V. I. LENIN THE ISKRA PERIOD VOLUME IV



COLLECTED WORKS

 \mathbf{OF}

. V. I. LENIN

Completely revised, edited and annotated.

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V. I. LENIN-1900

LENIN

VOLUME IV

THE ISKRA PERIOD

1900-1902

BOOK I



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EXPLANATORY NOTES

- 1. The idea of publishing a Russian newspaper—the future Iskra—occurred to Lenin while he was still in exile. Lenin advocated the publication of a party organ that should "appear regularly and maintain close contact with all local groups" in the articles he wrote in 1899 for No. 3, Rabochaya Gazeta. That issue did not appear, as is explained below, and the articles were published only in 1925 (see V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. II). Lenin developed the same idea in his correspondence with L. Martov and A. N. Potresov, who had agreed to participate in the new literary venture ("The Triple Alliance"). He discussed it also in conference with his immediate friends and fellow workers in the movement in St. Petersburg, the League of Struggle and also with his friends in exile (N. Krupskaya, G. Kryzhizhanovsky and others). It was proposed to publish the paper abroad in close co-operation with the Emancipation of Labour group, led by G. Plekhanov. On his return from exile, Lenin took up temporary headquarters in Pskov, prior to his departure abroad. and there he undertook practical steps in preparation for the publication of the newspaper. He conducted negotiations with the comrades who had remained in Russia concerning support for the paper, the sending of correspondence, the raising of financial support, etc. One of these measures was the convening of the so-called Pskov Conference of Iskraists (Lenin, Martov, Potresov, Radchenko) and the Legal Marxists (Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky). At this conference, a draft made by Lenin of a declaration by the editorial boards of the two proposed publications—a newspaper and a magazine—was submitted and discussed. The magazine referred to was the future Zarya. The articles written by Lenin in 1899 contain no reference to the publication of a magazine simultaneously with the newspaper. In all probability the idea of publishing the Zarya arose later, perhaps a little while before the Pskov Conference. Further details of this period may be found in L. Martov's Memoirs of a Social-Democrat.-p. 13.
- 2. The name given to the document written by E. Kuskova in 1899 and published by a group of extreme revisionists and opportunists in Russia in which they explained their views on the Russian labour movement, and urged the adoption of a purely Liberal programme for the movement. A copy of the Credo was sent to Lenin, then in exile in Siberia, and it immediately called forth a sharp protest from him in the form of a statement entitled "A Protest of Russian Social-Democrats" (see V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. II). This protest was supported by all revolutionary Social-Democrats.—p. 14.
- 3. A newspaper appearing from October, 1897, to December, 1902, of which Nos. 3-11 and No. 16 were published in Berlin. The rest were published in St. Petersburg. This paper was the most consistent organ of Economism and concentrated its attention on the strictly industrial struggle as against the political struggle, which it claimed did not enter into the tasks of the working class. It venerated the spontaneous elements of the movement, was opposed to the establishment of a centrally organised party, and was hostile towards the intelligentsia. Nos. 1 and 2 were printed on a mimeograph (500 copies each).

The second number was received abroad before the first. The contents of this number did not enable the Emancipation of Labour group to judge properly of the Rabochaya Mysl's real tendencies, and being regarded as the product of local "workers" initiative, was warmly received. When No. 1 of Rabochaya Mysl, containing the programme of the paper, which bore markedly Economist features, was received, no doubt remained as to its purely opportunist character. A critical analysis of this programme is contained in Lenin's pamphlet What Is To Be Done?, reprinted in Book II of this volume.—p. 15.

4. In one of the chapters of his Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie (published in English under the title Evolutionary Socialism), Bernstein, in his controversy with Plekhanov, wrote:

In order to reveal Plekhanov's methods of controversy in their true light, I must remind the reader that a large, if not the largest section of the Russian Social-Democrats working in Russia, including the editorial board of the Russian labour newspaper, very strongly holds a point of view approximate to mine, and that several of my "vapid" articles have been translated into Russian and distributed in different editions (p. 170, first German edition).

In a number of Russian editions of Bernstein's book this passage is omitted or curtailed. It is also omitted from the English translation. It is not known what "Russian labour newspaper" Bernstein referred to. In all probability he referred to Rabochaya Mysl.—p. 15.

- 5. A Social-Democratic organisation formed in September, 1883, by G. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod, V. I. Zasulich, L. G. Deutsch and V. I. Ignatov, all of whom had emigrated abroad. The group continued in existence until the second congress of the party, in August, 1903, at which a united party was formed and the group dissolved. This Marxist group played an exceptionally important rôle in the development of the theory and tactics of Russian Social-Democracy.—p. 15.
- 6. The organ of the Kiev Social-Democrats. Only two numbers were published, No. 1 in August, 1897, and No. 2 in November of the same year. Both were printed in Kiev. The first congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Lahour Party held in 1898, recognised the Rabochaya Gazeta as the central organ of the party, but efforts made to revive the paper failed.—p. 15.
- 7. The leadership of the League of Russian Social-Democrats passed out of the hands of the Emancipation of Labour group and into the hands of the "Young" Social-Democrats, who inclined towards Economism. After coming to an agreement with the Bund,—the Jewish Labour League in Poland, Lithuania and Russia,—it commenced an agitation at the beginning of 1900 in favour of convening a second party congress. For this purpose representatives of the League (P. F. Teplov and T. Kopelson) were sent to Russia to visit all the local organisations. The purpose of the congress was to restore the Central Committee, which had been broken up by the arrest of the previous members, and to resume the publication of the central organ of the party,—the Rabochaya Gazeta. It was proposed to place the editorship of Rabochaya Gazeta in the hands of the Iskra group (Lenin, Martov, Potresov) of whose literary plans the League was informed. The idea of convening the second congress was supported by several local committees as well as by influential organisations like the Yuzhny Rabochy, in Yekaterinoslav.

The Iskra group, however, regarded the convening of the congress as premature and were apprehensive of the growth of Economism. As, however, there was every possibility of the congress taking place, the Iskra group wrote to the Emancipation of Labour group, suggesting that the former represent the latter at the congress. To this the Emancipation of Labour group agreed and gave Lenin its mandate to represent it. It was proposed to convene the congress in Smolensk on May 6, 1900. Only five persons (V. N. Razanov and T. Kopelson, representing the League of Social-Democrats; N. Portnoy and D. Katz, representing the Bund, and A. Ginsberg, representing the Yuzhny Rabochy) arrived on the appointed date, however, and so the conference was not held. No delegate of the Iskra arrived. Lenin deals with the attitude of the Iskra group towards the second congress in the pamphlet What Is To Be Done?, reprinted in Book II of this volume.—p. 16.

- 8. Lenin here refers to the "Draft Programme of Our Party" which was intended for publication in No. 3 of Rabochaya Gazeta, which, as has been stated above, did not appear. This Draft represented a continuation of a work commenced by Lenin 1895-6 entitled "A Draft and Explanation of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party" (see V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. I), which found definite formulation in the proposals Lenin put forward in 1902 when the Editorial Board of Iskra was engaged in drafting the programme of the party (see V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. V).—p. 17.
- 9. A quotation from P. B. Axelrod's pamphlet The Present-Day Tasks and Tactics of Russian Social-Democracy, Geneva, 1898, p. 28.—p. 19.
- 10. The passage in Marx's introduction to the Provisional Rules of the International Workingmen's Association—the First International, written in 1864.—p. 19.
- 11. The term applied by P. B. Axelrod to Lenin's pamphlet, The Tasks of Russian Social Democrats, in his introduction to the first edition of that pamphlet, dated Autumn, 1898.—p. 20.
- 12. A pamphlet written by L. Martov in 1899 while he was in exile in Siberia and published in the same year by the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. The pamphlet bore an introduction "By the Editors" in which the following passage occurs: "The pamphlet popularly explains the principal demands of the Russian labour movement, from the most elementary demands to the fundamental aims of Social-Democracy,"—p. 20.
- 13. The Iskra was the leading organ of the Russian Social-Democracy from 1900 to 1903. It was founded upon Lenin's initiative who occupied the position of theoretical leader and practical organiser of the paper. It was edited by V. I. Lenin, G. V. Plekhanov, L. Martov, P. B. Axelrod, A. N. Potresov and V. I. Zasulich.

Up to the second party congress (August, 1903), forty-five numbers of the Iskra had been published. At the second party congress, which split into a majority (Bolsheviks) and a minority (Mensheviks), the editorial board was made up of Lenin, Plekhanov (of the majority), and Martov (of the minority). Axelrod, Zasulich and Potresov, who joined the minority, were not elected to the Editorial Board by the congress. Martov refused to join the Editorial Board, so that Nos. 46-51 of the Iskra appeared under the editorship of Lenin

and Plekhanov. On November 1, Lenin resigned from the Iskra as a result of differences of opinion with Plekhanov who had been moving closer to the Mensheviks in his policy of reconciliation with them. No. 52 appeared under the sole editorship of Plekhanov who then co-opted Martov as well as Axelrod, Potresov and Zasulich who had been rejected by the party congress, on the Editorial Board.

