters and the exploited, and makes it clear that a proletarian Socialist revolution becomes, in consequence of objective conditions, a problem for the present historic period, and that only such a revolution can lead humanity out of the blind alley into which it was driven by imperialism and imperialist wars. Whatever the difficulties of the revolution and its possible failures, whatever even the waves of counter-revolution, the final victory of the proletariat is unavoidable. Simultaneously with this, the party of the proletariat reveals to the entire mass of the other toilers and exploited the hopelessness of their situation in capitalist society and the necessity of a social revolution that would free them from the oppression by capital. Revolutionary Social-Democracy, the party of the working class, calls into its ranks all strata of the toiling and exploited population in so far as they make the standpoint of the proletariat their own."

These comments were made and found correct by the sub-committee of the Section (Bogolepov, Oppokov, Sokolnikov).

They were to be reported to the plenary session of the Section.

G. OППOKOB, *Chairman of the Section.*

XII

DECLARATION MADE AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS CONCERNING THE OFFENSIVE *

WE, the undersigned fractions, groups and individual delegates to the Congress, consider it necessary for the Congress to take up as its first order of business a question upon which devolves the fate not only of all the other activities of the Congress, but—in the full and precise meaning of the word—the fate of the whole Russian Revolution, namely, the question of the military offensive that is being prepared for the immediate future. That such an offensive has been decided upon, and is to take place shortly, is evident from numerous undisputed facts and declarations that can be verified by anybody, from the formation of Death Battalions, from the disbanding of certain regiments, and, directly, from Minister Kerensky's reference in his explanation as to the reasons for prohibiting the Ukrainian congress.

From the very essence of all the circumstances of the present situation it follows that an offensive at the front, dictated by the magnates of Allied imperialism, pursues a purely political aim: To relegate to the background and completely to wipe out from the minds of large masses of the people the memory of the diplomatic negotiations with the Allies which resulted in revealing the out-and-out imperialist character of that grouping which was participated in by pre-revolutionary Russia (the question of Albania, Greece, Persia, the replies and declarations of the Allied diplomats).

Having confronted the people and the army (which does not know for the sake of which international aims it is called on at present to shed its blood) with the fact of the offensive and all its consequences, the counter-revolutionary circles of Russia hope, among other things, that the offensive will cause a concentration of power in the hands of the military-diplomatic and capitalist groups which are bound up with English, French, and American imperialism, and will free them of the necessity to reckon in the future with the organised will of Russian democracy.

It is obviously in anticipation of such a change in the interrelation of forces in favour of the propertied classes that Rodzianko calls his June 16 men ** into Petrograd, hoping that the old Imperial Duma may be successfully utilised to counteract the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and to help guarantee a policy of firm and vigorous imperialism, vigorous, in the first place, against the revolution and democracy.

The counter-revolutionary initiators of the offensive, operating behind the scenes and not shrinking even before what the congress of the party of the Socialists-Revolutionists correctly termed "military adventure," consciously try to play up the decomposition of the army, a phenomenon caused by all the circumstances of the internal and international situation of the country. For this purpose they are putting into the minds of the despairing elements of democracy the fundamentally erroneous idea that an offensive, by the very fact of its taking place, may "regenerate" the army and thus compensate by mechanical means for the absence of a definite programme of action in the matter of terminating the war. It is obvious, however, that such an offensive can only disorganise the army utterly by opposing certain of its sections to others.

* See page 208 of this book.

** See note 246.

Under such conditions, a grave historic responsibility rests upon the Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The Congress cannot let pass in silence an attack on the international revolutionary struggle for peace, on the conquered and organised positions of Russian democracy, an attack that is being openly prepared and thoroughly organised. The Congress must either immediately repel the counter-revolutionary onslaught for which the road is to be cleared by the offensive, or else take upon itself, openly and fully, the responsibility for such a policy.

In warning the working class, the army and the peasantry of this danger looming over the country, we insist that the question be taken up as the first point on the agenda of the Congress.

Delegate of the Minsk Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Posern.

Bureau of the Congress Fraction of the R.S.-D.L.P. (Bolsheviks).

Bureau of the United Social-Democrats-Internationalists.

Pravda, No. 73, June 20, 1917.