From No. 53 on, the *Iskra* appeared formally as the central organ of the party, but in reality it was the organ of the Mensheviks, which it remained up to its last number (No. 112, October, 1905). After the *Iskra* passed into the hands of the Mensheviks, it lost its former revolutionary character, taking up the struggle against the tactical and organisational ideas which had been propagated in the columns of the *Iskra* under Lenin's guidance and had constituted the basis of the activity of the revolutionary Social-Democracy. "Between the old and the new *Iskra* lies an abyss"—the Mensheviks announced through the lips of L. Trotsky, one of its prominent supporters at that time,

For the purpose of reorganising the party, the *Iskra* under Lenin's leadership created a cadre of "agents," "professional revolutionists" who, in the course of three years of work, succeeded in securing the recognition of the *Iskra* principles by the overwhelming majority of the organisations, and who thereby prepared the ground for the convocation of the second party congress and the rehabilitation of the party as a united organisation.

In the text of "How the Spark Was Nearly Extinguished," several sharp expressions used by Plekhanov in regard to the Jewish Bund—five lines altogether—were omitted, the omission being indicated by dots.—p. 23.

14. This refers to the "split" which took place between the Emancipation of Labour group and the majority of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad; at the second congress of the League in April, 1900. The difference between the first, which had adopted the point of view of orthodox Marxism and the League became so wide at that time that the group and its followers were obliged to leave the congress, break off all organisational connections with the League and establish a new revolutionary organisation known as Social-Democrat.—p. 23.

15. It is not known what incident Plekhanov referred to when he said that he had received "orders" (from Lenin) "not to shoot" at Struve. Lenin had pointed to Struve's deviation from orthodox Marxism when the latter still called Mmself a Marxist and long before Struve's transformation into a bourgeois democrat had become apparent to all, including Plekhanov. Already in the early part of 1894 Lenin, in his Friends of the People expressed his disagreement with some of the views outlined by Struve in his article "On the Question of the Development of Capitalism in Russia," published in Sozial politisches Zentralbiatt, No. 1, October, 1893. "I must say that I disagree with some of the postulates laid down by him," i.e., Struve, Lenin wrote (see V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. I).

When Struve's Critical Remarks appeared in September, 1894, Lenin subjected it to a critical analysis in a paper he wrote on "Marxism as Reflected in Bourgeois Literature." This paper served as the basis for an article Lenin wrote in 1894 entitled "The Economic Content of Populism and Struve's Criticism," and published in a compendium entitled Materials for the Characterisation of Our Economic Development, which was published in 1895, but was destroyed by the censor. Plekhanov, on the contrary, in his book, The Development of the Monistic Conception of History, published at the end of 1894,

failed to reveal the revisionist tendencies of Struve's book and instead of repudiating him, actually took him under his wing. For that reason it was quite impossible for the order "not to shoot" at Struve to come from Lenin. Possibly Plekhanov had A. Potresov in view. The latter was also a prominent representative of the St. Petersburg organisation and went to Switzerland to visit Plekhanov in 1895.—p. 24.

- 16. Novoye Slovo, conducted by S. N. Krivenko, hegan to appear in 1894 as the organ of the Narodniks. In 1897, commencing with the April number, the magazine passed into the hands of the "Legal Marxists" and notwithstanding the severe censorship, it managed to exist until the end of the year. The last number, issued in December of that year was confiscated, and the magazine was prohibited by the government. Among the editors were P. Struve (pseudonym, P. S. Novus), M. Tugan-Baranovsky, A. M. Kalmykova, V. Posse, and among the contributors were G. V. Plekhanov (pseudonym, N. Kamensky), V. I. Zasulich (pseudonym, V. Ivanov), V. I. Lenin (pseudonym, K. T.-n), L. Martov (pseudonym, A. Yegorov), S. Bulgakov (pseudonym, Nemo), M. Gorky, V. Veresayev and others. In the September number of the magazine, Struve had an article entitled, "The International Congress on Labour Legislation," in which, commenting on an article by Engels, he stated that the Marxian theory, which arose in the forties, "far from corresponds to present conditions," and that the "social cataclysm" which, "because of the objective material conditions prevailing in the forties appeared so imminent at that time, is now not only prophesied for a future date but has altogether disappeared from the realistic horizon in the same way as ideas about geological cataclysms have disappeared from the science of geology." Although Plekhanov was a contributor to Novoye Slovo he made no reply to Struve's views in that magazine. Plekhanov's silence astonished Lenin, who was in exile in Siberia at that time, and in a letter to Potresov, dated June 29, 1899, he wrote: "There is one thing I cannot understand and that is how could Kamensky allow Struve's and Bulgakov's articles against Engels in Novoye Slovo to remain unchallenged. Can you explain this to me?" (See Lenin Collection, IV.) -p. 24.
- 17. In his Vademecum, a handbook written for Rabocheye Dyelo in 1900 and directed against the Economists, Plekhanov, among other documents, published two letters, which although strictly speaking were private letters, nevertheless dealt with questions of principle. One was from M. M. (E. D. Kuskova, the author of Credo) and the other from G. (the Bundist T. Kopelson who at that time was a prominent member of the League of Russian Social-Democrats). Both of these letters clearly revealed the revisionist views of their authors. In the main, Lenin endorsed Plekhanov's Vademecum and stated so officially in the press and in his correspondence with the Iskra group.—p. 24.
- 18. "Our third man" was L. Martov, who was in the south of Russia during the negotiations between Lenin, Potresov, Plekhanov and the other members of the Emancipation of Labour group and arrived in Munich, where the editorial office of *Iskra* was set up, only in March, 1901.—p. 25.
- 19. The Bund—the Jewish title of the Jewish Labour League in Poland, Lithuania and Russia, which carried on its activities among the Jewish workers. It was established in 1897 at a congress of Jewish Social-Democratic groups in Vilna. The principal publications of the Bund were the Arbeiter Stimme (Voice of Labour) which was published illegally in Russia and the Yidisher

Arbeiter (Jewish Worker) which was published by the Foreign Committee of the Bund in Geneva. In 1901 the Bund began to publish an information bulletin called Latest News of which 256 numbers were published up to January, 1906. In its tactics and policy the Bund stood closer to the Economists than to the Iskra group.—p. 25.

20. P. B. Struve.--p. 26.

21. Apparently this refers to L. I. Axelrod (pseudonym, Orthodox), who later became a well-known Marxian authoress of works on philosophical problems. She contributed articles to the symposiums: *Philosophical Outlines*, 1906; and *Against Idealism*, 1922. An article of hers entitled, "Why We Do Not Desire To Go Back" (against Berdyaev), was published in *Zarya*, Nos. 2-3, and another against Struve entitled, "The Philosophical Exercise of Certain Critica," was published in No. 4 of that magazine.—p. 27.

22. A theoretical magazine published by the German Social-Democrats between 1883 and 1922. Up to the World War this magazine was edited by Karl Kautsky and among the contributors were August Bebel, Edward Bernsfein, H. C. Cunow, Paul Lafargue, William Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, E. Vandervelde, A. Labriola, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Plekhanov, Parvus. V. Adler and others.

In 1897 Edward Bernstein began to publish in the Neue Zeit, without comment by the editor, his revisionist "Probleme des Sozialismus" (Problems of Socialism). One of the articles, in the first series, was severely critical of the theory of the inevitable collapse of capitalist society and of the Social Revolution (Zusammenbruchstheorie). This attitude was strongly attacked by Parvus. who pointed to it as a symptom of the rise of German Social-Democratic revisionism. After the publication of Bernstein's second series of articles ("Das realistische und das ideologische Moment im Sozialismus"-The Realistic and Ideological Elements in Socialism) in Nos. 34-39 of the Neue Zeit. 1897-1898, the editor was obliged to open a discussion in the pages of the magazine in view of Bernstein's undisguised revision of all the fundamental postulates of Marxism. The first article to be published against Bernstein was Plekhanov's "Bernstein und der Materialismus" (Bernstein and Materialism) in No. 44 of the Neue Zeit, Vol. XIX, 1898, which was followed up by other articles by Plekhanov against Conrad Schmidt who, as Bernstein himself had confessed, largely influenced the latter to abandon materialism in favour of Kantian philosophy. These articles were: "Conrad Schmidt gegen Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels" (Conrad Schmidt against Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels) in No. 5, November, 1898; and "Materialismus oder Kantianismus" (Materialism or Kantism) in Nos. 19-20. In the same year Plekhanov addressed an open letter to Karl Kautsky in which he reproved him for not taking up a sufficiently definite position in the controversy between the orthodox Marxists and the revisionists. Subsequently, the Neue Zeit refused to publish any more of Bernstein's articles and the latter published them in a separate book which later became the bible of revisionism: Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie, Dietz-Verlag, 1899.--р. 27.

23. The revolutionary Social-Democrat Organisation was formed after the split in the League of Russian Social-Democrats which took place at the second congress (Geneva, April, 1900). It consisted of the Emancipation of Labour

group and of a number of individuals (Blumenfeld, Lindov, Goldenberg-Mesh-kovsky, Koltsov and others) who supported the group in its struggle against the majority of the League and who left the second congress with it. At first it was proposed to call it The Russian Social-Democratic League. It existed up to October, 1901, when, in conjunction with the Iskra and Zarya group it formed the League of Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. The Social-Democrat published Martov's The Red Flag in Russia, Plekhanov's Extracts from a Diary of a Social-Democrat, and several translations of other pamphlets.—p. 28.

- 24. N:-Nürnberg, where Lenin stayed on his way from Geneva to Munich after the congress of the Iskra and Emancipation of Labour groups.-p. 37.
- 25. No copy of this draft agreement, written by Lenin at the beginning of September, is extant. In the Archives of the Lenin Institute there is a later, typewritten draft dated October 6, which apparently, in the main, is the work of Lenin. The following is the text of this agreement:
- 1. The Compendium Zarya and the newspaper Iskra shall be published and edited by the Russian Social-Democrat group with the editorial participation of the Emancipation of Labour group.
- 2. The editorial board shall submit all articles dealing with principles and which are of a particularly serious nature to all the members of the Emancipation of Labour group if editorial and technical conditions permit of that being done.
- 3. The members of the Emancipation of Labour group shall vote on all editorial questions,—personally, if they are present at the place of publication of the journal and if not, in writing on the articles being submitted to them.
- 4. In the event of differences arising with the Emancipation of Labour group, the editors undertake to publish in their entirety the opinions of the group as a whole, or of each member individually.
 - 5. Only the first point of this agreement shall be made public.-p. 37.
- 26. This document is known under the title of Announcement of the Publication of Iskra, and it was under this title that it was published in the first edition of Lenin's writings. The author himself in his correspondence always refers to this document as the Declaration, and this is the title we have retained in his edition. The original text of this declaration (see page 13 of this book) simultaneously outlined the programmes of two publications: the magazine and the newspaper. The declaration here referred to emanates only from the editorial board of Iskra. It was proposed to explain the tasks of Zarya in a special article in the first number of that magazine, but owing to circumstances over which the editors had no control this proposal was not carried out.—p. 38.
- 27. A small and uninfluential group which was organised in St. Petersburg in the Autumn of 1898 and was suppressed by the secret police in April of the following year. The group was led by D. V. Gurary, K. A. Popov and V. A. Kozhevnikov, and in its ideas approximated to the Economists and the Rabochaya Mysl.—p. 39.
- 28. The organ of the League of Russian Social Democrats Abroad. It was published in place of the Listok Rabotnika, after the Emancipation of Labour group, at the congress of the League in 1898, had refused to undertake the editorship of the League's publications. The paper was edited by B. Krichevsky, Siberyak (pseudonym of P. Teplov), and V. Ivanshin. Later A. Martynov (pseudonym of Pikker) became the editor. Only 12 numbers of the paper were

- issued (in 9 volumes) of which 3 were double numbers; Nos. 2 and 3; 4 and 5, and 11 and 12. The first issue came out in 1899 and Nos. 11 and 12 came out in February, 1902. The Rabocheye Dyelo also published a supplement Listki Rabocheve Dyelo (eight numbers during 1900-1901) and a mimeographed lieluin entitled Materials Received by the Editors (1902). After the Rabocheye Dyelo and the Listki ceased publication, the League published three numbers of Krassnoye Znamya (Red Flag), November, 1902-January, 1903.—p. 39.
 - 29. A pamphlet compiled by O. A. Yermansky. It was one of the first items of correspondence received by *Iskra*, before the publication of the first number, as a practical result of the arrangements made by Martov and other followers of *Iskra* in Russia with the various Social-Democratic organisations to supply copy for the new venture.—p. 44.
 - 30. At least two leaflets were distributed on the eve of the first of May in Kharkov. One was signed by the Kharkov Committee of the R. S.-D L. P. and entitled First of May-(April 18, 1900) The International Labour Holiday. (In view of the difference of thirteen days between the Julian calendar in force in tsarist Russia and the Gregorian calendar in force in Western Europe, the Russian workers celebrated May Day April 18, the same day that it was celebrated in all other countries.) The second was printed in the printing plant of the Yuzhny Rabochy. It was signed: "The Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P.," and contained the following introduction: "First of May-April 18. On this labour holiday of the First of May the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party sends its fraternal greetings to the working men and working women of the whole of Russia." The demand for the convocation of the National Assembly, to which Lenin refers, was contained in the second leaflet and was expressed in the following form: "We must bring it about that the state shall be governed, that laws shall be passed and that taxes be collected and spent, not by the decision of the Tsar and his officials, who are the servants of the capitalists, but on the decision of the representatives of the people, who shall be elected by all citizens."-p. 49.
 - 31. In printing this article in Iskra, the printers accidentally left out a few lines and attention was drawn to this on the back page of Iskra. The article was written by Lenin in November, 1900, not later than the 16th of the month. Axelrod expressed himself very favourably concerning this article in a letter to Lenin written November 17, 1900.—p. 53.
 - 32. Members of the Narodnaya Volya, which was formed in 1879 as a result of a split in the Zemyla i Volya party. Narodnaya Volya was the strongest and most heroic of the organisations set up by the extreme revolutionary wing of the Russian intelligentsia. The theoretical views of this party reflected the general immaturity of class relationships that existed in Russia in the eighties. They were imbued with eclecticism in which were combined Narodnik or Populist (petty-hourgeois) Socialism and a striving towards political libetty frequently of a very modest form. Narodnaya Volya, it is true, repudiated the non-political anarchism of the revolutionary organisations of the Russian intelligentsia that preceded it, but, being unable to combine Socialism with the political struggle, it put its Socialist tasks into the background.

The methods adopted by Narodnaya Volya was that of terrorism, which was carried out by a strictly centralised and secret organisation controlled by an executive committee. Its aim was to overthrow the government by con-

spiracies and rebellion. The party had contacts among the intelligentsia, among the students and the officers in the army and carried on propaganda also among the more progressive strata of the workers. The party published two numbers of Rabochaya Gazeta.

The Executive Committee of the party consisted of A. Zhelyabov, Sophia Perovskaya, N. Morozov, Zundelevich, A. Mikhailov, Vera Figner, L. Tikhomirov (who later became a renegade) and others. It carried on a strenuous terroristic struggle against the autocracy. Terroristic acts followed one after another, culminating in the assassination of Alexander II on March 1 (14), 1881. The party, however, could not find the road to the broad masses and its terroristic struggle was not accompanied by any mass revolutionary movement. This enabled the government, by savage persecution, executions and provocation, to break it up in 1885. Having exhausted its strength in the unequal battle against the autocracy, the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya was never revived again and the party left the historical stage. The party published a social-revolutionary review called the Narodnaya Volya (from October, 1879, to October, 1885, twelve numbers were issued), Listok Narodnoy Voli and a paper published abroad called Vestnik Narodnoy Voli (Narodnaya Volya News) Nos. 1-5.

In 1886 a terroristic group was formed, led by A. I. Ulyanov (Lenin's brother) and B. Y. Shevyrev, which took over the traditions of Narodnaya Volya and made preparations for an attempt on the life of Alexander III. The group was discovered, however, and its active members were executed,—p. 54.

- 33. Lenin quotes here the concluding words of the speech delivered by Peter Alexeyev at his trial in St. Petersburg on March 10, 1877. Peter Alexeyev and forty-nine other textile workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk were arrested and charged with sedition for leading a strike of textile workers.—p. 58.
- 34. In connection with this article, written not later than December 7, 1900, Plekhanov wrote to the Editorial Board of Iskra, then in Munich, requesting that the word "accusation" (against him) be substituted by the words "false rumours" and "if it is possible, to strike out the words about the services rendered by Rabocheye Dyelo." The changes suggested by Plekhanov were not made. Axelrod also passed some remarks concerning this article and Lenin, in a letter to Axelrod dated December 11, wrote: "I have made the alterations you have suggested except that I cannot strike out the reference to the services of Rabocheye Dyelo. I think to do so would be unfair to an opponent whose record is not only one of committing offences against Social-Democracy." (See Lenin Collection, Vol. III.) Rabocheye Dyelo, in its issue (No. 9), announced that it intended in a future number to reply to Lenin's statements concerning the split, but in view of the negotiations that were commenced between the adherents of Iskra and Rabocheye Dyelo the matter was allowed to drop.—p. 65.

35. The Fifth International Socialist Congress took place in Paris from September 23 to 27, 1900. About 800 delegates were present. The Russian Social-Democrats were represented by a disproportionately large delegation of twenty-four.

The principal question that occupied the attention of the congress and around which a very lively discussion took place was that of the conquest of power by the proletariat and whether it was permissible for Socialists to accept seats in bourgeois cabinets. The latter question was a particularly acute one because of

the so-called "Millerand Affair." Millerand, a Socialist Deputy in the French Parliament, on the pretext of defending the Republic against a monarchist conspiracy, in June, 1899, accepted the post of Minister of Commerce in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, one of the members of which was the notorious General Galliffet, who brutally suppressed the Paris Commune. Notwithstanding the protests of the revolutionary wing of the French Socialist Party, particularly the Guesdists and the Blanquists, he continued to remain in the government even after it ordered the workers on strike in Chalons and Martinique to be shot down. Jaurès, the leader of the French opportunists, supported Millerand.

On this question the congress passed the following "compromise" resolution proposed by Kautsky:

In modern democratic states, the conquest of political power by the proletariat cannot be achieved simply by a coup de main [eines blossen Handstreiches], but can only be the outcome of a long and laborious effort towards the political and economic organisation of the proletariat, of its physical and moral regeneration and the gradual conquest of electoral seats in municipal councils and legislative bodies.

Where, however, state power is centralised, the conquest of political power cannot be accomplished by degrees. The entry of an individual Socialist into a bourgeois cabinet cannot be regarded as a normal beginning of the conquest of political power and can never be more than a temporary and exceptional

makeshift in an unavoidable situation.