XIII

STATEMENT MADE BEFORE THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF THE SOVIETS CONCERNING THE BAN PLACED ON THE JUNE 23, 1917, DEMONSTRATION *

On June 22 the All-Russian Congress decreed to prohibit a peaceful political manifestation of the Petrograd workers and soldiers, which manifestation our party had been planning to direct. As the cause for such an extraordinary violation of the will of the Petrograd proletariat the leaders of the Congress pointed out the imminent danger of the demonstration being taken advantage of by the organised forces of the counter-revolution. We have not had at our disposal the information about those plans known to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. But in view of such an interpretation alleged to be the cause of the ban, we found it necessary on our part to appeal to the workers and soldiers of Petrograd urging them to give up the manifestation.

After your delegates have visited the factories and regiments, there can be no doubt in your mind as to the fact that if the demonstration has not taken place, it was due not to your ban, but to our party abandoning the plan.

It was reasonable to assume and expect that, after this, you would place on your agenda an investigation of the counter-revolutionary plot you had referred to in justifying your ban on the demonstration. In practice, however, you are powerless against the counter-revolution which, you say, is lurking, you can do nothing because you are bound to the Russian and "Allied" imperialists with whom you dare not break.

Instead, you have placed on your agenda a trial of our party. In the name of the commission appointed by you, Citizen Dan has introduced the draft of a resolution which condemns our party for "secret" actions (i. e., actions independent of the official majority of the Soviet), for street manifestations without the permit of the Soviet (i. e., in essence, without the permit of the Provisional Government) and which threatens offenders with exclusion from the ranks of the Soviet.

On this occasion we deem it necessary to declare that, entering the Soviet

* See page 250 of this book.

and fighting for the passing of all power to it, we have not renounced for a single moment in favour of a hostile majority of the Soviet our right, independently and freely, to utilise all liberties for the purpose of mobilising the working masses under the banner of our proletarian class party. We categorically decline, also for the future, to impose on ourselves such anti-democratic limitations. Even if all state power were to pass wholly into the hands of the Soviet—and we stand for this—and the Soviet were to attempt to put fetters on our propaganda,—this would compel us, not to submit passively, but to face prison and other penalties in the name of the ideas of international Socialism which separate us from you.

In reality the leaders of the Congress went even further. Tsereteli declared Dan's resolution to be insufficient and therefore inoperative. Tsereteli accuses our party, not of a violation of discipline, but of a direct proletarian and military *plot* against the Provisional Government and the Congress that supports it. This new and sweeping accusation is not only out of keeping with the reasons officially advanced against the demonstration of the day before yesterday, but it is also in crass contradiction to Dan's resolution introduced to-day. Still, Minister Tsereteli does not dare to draw from his own accusation the conclusion that it is necessary to investigate the alleged plot, which he needed only to be able to advance a programme of an obviously counter-revolutionary character. It is necessary, says Tsereteli, to take away the arms from those who threaten with these arms the Government of "revolutionary democracy." In other words, the fable of a military plot was presented by the member of the Provisional Government to justify the disarming of the Petrograd proletariat and the disbandment of the Petrograd garrison.

The meaning and significance of these measures are self-evident. What is planned is the disarming of the revolutionary vanguard,—a measure that has always been resorted to by the bourgeois counter-revolution when it felt its inability to cope with the tasks advanced by the revolution and with the growing resentment of the labouring masses. Citizen Tsereteli and those who direct him are hardly ignorant of the fact that never in history have the working masses given up without struggle the arms they had received at the hand of the revolution. Consequently, the ruling bourgeoisie and its "Socialist" Ministers are provoking civil war around the fundamental point which has always been the stake in the test of strength between the bourgeoisie and the working class,—and they are aware of what they are doing.

Fully aware of all the consequences which such a provocation policy may lead to, we expose before the All-Russian Congress and the masses of the people, in the first place the proletarian masses that stand behind the Congress, this attack on the revolution that is now being prepared behind the scenes by the Provisional Government. We have quit the sessions of the special commission which is considering measures against the freedom of propaganda and is preparing the disarming of the workers.

The revolution is passing through a moment of supreme danger. We call upon the workers to be firm and watchful.

Central Committee R.S.-D.L.P.

Bureau of the Bolshevik Fraction of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

The entire Fraction of the Bolsheviks has subscribed to this Declaration.

June 24, 1917.

Pravda, No. 80, June 26, 1917.

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CALENDAR OF EVENTS

FROM THE BEGINNING OF MARCH TO THE MIDDLE OF JULY, 1917

March 3. Beginning of strike at the Putilov plant (Metal Works) in Petrograd.

March 8. Celebration of International Woman's Day.

March 10. General strike in Petrograd. Workers' demonstrations fired upon. Elections to Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies begin.

March 11. Manifesto of Petrograd Committee of Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) urging creation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government.

March 12. Troops going over to the side of the workers. Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies formed. Executive Committee of Imperial Duma formed. Movement in Moscow begins.

March 13. General strike in Moscow. Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies and Committee of Public Organisations formed.

March 14. Names of provisional commissars appointed by Executive Committee of Imperial Duma made public. Order Number One issued by Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Soldiers' section of the Petrograd Soviet formed.

March 15. Nicholas II abdicates in favour of Michael Romanov. Provisional Government formed. National Rada formed in Kiev.

March 16. Michael Romanov abdicates.

March 18. *Pravda* appears in Petrograd. Petrograd Soviet calls off strike.

March 19. Strike in Petrograd ended. Military commission formed as part of Petrograd Committee of Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks).

March 20. Contact Commission formed by Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet for dealing with Provisional Government. In an appeal to Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Petrograd Committee of R.S.-D.L.P. (Bolsheviks) urges it to introduce eight-hour work-day and to issue an appeal for peace to the proletariat of the belligerent countries. *Social-Democrat* appears in Moscow.

March 21. Nicholas II arrested. Extraordinary Investigating Commission formed by Provisional Government.

March 22. Provisional Government decrees to suppress agrarian movement in Kazan Province.

March 23. Agreement between Petrograd Soviet and Society of Manufacturers concerning introduction of eight-hour work-day and factory committees. L. B. Kamenev joins editorial staff of *Pravda*.

March 25. Soviet demonstration in Moscow.

March 27. Petrograd Soviet addresses peace manifesto to all the peoples.

March 28. Strikes in Moscow, eight-hour work-day demanded.

March 29. Petrograd City Conference of Socialist-Revolutionist Party adopts resolution directed against incipient agrarian movement and land seizures. Bolshevik fraction in Moscow Soviet proposes that eight-hour work-day be introduced by the workers' own action.

April 1. Demonstration in Kiev, autonomy for the Ukraine demanded. I. Tsereteli returns to Petrograd from exile.

April 5. Funeral of participants of March Revolution in Petrograd. Administration of Provodnik plant in Moscow arrested by workers.

April 7. Establishment of Special Conference to prepare electoral laws for Constituent Assembly. Congress of Constitutional-Democratic Party. Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of central industrial region in Moscow.

April 8. Provisional Government decides to issue "Liberty Loan."

April 11. All-Russian Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opens in Petrograd. Finnish Diet opens.

April 13. G. V. Plekhanov returns to Petrograd.

April 16. V. I. Lenin and other Bolsheviks return to Petrograd. City Conference of Bolshevik organisation in Moscow.

April 18. Russian sailors and soldiers demonstrate in Helsingfors.

April 20. Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet votes for "Liberty Loan."

April 26. Preliminary conference of peasants' organisations and Soviets of Peasants' Deputies make arrangements for All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies.

April 27. Petrograd City Conference of Bolshevik organisation opens.

April 28. *Soldatskaja Pravda* appears in Petrograd. Minsk Front Congress adopts resolution on war. Moscow City Conference of Bolshevik organisation held.

April 29. Demonstration of soldiers and sailors in Petrograd protesting against baiting Lenin and Bolsheviks.

April 30. Regional Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies of Finland opens in Vyborg.

May 1. First-of-May street demonstrations all over Russia. Note of Foreign Minister Miliukov affirms Provisional Government's adherence to treaties with Allies.

May 2. Moscow Regional Conference of Bolsheviks opens.

May 3. Street demonstrations in Petrograd against Miliukov's note. First resolution of Bolshevik Central Committee on crisis created by Miliukov's note.

May 4. Second resolution of Bolshevik Central Committee on crisis. Demonstrations against Miliukov continued in Petrograd. Firing in the streets. Commander of Petrograd Military District, General Kornilov, orders artillery moved against demonstrators. Counter-demonstration of bourgeoisie on Nevsky Prospect. Provisional Government's interpretation of Miliukov's note. Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies prohibits meetings and demonstrations for two days. Meetings and demonstration of protest against Miliukov in Moscow.

May 5. Third resolution of Bolshevik Central Committee on crisis. Demonstration of 55th Reserve Regiment in Moscow against Miliukov. Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies votes for "Liberty Loan."

May 6. Danish Socialist Borgbjerg proposes to Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet calling of international Socialist conference for preliminary discussion of conditions for concluding peace.