The question as to whether such an unavoidable situation prevails in any given case is a question of tactics and not of principle. This, the congress is not called upon to decide. In any case, however, this dangerous experiment can be useful only when it is approved by a united party organisation and when the Socialist Minister is and remains the representative of his party.

Where the Socialist Minister becomes independent of his party, where he ceases to be the representative of his party, his entry into the Cabinet becomes transformed from a means of strengthening the proletariat into a means of weakening it; from a means of facilitating its conquest of political power into a means of hindering it from doing so. The congress declares that a Socialist must resign from a bourgeois cabinet when the party organisation declares that the latter has manifested its partiality in the struggle between labour and capital.

The resolution as proposed by Guesde and which obtained only a minority of votes read as follows:

The Fifth International Congress gathered in Paris declares that by the conquest of political power by the proletariat is meant the peaceful or the vio-lent political expropriation of the capitalist class.

This conception of the conquest of political power permits of the acceptance of only such electoral posts as the party wins by the exertions of its own efforts, i. e., the efforts of the workers organised in a party defending its class interests, and therefore prohibits the participation of Socialists in bourgeois governments towards which Socialists must remain in permanent opposition.

Plekhanov, Axelrod and Zasulich voted in favour of Guesde's resolution. At this congress also the International Socialist Bureau was established, with headquarters at Brussels.-p. 65.

36. This refers to the negotiations that were commenced in Munich on December 29, 1900, between Iskra (Lenin, Potresov, Zasulich) and the "Democratic Opposition," represented by P. Struve, concerning Struve's and his group's co-operation with the revolutionary Social-Democrats. The Democratic Opposition was the embryo of the Russian Liberal bourgeois political organisation which subsequently founded the Osvobozhdeniye (Emancipation), and later the Constitutional Democratic Party. The negotiations continued throughout the whole of January, 1901, and in the middle of the month P. Axelrod and G. Plekhanov came to Munich for a few days to discuss the terms of the

agreement.

Struve, who had considerable contacts with the bourgeois intelligentsia, from whom he could obtain all sorts of material against the autocracy, refused to act merely as a contributor to Iskra, and made the proposal for the publication of a third organ, the Sovremennoye Obozreniye (Contemporary Review), in addition to Zarya and Iskra. Lenin did not object in principle to entering into a bloc with Struve or to the publication of the Sovremennoye Obozreniye as a supplement to Zarya, but he insisted upon the right of the Editorial Board of Iskra to use freely all the material obtained for the supplement, also for Iskra, and also that the Sovremennoye Obozreniye should not appear more frequently than Zarya. In this way he hoped to retain the leadership in this bloc in the hands of the Social-Democrats and to deprive Struve of the possibility of propagating his political line at the expense of Iskra and Zarya. Struve's plan, however, was precisely to remove the Social-Democrats from the predominant position on the editorial board and to impose on the Editorial Board of Iskra a number of technical functions connected with the publication of Sovremennoye Obozreniye.

On January 30, 1901, a conference took place in Munich, at which Lenin, Potresov, Zasulich, Axelrod, Struve, and his wife, N. A. Struve, were present. At this conference a majority of the Iskra group—Lenin voting against—expressed themselves in favour of an agreement with Struve on the latter's terms. Lenin formally protested against this decision and appealed for support to Plekhanov, who was not present at the conference, and suggested that relations with Struve be broken off. Plekhanov, however, refused to support Lenin, and associated himself with the other members of the Editorial Board of Iskra. The negotiations with Struve continued up till March, and both sides drew up drafts of statements that were to explain the co-operation between Zarya and the Democratic Opposition. The declaration of the Editorial Board of Zarya, which was drawn up by Plekhanov, stated intervalia: ". . . The Editorial Board of Zarya has undertaken the publication of a political supplement which will be edited jointly by the editors of Zarya and the representatives of the Democratic Opposition. . . ." Owing to chance circumstances, Plekhanov's and Struve's declarations were not published in proper time and after a little while the negotiations with Struve were broken off, and Struve and the revolutionary Social-Democrats went their different ways .-- p. 67.

- 37. P. B. Struve,-p. 67.
- 38. Vera Zasulich.-p. 67.
- 39. Struve's wife, N. A. Struve.-p. 67.
- 40. M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky.-p. 68.
- 41. In the early part of 1899 a series of students' strikes broke out in all the higher educational establishments in Russia in protest against the existing university regulations. The government retaliated by expelling the students from the universities, beating them up in the streets by the police, etc. In July, the government issued the "Provisional Regulations" referred to, drafting these expelled students into the army. The promulgation of these Provisional

Regulations in the Official Gazette of July 31, 1899, was followed by the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the student disorders, at the head of which was the ex-Minister of War, Vannovsky.—p. 70.

- 42. The vow taken by Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginian forces, not to cease the war against Rome until it was utterly destroyed. In this case, it is used as a metaphor to imply unshakable determination to fight against the autocracy to the end.—p. 73.
- 43. A conservative, monarchist daily newspaper published in Kharkov, which carried on a crusade against every manifestation of the movement for liberation. It was founded in 1830 and was published and edited by the reactionary, A. A. Yozefovich.—p. 74.
- 44. The only source from which Lenin could have obtained materials for his article on the murder of the peasant Vozdukhov by the police was the Russkiye Vyedomosti of January 24 and 26, because the conservative newspapers refrained from publishing any reports of the case. Lenin could have received the Russkiye Vyedomosti on the second or third day after publication and this enables us to fix approximately the date on which Lenin wrote this article,—the end of January or the early part of February.

The materials for Chapter II of Casual Notes, namely "Why Accelerate the Vicissitude of Time?" (p. 90), Lenin obtained from the Orlovsky Vestnik (The Oryol Messenger), October 11, 1900. M. A. Stakhovich delivered the speech with which Lenin deals, on October 7. The suggestion that the nobility be given appointments as excise officers was made in the speeches of Yazykov, Tsurikov, Naryshkin, and Stakhovich. The materials for the third chapter, entitled: "Objective Statistics" (p. 95), were obtained from Moskovskiye Vyedomosti, January 20-27, 1901.—p. 76.

- 45. This passage is taken from an article written by the well-known Russian publicist, Gleb Jspensky, entitled "Feodor Mikhailovich Reshetnikov."-p. 89.
- 46. A Social-Democratic, scientific magazine devoted to science and politics, published in Stuttgart and edited by G. Plekhanov, Lenin, P. Axelrod, J. Martov, V. Zasulich, and A. Potresov.

Only three numbers of Zarya were published: No. 1, April, 1901, Nos. 2-3, December, 1901, and No. 4, August, 1902. The magazine contained the following articles by Lenin: "Casual Notes," "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism," "The Critics in the Agrarian Question," "Review of Internal Affairs," "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy"; and the following articles by Plekhanov: "Socialism and the Political Struggle Once Again," "A Criticism of our Critics," "Cant against Kant." Articles were also written by Potresov, Martov, Zasulich, Kautsky, Parvus, Lindov (pseudonym, Leiteisen), Ryazanov, Steklov, Deutsch, and others.

Differences arose within the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya* in 1902 and Plekhanov proposed that *Zarya* be separated from *Iskra*, he to retain the editorship of the former. But this proposal was not agreed to and the joint editorial board for both publications was continued.—p. 100.

47. Expressing his opinion concerning No. 3 of *Ishra* and particularly Lenin's article, "The Labour Party and the Peasantry," P. Axelrod, in a letter to the editors of *Ishra* in the beginning of May, 1901, wrote: "Our child

made an excellent impression on our brother [Plekhanov] and myself. . . . The principal articles are splendid, nay, positively brilliant; they are cleverly written; their appreciation and characterisation of events and of the situation, etc., are irreproachable, das ist selbstverständlich (that goes without saying)." (See Lenin Collection, III.)—p. 101.

- 48. Lenin began to take up programme questions in 1895 and 1896, while he was in prison in St. Petersburg. There he drafted a programme for the Social-Democratic Party with a commentary. (See Collected Works, Vol. L) During his exile in Siberia he again returned to the work and in the spring of 1899 wrote for the Rabochaya Gazeta a second draft of "The Programme of Our Party." This is the draft to which Lenin refers in his footnote. In 1901 the Editorial Board of Iskra and Zarya, on Lenin's initiative, took up the question of drafting a programme for the party and the draft referred to above was taken as material for this work. For further discussion regarding the programme and, particularly the conflict which ensued between Lenin and Plekhanov, see V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. V.—p. 107.
- 49. Axelrod, one of the editors, had not read the manuscript or the proofs of this article, the organisational and tactical ideas of which were afterwards developed in the pamphlet What Is To Be Done? After the article appeared, Axelrod informed Lenin that had he seen the article he would have expressed certain Bedenken (considerations) against the outline of the programme, but immediately added: "I was very much pleased with the article on the whole." The pamphlet referred to by Lenin is What Is To Be Done?.—p. 109.
- 50. The Rabocheye Dyelo, in a pamphlet entitled A Reply to P. Axelrod's Letter and G. Plekhanov's Vademecum (Geneva, 1900), had argued that the difference between the "young" Social-Democrats and the Emancipation of Labour group centred exclusively around organisational questions and were not in the least concerned with "anti-political tendencies" (i.e., Economism). However, Rabocheye Dyelo was obliged to admit the existence of differences of a "programmatic and tactical character." It urged, however, that these were only secondary questions. Among these allegedly secondary questions was the point about the struggle of the working class against the autocracy. The programme of the Emancipation of Labour group, published in 1885, formulated the tasks of the proletariat in this connection as follows: "Hence, the struggle against absolutism is obligatory also for those workers' circles which now represent the embryo of the future Russian workers' party. The overthrow of absolutism is their primary political task." This postulate was severely criticised by Rabocheye Dyelo, which tried to give it a distinctly opportunistic interpretation. "In our opinion," they wrote, "the overthrow of absolutism cannot be the primary political task of the workers' circles. The workers' circles are incapable of taking up political tasks in the real practical sense of the word, i. e., in the sense of an expedient and successful, practical struggle for political demands."-p. 109.
- 51. The correspondence on the unrest and the May strikes in St. Petersburg was published in *Iskra*, No. 5, June, 1901, under the heading, "The First of May in Russia."—p. 119.
- 52. The events at the Obukhov Works were not reported in the Official Gazette, as was usually done with events of this kind, but were reported in an