May 7-12. All-Russian April Conference of R.S.-D.L.P. (Bolsheviks) in Petrograd.

May 8. Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet accepts Borgbjerg's proposal for calling international Socialist conference in Stockholm.

May 9. Provisional Government proclaims necessity of widening its composition (i. e., of forming a Coalition Government).

May 10. Members of all four Imperial Dumas hold session in Tauride Palace in Petrograd.

May 11. Borough Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Vyborg section of Petrograd decrees to organise a workers' guard.

May 13. War and Navy Minister Guchkov resigns. Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies appeals to army urging offensive and to Socialists of all countries urging the calling of international Socialist conference.

May 14. Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies votes in favour of forming a Coalition Government. Provisional Committee of Imperial Duma votes in favour of forming a Coalition Government.

May 15. Foreign Minister Miliukov resigns.

May 17. Conference of members of Imperial Duma adopts resolution proclaiming necessity of "staunch loyalty to our valiant Allies." Miliukov and Guchkov deliver speeches. All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies opens.

May 18. Coalition Provisional Government formed.

May 21. All-Russian Menshevik conference adopts decision in favour of its party representatives' participation in Coalition Government. All-Russian officers' congress in Petrograd.

May 22. Congress of Constitutional-Democratic Party in Petrograd.

May 23. Vandervelde's speech on war at Congress of Peasant Deputies. Magazine *Rabotnitsa* [*Working Woman*], organ of Central Committee of Bolsheviks, appears in Petrograd.

May 27. War Minister Kerensky orders preparations for offensive. Soviet demonstration in Moscow against death sentence for Friedrich Adler.

May 28. First issue of Bolshevik paper *Okopnaia Pravda* [*Truth in the Trenches*] appears at north front.

May 30. Minister of Justice Pereverzev orders all deals in land stopped.

May 31. Minister of Commerce Konovalov resigns.

June 7. Special Conference to prepare electoral law for Constituent Assembly opens.

June 8. Minister of Justice Pereverzev rescinds order prohibiting deals in land.

June 9. A number of regiments at the front disbanded for refusal to take offensive. Elections to Borough Councils begin in Petrograd.

June 12. First conference of shop and factory committees opens in Petrograd. All-Ukrainian military congress prohibited by Kerensky.

June 15. Provisional Government decrees to banish the Swiss Social-Democrat R. Grimm from Russia. All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies closes.

June 16. All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opens. Provisional Government issues note proposing calling of Allied conference to revise treaties relating to war aims. Former president of Imperial Duma, Rodzianko, in letter, proposes to members of Imperial Duma not to leave Petrograd in view of important political events. Provisional Government decrees question of Ukrainian autonomy must not be solved pending convocation of All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

June 17. Khaustov, Bolshevik, editor of *Okopnaia Pravda*, arrested.

June 18. Second All-Ukrainian military congress opens in Kiev.

June 19. Sailors arrest officers in Sebastopol. Gathering of delegates of ships' crews demands resignation of Admiral Kolchak, commander of Black Sea fleet.

June 20. State's Attorney of Petrograd Judicial Chamber orders Durnovo's

summer estate to be vacated by organisations that had taken hold of it. All-Russian Cossacks' congress in Petrograd.

June 21. Workers of Vyborg section demonstrate against order to vacate Durnovo's estate.

June 22. All-Russian Congress of Soviets puts three days' ban on street demonstrations. Central Committee of Bolsheviks gives up demonstration called for June 23. Meetings in shops and barracks in connection with ban on demonstration.

June 23. Meetings in boroughs and military units continue.

June 24. Joint session of Executive Committee of Petrograd Soviet, Presidium of Soviet Congress and bureau of fractions discusses demonstration. Tsereteli speaks. Bolsheviks withdraw in protest. All-Ukrainian military congress issues "Universal Act on the State System of the Ukraine."

June 25. Soviet Congress calls demonstration for July 1 under its own slogans. Resolution of Soviet Congress condemns demonstration called by Bolsheviks for June 23. Bolshevik fraction of Congress protests.

June 27. Provisional Government appoints October 13 for opening of Constituent Assembly and September 30 for elections.

June 28. All-Ukrainian Central Rada organises General Secretariat as executive organ of Rada.

June 29. Kerensky, in proclamation to army and navy, orders offensive. All-Russian conference of Bolshevik military organisations in Petrograd.

June 30. Soviet Congress forms All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

July 1. Russian army begins advance at front. First successes. Very large demonstration in Petrograd under Bolshevik slogans.

July 2. Bourgeois demonstration with national banners on Nevsky Prospect in Petrograd in honour of victories of Russian army. Durnovo's estate raided by government, Anarchists arrested. Workers of Vyborg section strike in protest against raid on the Durnovo estate.

July 4. Economic Council and Chief Economic Committee established in Provisional Government. All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions opens in Petrograd.

July 5. First meeting of All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

July 6. All-Russian Conference of Constitutional-Democratic Party in Moscow.

July 8. Elections to Moscow City Council begin.

July 9. Minister of Labour Skobelev, in appeal to workers, puts ban on "actions by decision from below."

July 10. Finnish Diet passes bill "On Sovereign Rights of Finnish Diet."

July 11. All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions closes. Defeats of Russian army at the front begin.

July 14. City Conference of Bolsheviks in Petrograd. Delegation of Provisional Government, consisting of Tsereteli, Kerensky and Tereshchenko, reaches agreement with All-Ukrainian Central Rada in Kiev. Chernov introduces bill prohibiting deals in land.

EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF V. I. LENIN

FROM THE MIDDLE OF MARCH TO THE MIDDLE OF JULY, 1917

Middle of March. First news of the uprising of workers and soldiers in Petrograd, and of the victory of the Russian Revolution, finds V. I. Lenin in Zürich, Switzerland. Considering a speedy return to Russia to be his prime task, and having reasons to assume that England will not allow the emigrant-internationalists to pass, Lenin begins to seek other ways of going home.

March 16. Lenin writes a letter to Kollontai, in which, guided by the fragmentary reports of the foreign press, he makes the first analysis of the Russian Revolution.

March 17. Together with Zinoviev Lenin prepares "Draft Theses of March 17" (analysis of the perspectives of the Russian Revolution and the tasks of the Bolshevik Party).

March 19. A conference of various political groups of Russian emigrants in Switzerland considers ways and means of returning to Russia and accepts Martov's plan of returning via Germany under condition that an equal number of German and Austrian prisoners interned in Russia should be exchanged for the returning emigrants. Lenin joins in this plan. Grimm, a Swiss Socialist, is authorised to conduct necessary negotiations with the Swiss Government.

March 20. Lenin begins, for the party press, a series of "Letters from Afar," the first of which, entitled, "The First Stage of the First Revolution," he sends to the *Pravda* via Stockholm.

March 30. Lenin telegraphs to Hanecki in Stockholm requesting him to take steps through the Soviet of Workers' Deputies for the exchange of the Russian emigrants-internationalists for Germans interned in Russia. He sends through Hanecki instructions to members of the Bolshevik organisations in Russia.

March 31. *Volksrecht*, a Social-Democratic paper in Zürich, publishes the text of a report, "On the Tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Russian Revolution," given by Lenin before a gathering of Swiss workers. The Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee decides to go via Germany immediately, without awaiting the consent of the other emigrant party groupings, which decision Lenin telegraphs to Grimm.

April 2. In view of the equivocal position taken by Grimm on the question of the emigrants' return through Germany, Lenin removes him as negotiator, and entrusts the further conduct of negotiations to the Swiss Socialist, Platten.

April 4. Platten presents to the German Embassy in Berne an outline, prepared by Lenin, of conditions for the emigrants' passage through Germany.

April 7. Lenin goes to Berne, where he (together with Loriot, Guilbeaux and P. Levi) signs the "Report on the Passage through Germany."

April 8. A meeting of the Russian Bolsheviks departing for Russia adopts, with slight editorial changes, the text of a "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers" as written by Lenin. The Bolsheviks depart for Germany, Platten accompanying the car with the emigrants.

April 13. Lenin on a steamboat between Sassnitz, Germany, and Trolleborg,

Sweden. Arrives at Trolleborg late at night, departs with night train for Stockholm.

April 14. Lenin arrives in Stockholm in the morning, departs for Russia in the evening.

April 16. Arrives in Petrograd late in the evening. Is greeted at the station by a large demonstration of workers and soldiers. Makes his first speech in Russia addressing the crowd on the square in front of the Finland Station. Concludes his speech, delivered standing on an armoured motor car, with the words, "Long live a world-wide Socialist revolution!" Participates at a gathering of responsible party workers of Petrograd in Central Committee headquarters, in the former house of Kshesinskaia.