obscure place in the hig newspapers, as for example in Novoye Vremya, May 9, 1901, without any indication of the source of the information. The reports commenced with the words: "We have received the following reports," and then followed the text from which Lenin quotes. The report, of course, was sent to the press by the Police Department.—p. 119.

In 1895. Frederick Engels published Marx's The Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850, which consisted of a series of articles written by Marx in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1850. Engels wrote an introduction to this pamphlet, dated March 6, 1895, in which he formulated the tactics of the working class. The opportunists seized upon these formulas and endeavoured to interpret Engels' point of view as the abandonment of the revolutionary methods advocated by Marx, and as a denial of the utility of armed uprising and barricade fighting when universal suffrage prevailed. As his correspondence with Lafargue and Kautsky shows, Engels immediately protested against any attempt at interpreting his introduction in the spirit of revisionism and reformism and at picturing him as a "peaceful worshipper of legality quand même (under all circumstances)." The fact is that the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, fearing that the strong opinions expressed by Engels would provide the government with a pretext for prosecuting the party, had, without Engels' knowledge, struck out a number of the more militant formulas contained in his introduction with the result that the most important points were distorted and, in the words of Engels, created a shameful impression. Engels died soon after without succeeding in getting the complete original text of his introduction published while the German Social-Democrats failed to carry out Engels' desire expressed in his will to publish his work in the form the author desired. The unexpurgated text of Engels' Introduction was published for the first time in 1924 in an article by D. Ryazanov in the Marx-Engels Archiv, Vol. I (Russian edition) .-- p. 121.

54. The publication of Lenin's article "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism" in Zarya was preceded by the following note, entitled: "A Secret Document," published in Iskra, No. 5, of June, 1901, possibly written by Lenin:

We draw the reader's attention to the publication by Dietz of Stuttgart of a memorandum by Witte which had appeared in Zarya. This memorandum is directed against the project advanced by the ex-Minister of the Interior, Gorgemykin, for extending the Zemstvo system to other provinces, and it is interesting as a document which shamelessly exposes the innermost desires of our rulers. We hope in a future number to deal in detail with this remarkable document as well as with the preface written for it by R.N.S. [Struve]. While this preface reveals that its author understands the political significance of the labour movement, in all other respects it betrays the usual immaturity of political thought characteristic of our liberals.

Iskra did not publish any articles on this subject, but instead Lenin's big article. "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo. etc.," appeared in Zarya.

This article gave rise to a very animated discussion on the Editorial Board of Iskra in the course of which two points of view regarding the attitude of revolutionary Socal-Democracy towards Liberalism were revealed. Lenin, Martov, Potresov, and Parvus—who though not a member of the Iskra group was regarded as a strong sympathiser and to whom Lenin showed the article—on the one hand, and Plekhanov, Axelrod and Zasulich on the other. The latter objected to the severity of the tone adopted in the article towards the Liberals. Lenin accepted their suggestions for modifying the tone towards the Liberals

in general, but insisted on retaining the sharp tone of criticism against Struve.

—p. 122.9

55. A journal published in London by A. E. Herzen and N. P. Ogaryov, by the free Russian Press, founded by Herzen in 1853, where the Polyarnaya Zvesda (The Northern Star), leaflets, and other literature were published. The Kolokol appeared regularly for ten years commencing with July 1, 1857. During the first years of its publication the Kolokol exercised considerable influence in Russian society and had a large circulation among the nobility, government officials, the intellectuals and partly also in Court circles, principally because it exposed the corruption of political life in Russia. It pursued a moderately Liberal policy with a tinge of Slavophilism: emancipation of the peasantry with a grant of land, freedom of speech, the preservation of the monarchy and the federation of all Slav peoples.

With the collapse of Herzen's hopes in the government of Alexander II, after the introduction of the peasant reforms, the Kolokol adopted a more radical position, but it never supported the revolutionary and Socialist programme. This change of attitude, however, caused the Kolokol to lose influence, because the progressive radical democratic youth was no longer satisfied with its moderate Liberal programme and began to take their views from the Souremennik (The Contemporary), published by Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. On the other hand, the Liberal nobility and officials who represented the main body of readers of the Kolokol shrank from Herzen, because of the support he gave to the Polish rebellion, and found the expression of their anti-Polish views in the patriotic and nationalist Moskovskiye Vyedomosti, edited by M. N. Katkov. The Kolokol's ties with Russia became weakened and in order to re-establish its former position Herzen, in May, 1865, transferred it to Geneva, nearer to the Russian student circles that were organised by the exiled students. Its influence, however, continued steadily to decline and finally it ceased publication on July 1, 1867. In the beginning of 1868 publication was resumed, but in the French language, with a "Russian" supplement. The last number of the Kolokol was issued on December 1, 1868, No. 14-15. In 1869 fifteen numbers of the Supplement du Kolokol were issued .-- p. 124.

- 56. A magazine published in Paris in 1829 originally as an organ of art and literature, but later also published articles on philosophy and politics. During the period of the Second Empire (1852-1870) the magazine adopted an attitude of mild opposition to the government of Napoleon III. The article referred to is that by Charles de Mazade, "La Russie sous l'Empereur Alexandre II" (Russia in the reign of the Emperor Alexandre II), Vol. XXXIX, pp. 769-803.—p. 124.
- 57. A secret society organised in 1861 with a moderate constitutional programme, which in the latter half of 1861 published three numbers of a magazine entitled Velikoruss, printed at a secret printing shop in Russia. The gendarmes never discovered the members of the society and they are unknown to this day. In its leastets Velikoruss appealed to the "educated classes" and demanded "a good solution of the serf problem." (Emancipation of the peasants without compensation) "a truly constitutional monarchy," separation of Poland from Russia, right of self-determination for the Ukraine, juridical and administrative reforms, freedom of conscience and the abolition of the estates. No. 3 of Velikoruss published a draft petition and the "Committee" recommended that signatures be collected for it.—p. 124.

- 58. A manifesto drawn up in moderate liberal tones dated April, 1862, was distribted in St. Petersburg in the spring of that year and later reproduced in Herzen's Kolokol, No. 139, July 15, 1862. This manifesto announced the formation of the Zemskaya Duma Party, the aim of which was to emanchate the peasantry, who were to be given grants of land; the convocation of a Zemskaya Duma or a National Assembly to be elected by all the estates, which was to pass a law for the emancipation of the peasantry and the compensation of the landlords. Appealing to all "honest and right thinking men," the manifesto expressed the conviction that the government would have to concede to the "legitimate demands of the people." The membership of the party and the authors of the manifesto are unknown.—p. 124.
- 59. A secret society organised in 1862 by N. A. Serno-Solovyevich. This is not the Zemlya i Volya society formed in the seventies. Among the members of the society were A. A. Sleptsov, N. I. Utin, and contact was maintained with the society by P. Lavrov. The society issued a manifesto signed by the "Russian Central People's Committee" appealing to the "educated classes" to refuse to support the government of Alexander II which was adopting a reactionary policy. It also issued a manifesto to "the officers of the whole army" and two numbers of a leaflet Svoboda, in which it appealed to the educated classes to join the inevitable popular rising against the autocracy "and thus avoid, or, at all events diminish the bloodshed which the government will cause by its further existence." The society ceased to function in 1863.—p. 124.
- 60. In 1862 at the time of the big fires in St. Petersburg and a little while before the arrest of N. Chernyshevsky, a revolutionary circle organised by P. G. Zaichnevsky and P. Argiropulo in Moscow issued a manifesto signed by the "Central Revolutionary Committee," In it the Russian people were divided into two parties: The Imperial Party-the landlords and the merchants-and the people. It called upon the latter to make a "bloody and implacable revolution" against the propertied classes and especially for the overthrow of the Romanov - dynasty. In its agitation for revolution, Young Russia advised the revolutionary elements to seek support especially among the youth, in the army and among the "old believers." Its programme was as follows: The revolutionary government that was to emerge as a result of the revolution was to have dictatorial powers to carry out measures for the establishment of a federal republican system with national and regional assemblies, election of judges, public factories and shops, complete emancipation of women, the introduction of an income tax, the abolition of the standing army, and establishment of a national guard. Written in very striking, revolutionary terms, the manifesto bore all the traces of Jacobin and Socialist ideas. It caused great excitement in the Russian press at the time and was condemned by Herzen and even by Bakunin. Argiropulo died in prison while Zaichnevsky was sent to penal servitude in Siberia.-p. 124.
 - 61. A literary compendium published by the Narodniks in commemoration of the forty years of literary activity of N. K. Mikhailovsky (1860-1900). The compendium contained articles by A. Peshekhonov, N. Karyshev, V. Semyevsky, S. Uzhakov, A. Chuprov, P. Milyukov, V. Chernov ("The Peasant and the Worker as Categories of the Economic System") N. Annensky, V. Myakotin and others.—p. 125.
 - 62. A magazine of politics and literature founded by A. S. Pushkin and P. A. Pletnev in 1836. In the sixties it was edited by M. Nekrasov and A. Pypin.