April 17. Lenin appears before the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies to report on his passage through Germany. Addresses a conference of Bolshevnik members of the All-Russian Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, defending the "theses." Repeats his address before a joint meeting of Bolshevniks and Menshevniks, members of the same Conference. Joins the editorial staff of the *Pravda*, which he edits until it is raided by the military cadets in July.

April 20. Lenin publishes the "theses" in the *Pravda*, in an article entitled "On the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution."

April 23. Lenin addresses a meeting of soldiers in the Izmailov Regiment. Participates in a session of the Central Committee where the character of the Russian Revolution is discussed. Finishes his pamphlet, *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*.

End of April. Lenin writes "Letters on Tactics. First Letter. An Estimate of the Present Situation."

April 27. Lenin participates in the work of the Petrograd City Conference of the R.S.-D.L.P. of which he is elected honorary chairman. Reports, and makes concluding remarks, on the political situation before the Conference.

April 28. Lenin participates in the debates on the resolution introduced at the Petrograd Conference on the political situation.

May 1. From the Central Committee platform Lenin addresses the workers during the May Day celebration.

May 3. Lenin participates in the Central Committee session devoted to the crisis created by Miliukov's note.

May 4. Lenin participates in a Central Committee session devoted to the same question. The Central Committee adopts the resolution proposed by him.

May 5. In the morning Lenin participates in a Central Committee session devoted to the May crisis, and has his resolution adopted. In the evening, at a session of the Petrograd City Conference, Lenin participates in the discussion of the question of communal elections and introduces a resolution on that question which the Conference adopts.

May 6. Lenin gives an interview to Tornainen, editor of the Finnish Social-Democratic paper, the *Tyomies*. Finishes his "Proposed Changes in the Theoretical, Political and Several Other Parts of the Programme," prepared for the All-Russian party conference.

May 7. Lenin opens the All-Russian Conference of the R.S.-D.L.P., delivers the opening address, is elected to the Presidium, delivers a report on the political situation and on the war; in the evening session he makes the concluding speech. The Conference elects Lenin to the resolutions commission.

May 8. At the morning and evening sessions of the All-Russian Conference Lenin delivers one address on the plan of calling an international Socialist

conference as proposed by Borgbjerg, and another on the Bolsheviks' attitude towards the Soviets.

May 9. Lenin participates in the work of the resolutions commission of the All-Russian Conference.

May 10. In the morning Lenin participates in the work of the sections of the All-Russian Conference; in the evening session he speaks in favour of the resolution on the war as prepared by the resolutions commission with his very active participation.

May 11. In the morning Lenin participates in the work of the resolutions commission of the Conference; in the evening he reports before the Conference on the agrarian question and on the revision of the party programme.

May 12. Lenin speaks at the Conference on the state of affairs in the International, defends the commission's resolution on the political situation, is elected to the Central Committee by 104 out of 109 votes (the largest number cast for any one of the slate) and delivers the closing speech.

May 21. Lenin makes a report on the All-Russian April Conference before a party gathering in the building of the Marine Corps in Petrograd. The gathering receives him enthusiastically.

May 23. Lenin speaks at a gathering of the interborough organisation of the R.S.-D.L.P. on the question of uniting the Bolsheviks with the Social-Democrats-Internationalists.

May 25. Lenin delivers a speech at a meeting organised by the Bolsheviks to protest against the death sentence imposed upon Friedrich Adler.

May 28. Lenin delivers a lecture on the war.

June 4. Lenin delivers an address on the agrarian question before the All-Russian Peasant Congress.

June 12. Lenin appears at a session of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. to argue against the decision of the Executive Commission of the Petrograd Committee to establish a special organ of the Petrograd Committee.

June 13. Lenin delivers an address on the control of industry before the first Petrograd conference of shop and factory committees.

June (exact date unknown). Lenin speaks at a sailors' and workers' meeting in the Marine Exercise Hall of Cronstadt.

June 17. Lenin delivers an address on the Bolshevik attitude towards the Provisional Government before the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

June 22. Lenin delivers an address on the war before the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In view of the ban put by the Congress of Soviets on the demonstration planned by the Bolsheviks for June 23 and the Black Hundred danger alleged to be connected with it, Lenin, at a night session of the Central Committee, insists, and has a decision adopted, that the proposed demonstration be abandoned.

June 24. Lenin, at a session of the Petrograd Committee, speaks on the abandonment of the planned demonstration.

July 11. Lenin goes to Finland for a few days' rest.