- Among the contributors to the magazine were Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, Panayev and A. Tolstoy. It was suppressed in 1866.—p. 126.
- 63. A magazine of literature and politics founded in 1859. It had a large circulation and was influential particularly in the period 1862-1866. Edited by G. E. Blagosvyetlov and N. A. Blagoveshckensky.—p. 126.
- 64. A weekly newspaper published in Moscow between 1861-1865 by the Slavophile E. S. Aksakov. It was closed down for several months by the authorities for its oppositional tendencies. Ceased publication altogether in 1865.—p. 126.
- 65. The Estates General—an assembly of the representatives of the estates which existed in France from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. It was convened for the last time in 1789 on the eve of the great French Revolution. Apart from the Estates General the king also used to call an assembly of notables representing the privileged estates which had merely advisory powers.—p. 127.
- 66. During the great French Revolution the Convention suppressed the counter-revolution by mass terror. In some cases the Commissars of the Convention engaged in suppressing the counter-revolutionists in districts adjacent to rivers ordered many of them to be drowned.—p. 127.
- 67. Lenin here re-translated from the German edition of this correspondence.

 —p. 128.
 - 68. The ex-Minister of the Interior-Count P. A. Valuyev.-p. 129.
- 69. A daily newspaper, official organ of the Ministry of the Interior. Founded in 1862 in place of the Journal of the Ministry of the Interior. It ceased publication in 1868.—p. 130.
- 70. This passage is quoted from Severnaya Pochta, No. 13 of January 17, 1867, from an announcement of "His Majesty's order closing down the present Zemstvo Assembly in St. Petersburg and also suspending the operations of the Zemstvo Institutions in the Province of St. Petersburg."—p. 132.
- 71. Reference is made here to K. D. Kavelin's letter to his sister S. Korsakova, dated March 20, 1865,—p. 134.
- 72. This was a loosely organised secret organisation of Zemstvo Liberals which existed in the seventies and beginning of the eighties which reflected the revolutionary and oppositional temper in the country at the time. It demanded a moderate constitution and extension of powers of the Zemstvos and strove to exercise its influence through the members of the provincial and county assemblies. An attempt was made by the Zemstvo Liberals to publish their organ abroad, in Galicia, but it failed. They managed, however, to publish a pamphlet explaining their programme entitled Immediate Tasks of the Zemstvo. In 1879, a secret conference of the Zemstvo Liberals was held in Moscow at which sixteen Zemstvos were represented. The congress passed resolutions of a moderately Liberal character. In 1880, during the period of Loris-Melikov's "Dictatorship of the Heart," the League instructed its members to agitate in

favour of the Zemstvos presenting petitions. In the same year they began to publish two legal weekly newspapers, The Zemstvo and Poryadok (Order), and a magazine Russkaya Myst (Russian Thought). At a congress of the Zemstvo Liberals, held in Kharkov on March 1, a programme was adopted demanding the convocation of the Imperial Duma. At the same time a resolution was passed condemning the terrorist activity of the Narodnaya Volya. Soon after the reaction set in and the government began to persecute the Zemstvos. The newspaper Zemstvo was suppressed. Negotiations were then entered into with M. P. Dragomanov, a former Professor of the Kiev University who was then in exile abroad, for the purpose of converting the paper he edited, Volnoye Slovo (Free Word), into the organ of the Zemstvos. This he agreed to do and the Volnoye Slovo continued to be published as the organ of the Zemstvo Liberals, until it was closed down in 1883. See also the following note dealing with same period.—p. 135.

73. After March 1, 1881 (the assassination of Alexander II), the idea occurred to the government to establish a secret society for the purpose of protecting the life of Alexander III against the terrorists and for combating the revolutionary movement, particularly the Narodnaya Volya and its Executive Committee. Thus, the Dobrovolnaya Okhrana (Volunteer Guard), later known as the Svyashchenaya Druzhina (Holy Guard), was organised, which had very wide ramifications, with a membership consisting of secret service agents as well as a number of high officials, generals and St. Petersburg notables. Among these were Pobyedonostsev, Shuvalov, Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, Katkov and others. The organisation was dissolved at the end of 1882 when it was felt that the autocracy was sufficiently secure. One of the measures taken to combat the revolutionaries was to found a newspaper, the Volnoye Slovo. referred to above, which was edited by Malshinsky who was afterwards exposed as a police agent. The paper was subsidised by Count Shuvalov. Professor Dragomanov, referred to above, who was a well-known Ukrainian constitutionalist, was on the editorial staff of this paper; but he was in complete rignorance as to its origin. He was firmly convinced that the Volnoye Slovo was the organ of the Zemstvo League, a member of which the editor. Malshinsky, pretended to be. This misunderstanding is to be explained by the fact that the Volunteer Guard, in negotiating with revolutionary organisations abroad, pretended to speak in the name of the Zemstvo League. At first the paper advocated the establishment of Administrative County Councils and published articles of various tendencies including the terrorists as well as the Chernoperedelsty (Black Land Distributors). At one time P. Axelrod contributed to the paper. In 1882 the paper announced that it had become the organ of the Zemstvo League. In 1883, Dragomanov became the editor, but the paper ceased publication later in the same year.-p. 135.

74. These words are taken from an article entitled "A Description of Loris-Melikov," published by Listki Narodnoy Voli, No. 2, August 20, 1880, the author of which was N. K. Mikhailovsky.—p. 136.

75. A literary and political review issued abroad between 1890 and 1892 by the Emancipation of Labour group. Among the principal contributors were G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod and V. I. Zasulich. Only four volumes were published. The passage quoted is from an article by V. I. Zasulich, entitled, "Revolutionists from Among the Bourgeoisie," No. 1, February, 1890.—p. 139.

- 76. A moderately Liberal, political and literary journal representing the, views of Zemstvo Liberals, published in St. Petersburg in 1881-82, under the editorship of M. M. Stasyulevich. Articles were contributed by K. D. Kavelin and N. A. Korf.—p. 139.
- 77. A moderately Liberal, literary paper, published in St. Petersburg between 1880 and 1883, edited by L. A. Polonsky.—p. 139.
- 78. A moderately Liberal, political and literary magazine, extremely hostile to the revolutionary movement. Published in St. Petersburg, 1863-1884, edited by Krayevsky.—p. 139.
- 79. These words quoted in Witte's memorandum, are taken from F. Volkhovsky's pamphlet, What Does Count Loris-Melihov's Constitution Teach? Volkhovsky was a member of the Committee of the Free Russian Press Fund.

 —p. 139.
- 80. After the name of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), an outstanding political writer of the Florentine Republic, and author of *Il Principe* (The Prince), in which he advanced the ideas that all means employed for the achievement of his aim of uniting Italy under a single monarch were justified. Usually the term is employed to imply crafty and devious methods in the achievement of political aims.—p. 140.
- 81. The letter written by the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya to Alexander III dated March 10, 1886, was published as a special leaflet, and later reproduced in the Compendium, The Literature of the Narodnaya Volya, Moscow, 1907. The letter laid down the conditions,—amnesty, convocation of a national assembly, free speech and free press, etc.—which "were necessary in order that the revolutionary movement may be replaced by peaceful work." The Executive Committee advised Alexander III to agree to these conditions and promised in the event of his doing so to cease its activity. The letter was written by L. A. Tikhomirov with the assistance of N. K. Mikhailovsky.—p. 150.
- 82. Lenin had in mind here the following passage from Berdyaev's Subjectivism and Individualism in Social Philosophy, 1901:

The growth of positive progressive features must increase the sum of virtue in society and diminish the sum of evil. The principle of progress is, "the better things are the better." In this connection the elimination of the so-called Zusammenbruchs und Verelendungstheorie (the cataclysmic and impoverishment theories) which are an undoubted feature of orthodox Marxism, is extremely important. It is because of its criticism of this aspect of the Marxian conception of social development that we regard Bernstein's book favourably.—p. 157.

- 83. Published by P. B. Dolgorukov from November, 1862, to July, 1864, at first in Brussels and later in London. It advocated a constitutional liberal programme. Only twenty-two numbers were published. The passages quoted by Lenin are taken from articles written by Dolgorukov, "Views on the Fundamental Postulates of the Judiciary, Court Procedure and the Zemstvo Institutions" in No. 3, and "The Zemstvo Institutions" in No. 18,—p. 159.
- 84. A petty-bourgeois intellectual party, holding Narodnik views, formed in 1893 by M. A. Natanson, Uptekman, Tyutchev, Gedeonovsky, Mantsevich, V.

- Chernov and others. It was supported also by N. K. Mikhailovky, V. Korolenko and A. Bogdanovich. This party abandoned the struggle or Socialism and considered its immediate task to be the unification of all appositional revolutionary forces for the fight against autocracy and for political liberty. The party published a manifesto and a pamphlet by Bogdanovich entitled Our Immediate Problems. It was suppressed by the government in April, 1894. The majority of the members subsequently joined the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and the People's Socialist Party. Lenin discusses this party in articles in Vols. I and II of Collected Works.—p. 162.
- 85. The passage here paraphrased by Lenin from Marx's Class Struggles in France from 1846-1850 and represents the first three paragraphs.—p. 162.
- 86. The circular issued by the Department of the Press of May 11, 1901, is reproduced in *Iskra*, No. 6, July, 1901. The circular was issued to all editors of newspapers and magazines after the article "The Labour Disorders" had appeared in *Novoye Vremya*.—p. 164.
- 87. The oldest newspaper published in Russia. First published in 1756 by the Moscow University in the form of a broadsheet. From the middle of the last century it became the organ of the most reactionary serf-owning nobles. From 1863 it was edited by Katkov, the bitterest enemy of progress at that time and later by Gringmut, who encouraged and supported every measure adopted by the government to strengthen the autocracy and suppress all social movements. The paper existed right up to the November Revolution.—p. 166.
- 88. The facts concerning longer hours of work were obtained by *Ishra* from correspondents in Ivanovo-Voznessensk—*Ishra*, No. 4, May, 1901; and the substitution of backward workers for progressive workers is mentioned in an item in *Ishra*, No. 2, February, 1901, entitled "Unemployment" which reproduces the facts mentioned in *Yuzhny Rabochy*, No. 3, November, 1901.—p. 175.
- 89. The official title of this Act was: "His Most-Gracious Majesty's Command Concerning the Granting of State Lands in Siberia to Private Persons, Approved June 8, 1901." The law was published in the Official Gazette, No. 157, July 30, and reproduced in Moskovskiye Vyedomosti, No. 210, August 15.—p. 176.
- 90. Published by B. P. Meshchersky in the seventies and edited by G. D. Gradovsky and F. M. Dostoyevsky. At first it bore a moderately conservative character with a slavophile tinge and in the nineties and onwards it was the organ of extreme aristocratic reaction.—p. 179.
- 91. The first nine chapters of this pamphlet were written in 1901,—the first four were written between July and September and published in Zarya, Nos. 2-3, for December, 1901, under the title of "The Messrs. 'Critics' on the Agrarian Question—First Part." These four chapters were republished legally in 1905 by the Burevestnik Press in the form of a pamphlet, with the title The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx." The cover bore the inscription: "Permitted by the Censor. Odessa, July 23, 1905." This new title was retained for subsequent editions of this pamphlet as well as for the pamphlet as a whole. Chapters 5-9 were first published in the legal magazine Obrazovaniye, No. 2, February, 1906, without the first four chapters with the

following foreword by the author: "The present outlines were written in 1901. The first yart was published in Odessa last year as a pamphlet by the Burevestnik Press. The second part is here published for the first time. Each part represents a more or less complete work. The general theme is an analysis of the criticism which is now being directed against Marxism in Russian literature."

Chapters 5-9 were provided with sub-headings which was not the case when they were published in Zarya. This work was published as a separate book, The Agrarian Question, Part I (1908), with the addition of two more chapters, 10 and 11. A twelfth chapter was also written, but was accidentally left out of the volume and was published separately in the compendium Current Life, 1908. Chapters 10, 11 and 12 will be found in other volumes of Collected Works.

In some of the statistical tables there are some alight errors of calculation which in all probability were printers' errors not corrected by the author. Where the mistakes are obvious they have been corrected, but in several cases it has been found impossible without the manuscript to correct them, especially in figures of proportions and percentages worked out by Lenin himself. These have been left as they were found in the originally published text.—p. 181.

- 92. A popular monthly literary, scientific and political magazine first published in 1892 in place of the magazine Zhenskoye Obrasovaniye (Woman Education). Among the contributors were V. Bogucharsky, V. Lvov-Rogachevsky, Tan, N. Yordansky, S. Prokopovich, P. Berlin, A. Lunacharsky, P. Maslov, V. Friche, A. Yablonovsky, N. Rubakin, and others. Four chapters (5-9) of Lenin's Agrarian Question were published in this magazine, No. 2, 1906.—p. 181.
- 93. A monthly magazine which passed into the hands of the Narodniks at the beginning of the nineties and became their principal organ in the fight against Marxism. In 1906 the magazine was suppressed but was issued under other titles: Contemporary Notes, and Contemporary, edited by V. A. Myakoting In 1914 it was published as Russian Notes. It ceased publication in 1918.

The magazine grouped around itself the radical Narodnik intelligentsia which in the period of the 1905 Revolution organised the People's Socialist Party and partly also the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. In his Agrarian Question, Lenin criticises the following articles by V. N. Chernov, published in Russkoye Bogatstvo in 1900: "Types of Capitalist Agrarian Evolution," Nos. 4, 7, 8° and 10, and "Capitalist Agrarian Evolution" in No. 11.—p. 183.

94. The organ of legal Marxism, edited by M. Tugan-Baranovsky and P. Struve. It was published in place of the suppressed Novoye Slovo, but only four volumes of the magazine (five numbers) were published. The April number was confiscated by the authorities and several articles from the January-February double number and the May number were deleted by the censor. Later on it was discovered that M. Gurovich, who financed the magazine, was a secret service agent, who had financed the paper for provocative purposes. In addition to articles by the Legal Marxists the magazine also published articles by G. V. Plekhanov, V. I. Zasulich, L. Martov (under the pseudonym of A. Yegorov), A. Potresov and others. Lenin published in it one chapter of his Development of Capitalism in Russia (Collected Works, Vol. III) entitled the "Squeezing out of Serf Economy by Capitalists Economy." The magazine was suppressed by the government after the publication of the May

- number. The article by Bulgakov to which Lenin refers was published in Nos. 1, 2, and 3, for January-February and March entitled "The Capitalist Evolution of Agriculture."—p. 183.
- 95. The third attempt on the part of the legal Marxists headed by Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky to publish a legal Marxian magazine, after the Novoye Slovo and Nachalo were suppressed. The magazine was issued from 1899 to 1901 when it was suppressed by the government. The evolution of legal Marxism into bourgeois Liberalism had proceeded very far then and found its expression in the marked revisionist tinge of this magazine. In this magazine were published Lenin's articles that were intended for Nachalo, namely, "Capitalism in Agriculture" and "A Reply to P. Nezhdanov." The official editor of Zhizn was V. A. Posse. After the magazine was suppressed in Russia it was transferred abroad where six numbers appeared. The same editor also published twelve numbers of Listki Zhizni (Zhizn Leaflets), as a "non-factional Social-Democratic organ."—p. 184.
- 96. The passage quoted by Lenin that was incorrectly translated by Bulgakov reads in the German text of part II, Vol. III of Capital as follows: "Vom Standpunkt der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise findet stets relative Verteuerung der Produkte statt, wenn, um dasselbe Produkt zu erhalten, eine Auslage gemacht, etwas bezahlt werden muss, was früher nicht bezahlt wurde." (Das Kapital, Vol. III, Part II, 1894 edition, pp. 277-278.)—p. 193.
- 97. In the text of the Agrarian Question as published in Zarya and also in subsequent editions (1904 and 1908) instead of the figure "3,179 work days" as is stated in Lenin's quotation from Bensing, there was the figure "2,608 work days." This mistake was also made by S. Bulgakov in his Capitalism and Agriculture, Part I, p. 32. This is due to the fact that on page 42 of Bensing's work are given two tables showing the number of work days in the three systems of economy described in the text, each applying to different conditions, thus:

I	 712	1	262
IÏ	 1,615	II	1,199
Ш	 3.179	III	2,608

By mistake, the third figure of the second column was taken for the third figure of the first column.—p. 205.

- 98. The principal organ of the Revisionists founded in Berlin in 1897. Among the contributors were: E. Bernstein, Conrad Schmidt, Fr. Hertz, E. David, Wolfgang Heine, M. Schippel and others.—p. 207.
- 99. The abbreviated title of: Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik (The Archive of Social Legislation and Statistics), edited by Heinrich Braun in 1904. After 1904 it was edited by Werner Sombart and Max Weber. At the present time it is edited by Lederer.—p. 213.
- 100. The anti-Socialist laws were in operation in Germany from 1878 to 1890. Fearing the growing influence of Social-Democracy, the German government, of which Bismarck was the head at that time, using as a pretext the attack made upon the life of Wilhelm I, secured the passage of a law through the Reichstag which deprived the German working class and the German Social-Democrats of political rights enjoyed by other political parties in

Germany. Under this law Social-Democratic organisations were suppressed. Those suspected of belonging to the party were arrested and tried, the party newspapers were suppressed, many known Social-Democrats were imprisoned and banished and a number of towns were even placed under martial law. The law was introduced as a temporary measure, but as it failed to have the desired effect of crushing the Social-Democratic movement, Bismarck compelled the Reichstag to extend its operation year after year. The Social-Democratic movement, however, managed to adapt itself to the conditions created by the operation of the law. The central organ of the party, the Social-Democrat, was transferred first to Switzerland and then to London, the party congresses were also held abroad. Notwithstanding governmental persecution the influence of the Social-Democratic Party spread rapidly among the workers and the anti-Socialist law was finally repealed in 1890; the vote cast for the party in the ensuing elections increased from half a million to one and a half millions.

Eugen Richter, to whom Lenin refers, was a Liberal bourgeois who bitterly hated the Social-Democrats and in his pamphlet referred to, he drew a caricature of Socialism in order to frighten the petty bourgeoisie. The pamphlet was entitled Socialdemokratische Zukunftsbilder (Social-Democratic Pictures of the Future), 1891.—p. 221.

101. The central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party commenced publication in 1876 under the editorship of Liebknecht and Hasenclever. Previous to the Vorwārts, the central organ of the party, was the Volksstaat (People's State), the latter, however, was suppressed on the introduction of the anti-Socialist law and the Vorwārts took its place. The Vorwārts also had to cease publication in Germany and was transferred abroad under the title of Social-Democrat. The paper resumed publication in Germany in January, 1891, after the repeal of the anti-Socialist law. Although, as the official organ of Social-Democracy, it took a stand on the basis of orthodox Marxism Vorwārts also gave space to articles by Revisionists.—p. 222.

102. Lenin refers here to the passage in Marx's and Engels' Manifesto of the Communist Party, Chapter I:

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life.—p. 225.

103. Lenin here refers to the following passage from Engels' Zur Wohnungsfrage, 1887, pp. 66-67:

The abolition of the antithesis between town and country is no more and no less utopian than is the abolition of the antithesis between capitalists and wage workers. It is day by day becoming more and more the practical demand of industrial and agricultural production. No one has given utterance to this demand more loudly than has Liebig in his works on agricultural chemistry in which his first demand always is that man restore to the land that which he receives from it and in which he shows that only the existence of cities and particularly large cities prevents this. When one sees how, here in London alone, a greater mass of refuse, than is produced in the whole Kingdom of Saxony, is dumped into the sea every day at enormous costs, and what colossal outlays are made necessary in order to prevent this refuse from poisoning all of London, then the utopia of abolishing the antithesis between town and country acquires a remarkably practical basis. And even comparatively insignificant Berlin has been suffocating for the last thirty years in its own excrements.

—1). 226.

- 104. The central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party from 18701876. It took the place of the Demokratisches Wochenblatt (Democratic Weekly) the official organ of the party on the decision of the Eisenach Congress in 1869, at which the Social-Democratic Party was definitely formed. The paper was published in Leipzig and edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht. Marx and Engels collaborated on the paper.—p. 229.
- 105. The work of G. Auhagen, quoted by Kautsky and Hertz, bears the following title: Ueber Grossbetrieb und Kleinbetrieb in der Landwirtschaft (Large and Small Enterprises in Agriculture) and was published in 1896 in Thiel's Landwirtschaftliche Jahrbücher (Agricultural Year Books).—p. 238.
- 106. Founded in 1873 by G. Schmoller for the purpose of carrying on propaganda in favour of state interference in the struggle between capital and labour by the legislative improvement of the conditions of the workers. The League united mainly the adherents of so-called Socialists of the chair (professors) and pursued the aim of counteracting the influence of the Social-Democratic Party upon the working class.—p. 248.
- 107. Sprenger's book, which Lenin had not yet read at the time he wrote this pamphlet, was entitled Die Lage der Landwirtschaft in Baden, Karlsruhe, 1884 (The State of Agriculture in Baden).—p. 255.
- 108. In the summer and autumn of 1901 negotiations were carried on between the Social-Democratic organisations abroad (the League of Russian Social-Democrats, the Social-Democrats, the Foreign Committee of the Bund, Iskra, Zarya) with a view to establishing unity. The members of the Borba group acted as mediators in these negotiations which resulted in the so-called "Unity Congress" being convened on October 4 and 5, 1901. At this congress, however, a complete rupture occurred between the Iskra and the opportunist wing of Russian Social-Democracy. The Unity Congress was preceded by a preliminary conference, referred to in these questions by Lenin, which took place in Geneva in June. This conference was called on the initiative of the Borba group, and was attended by Krichevsky and Akimov, representing the League; B. A. Ginsburg-Koltsov, representing the Social-Democrats; Kossovsky, Kremer and Mill representing the Foreign Committee of the Bund; E. L. Gurevich-Danevich and J. Steklov-Nevzorov representing the Borba group and Martov representing Iskra and Zarya. After six days' discussion the conference drew up a resolution which was accepted by all those present as a basis for agreement and joint work. The resolution condemned Economism, Bernsteinism, Millerandism and other deviations from Marxism. This agreement was taken to imply that the union of Russian Social-Democrats had abandoned their Economist views and was regarded as a serious step towards rapprochement with the revolutionary wing of Social-Democracy. The rapprochement was to have received the formal endorsement of all the organisations to be represented at the Unity Congress in October, 1901. However, the relapse of the League and the Editorial Board of Rabocheye Dyelo into the views condemned by the June conference revealed that it was impossible for unity to be established between the followers of Iskra and Rabocheye Dyelo. The evidences of this relapse were: The articles published in Rabocheye Dyelo, No. 10, of September, 1901, by B. Krichevsky, "Principles, Tactics and the Struggle"; and Martynov's "Revelation Literature and the Proletarian Struggle" and also the alterations and amendments to the June resolution that were adopted at the

third congress of the League that took place on the eve of the Unity Congress. At the Unity Congress, Lenin used the name of Frey.—p. 290.

109. These leaslets, issued in 1892, bore the title, The First Letter to the Starving Peasants (1,800 copies). They were issued by the Narodnaya Volya group which was formed in St. Petersburg in 1891 and which had its own secret printing press. They were written by N. M. Astyrev. In the spring of 1894 the group was discovered by the police and broken up, but the printing press was not found. At a later date the group was revived and operated under the name of Lakhtinskaya group. The group also had a press. It was at this press that Lenin's pamphlet, An Explanation of the Fines Act, was printed in 1895. This printing press was discovered by the police in 1896. The Narodnaya Volya group of the second period later began to incline towards Marxism.—p. 296.

110. Reference is made here to the article, "Famine is Coming," published in No. 6 of *Iskra*, July, 1901. The author of this article, according to certain evidence, was L. Martov.—p. 297.

111. In reply to Lenin's article "The Split in the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad" (see p. 65 of this book), the St. Petersburg League of the Struggle, which at that time was under the influence of the Economists wrote to Rabochaya Mysl, No. 12, July, 1901:

Iskra, No. 1 published an editorial note on the League of Russian Social-Democrats to which we feel obliged to reply. Iskra stated that it does not recognise the right of the League to represent the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party abroad—a right that was granted to the League at the first congress of the party—and recommends that Comrade Plekhanov act as its representative on the International Secretariat. At the same time Iskra states that it thinks it superfluous to give any reasons for its decisions or to discuss the differences between the League abroad and the Emancipation of Labour group.

Having studied the reports and documents concerning the disfute over the infringement of the rules, the St. Petersburg Committee has come to the conclusion that the accusation made by Comrade Plekhanov to the effect that the majority of the League have violated the rules and by that have lost the right to call themselves the League, is absolutely unfounded. Hence, the St. Petersburg Committee considers that the decision of the first congress remains in force and regards the League of Russian Social-Democracy, as hitherto the sole representative of the party abroad.

The St. Petersburg Committee joins in the request made by the comrades abroad to the committees and party groups operating in Russia to study all the documents concerning the controversy and to express their opinion on the question. Only by a speedy and fair settlement of this controversy can we remove anarchy in the party.—p. 298.

112. Founded in the autumn of 1901 after the failure of the Unity Congress. The League originally consisted of the Social-Democrat Revolutionary Organisation (which also included the Emancipation of Labour group) and the foreign branches of Iskra and Zarya. The aims of the League were to spread the ideas of revolutionary Social-Democracy and to help to establish a militant Social-Democratic organisation by uniting the revolutionary forces on the principles of the manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Lenin suggested the establishment of the League in the spring of 1901, in his letter to Axelrod of the 25th of April as a means of organising the activities

of the sympathisers of *Iskra* who were exiles abroad and who desired an outlet for their literary and organisational activities. It was intended that the new organisation should have the right independently to publish pamphlets. Lenin's suggestion found application after the failure of the Unity Congress. After the second congress, the League became transformed into a stronghold of Menshevism abroad. The League published a number of pamphlets including one by Lenin entitled *To the Village Poor* (1901-1902). It also issued three numbers of a mimeographed *Bulletin.*—p. 300.

113. Rabocheye Dyelo, No. 10, of September, 1901, published two articles bitterly attacking Iskra and the aims for which it stood. One was by B. Krichevsky, "Principles, Tactics and Struggle," and the other by A. Martynov, "Revelation Literature and the Proletarian Struggle." These articles are subjected to destructive criticism in What Is To Be Done?.—p. 300.

114. Reference was made to the incidents at the Obukhov Works in Iskra, No. 5, for June, in an article by Lenin entitled "Another Massacre" (see p. 117 of this book), and also in a news item in the same issue under the heading of "First of May in Russia." In the July number of Iskra, No. 6, there was a news item in the factory correspondence column entitled "The Obukhov Works."—p. 305.

END OF BOOK ONE