LENIN

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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

9

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

СОЧИНЕНИЯ

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V. I. LENIN

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PREFACE

Volume 9 contains works written by V. I. Lenin in the second half (June-November) of 1905.

The volume includes the historic *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* in which Lenin gave a classical criticism of the Mensheviks' tactics and a masterly exposition of the Bolsheviks' tactics, and enriched Marxism with a new theory of revolution. Chapter II of the epilogue to the book is published *in toto* for the first time after the manuscript, part of which was found in 1940.

The volume includes the following articles: "While the Proletariat Is Doing the Fighting the Bourgeoisie Is Stealing Towards Power", "The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma, and Insurrection", "In the Wake of the Monarchist Bourgeoisie, or in the Van of the Revolutionary Proletariat and Peasantry?", "Playing at Parliamentarianism", "From the Defensive to the Offensive". In these articles Lenin defends the revolutionary tactics of the working class, gives advice on preparations for an insurrection, and exposes the false "democratism" of the liberal bourgeoisie and the conciliatory tactics of the Mensheviks.

In the articles "Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement", "Socialism and the Peasantry", and "Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism", Lenin sets forth and explains the Bolsheviks' strategic plan of struggle to make the bourgeois-democratic revolution develop into a socialist revolution.

The articles "The Political Strike and the Street Fighting in Moscow", "The Lessons of the Moscow Events", "The All-Russia Political Strike", and "The First Victory of the

Revolution", all deal with the October political general strike.

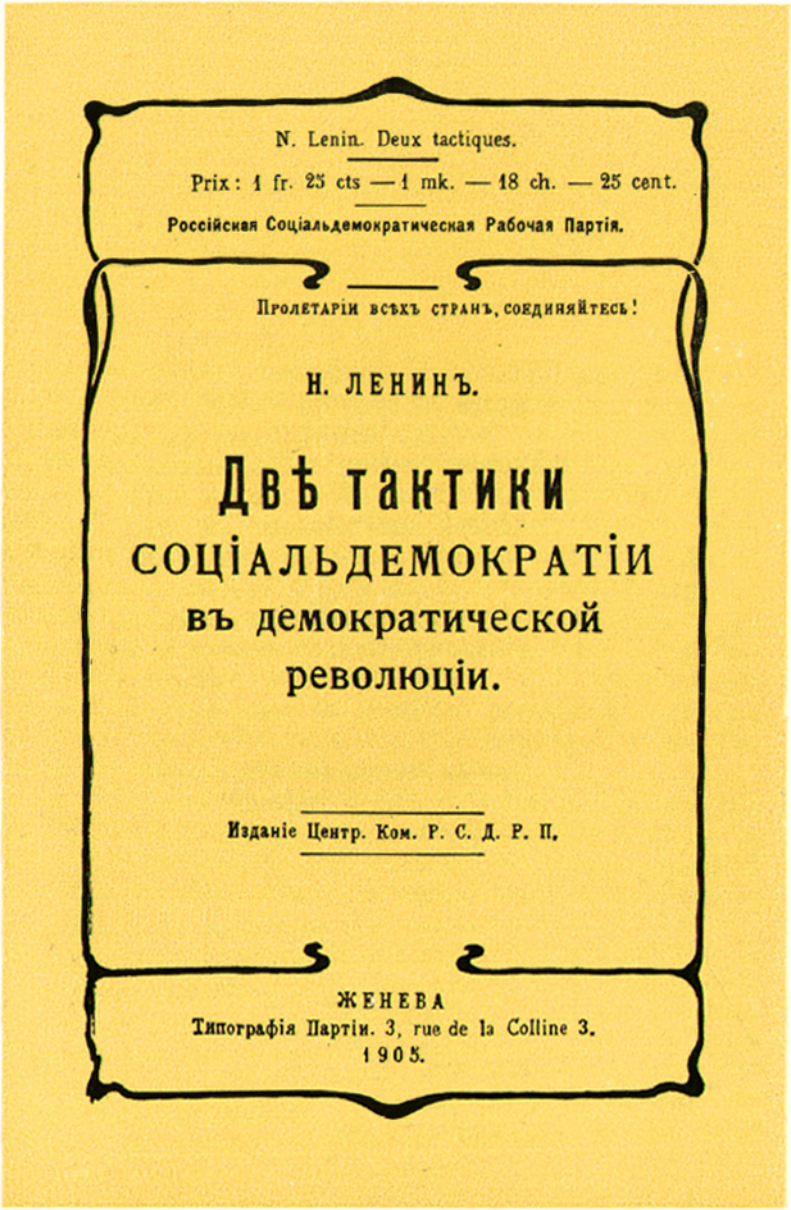
Lenin's "Preface to the Pamphlet *Workers on the Split in the Party*", "On the Question of Party Unity", and several others are directed against the Mensheviks' acts of schism.

The following works, included in the *Collected Works* for the first time, are published in this volume: "Concluding Paragraph to the Article 'The Paris Commune and the Tasks of the Democratic Dictatorship'", "Original Variant of the Preface to the Pamphlet *Workers on the Split in the Party*", "Note on a Resolution of the Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Organisations Abroad", "Editorial Epilogue to the Article 'The Third Congress on Trial Before the Caucasian Mensheviks'", "Note on P. Nikolayev's Pamphlet *The Revolution in Russia*", "On the Current Moment", "On the So-Called Armenian Social-Democratic Workers' Organisation", "The Struggle of the Proletariat", "The Youth Abroad and the Russian Revolution", "Notes on 'The British Labour Movement and the Trade Union Congress'", "Insert to V. Kalinin's Article 'The Peasant Congress'", and the article "Between Two Battles". In the last-named article Lenin sums up the results of the political general strike of October 1905 and calls upon the Russian proletariat to rally its forces for the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy by means of an insurrection of the whole people.

TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION[1]

Written in June-July 1905
First published as a pamphlet in Geneva, July, 1905

Published according to the text of the pamphlet checked against the manuscript



Cover of Lenin's pamphlet
Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution. 1905
Reduced

PREFACE

In a revolutionary period it is very difficult to keep abreast of events which provide an astonishing amount of new material for an appraisal of the tactical slogans of revolutionary parties. The present pamphlet was written before the Odessa events.* We have already pointed out in *Proletary*[3] (No. 9—"Revolution Teaches")** that these events have forced even those Social-Democrats who created the "uprising-as-process" theory and who rejected propaganda for a provisional revolutionary government actually to go over, or begin to go over, to their opponents' side. Revolution undoubtedly teaches with a rapidity and thoroughness which appear incredible in peaceful periods of political development. And, what is particularly important, it teaches not only the leaders, but the masses as well.

There is not the slightest doubt that the revolution will teach Social-Democratism to the masses of the workers in Russia. The revolution will confirm the programme and tactics of Social-Democracy in actual practice by demonstrating the true nature of the various classes of society, by demonstrating the bourgeois character of our democracy and the real aspirations of the peasantry, who, while being revolutionary in the bourgeois-democratic sense, carry within themselves not the idea of "socialisation", but the seeds of a new class struggle between the peasant bourgeoisie and the rural proletariat. The old illusions of the old Narodism, so clearly visible, for instance, in the draft

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* The reference is to the mutiny on the armoured cruiser *Potemkin*.[2] (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

** See p. 148 of this volume.—*Ed.*

programme of the "Socialist-Revolutionary Party"[4] on the question of the development of capitalism in Russia, the question of the democratic character of our "society", and the question of the significance of a complete victory of a peasant uprising—all these illusions will be completely and mercilessly dispelled by the revolution. For the first time, the various classes will be given their real political baptism. These classes will emerge from the revolution with a definite political physiognomy, for they will have revealed themselves not only in the programme and tactical slogans of their ideologists but also In open political action by the masses.

Undoubtedly, the revolution will teach us and will teach the masses of the people. But the question that now confronts a militant political party is: shall we be able to teach the revolution anything? Shall we be able to make use of the correctness of our Social-Democratic doctrine, of our bond with the only thoroughly revolutionary class, the proletariat, to put a proletarian imprint on the revolution, to carry the revolution to a real and decisive victory, not in word but in deed, and to paralyse the instability, half-heartedness, and treachery of the democratic bourgeoisie?

It is to this end that we must direct all our efforts, and the achievement of that end will depend, on the one hand, on the accuracy of our appraisal of the political situation and the correctness of our tactical slogans, and, on the other hand, on whether these slogans will be backed by the real fighting strength of the masses of the workers. All the usual, regular, and current work of all organisations and groups of our Party, the work of propaganda, agitation, and organisation, is directed towards strengthening and expanding the ties with the masses. Necessary as this work always is it cannot be considered adequate at a time of revolution. In such a contingency the working class feels an instinctive urge for open revolutionary action, and we must learn to set the aims of this action correctly, and then make these aims as widely known and understood as possible. It must not be forgotten that the current pessimism about our ties with the masses very often serves as a screen for bourgeois ideas regarding the proletariat's role in the revolution. Undoubtedly, we still have a great deal to do in educating

and organising the working class; but now the gist of the matter is: where should we place the main political emphasis in this work of education and organisation? On the trade unions and legally existing associations, or on an insurrection, on the work of creating a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government? Both serve to educate and organise the working class. Both are, of course, necessary. But in the present revolution the problem amounts to this: which is to be emphasised in the work of educating and organising the working class, the former or the latter?

The outcome of the revolution depends on whether the working class will play the part of a subsidiary to the bourgeoisie, a subsidiary that is powerful in the force of its onslaught against the autocracy, but impotent politically, or whether it will play the part of leader of the people's revolution. The more intelligent representatives of the bourgeoisie are perfectly aware of this. That is why *Osvobozhdeniye*[5] praises Akimovism, Economism in Social-Democracy, the trend which is *now* bringing the trade unions and legally existing associations to the forefront. That is why Mr. Struve (in *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 72) welcomes the Akimovist tendency in the new-*Iskra* ideas. That is why he comes down so heavily on the detested revolutionary narrowness of the decisions of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

It is exceptionally important at the present time for Social-Democrats to have correct tactical slogans for leading the masses. There is nothing more dangerous in a revolutionary period than belittling the importance of tactical slogans that are sound in principle. For example, *Iskra*[6] in No. 104 actually goes over to the side of its opponents in the Social-Democratic movement, and yet, at the same time, it disparages the importance of slogans and tactical decisions that are ahead of the times and indicate the path along which the movement is proceeding, though with a number of failures, errors, etc. On the contrary, preparation of correct tactical decisions is of immense importance for a party which desires to lead the proletariat in the spirit of sound Marxist principles, and not merely to lag in the wake of events. In the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and of the

Conference of the section that has split away from the Party,* we have the most precise, most carefully considered, and most complete expression of tactical views—views not casually expressed by individual writers, but accepted by the responsible representatives of the Social-Democratic proletariat. Our Party is in advance of all the others, for it has a precise and generally accepted programme. It must also set the other parties an example of a principled attitude to its tactical resolutions, as distinct from the opportunism of the democratic *Osvobozhdeniye* bourgeoisie, and the revolutionary phrase-mongering of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. It was only during the revolution that they suddenly thought of coming forward with a "draft" programme and of investigating for the first time whether it is a bourgeois revolution that is going on before their eyes.

That is why we think it the most urgent task of the revolutionary Social-Democrats carefully to study the tactical resolutions of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and of the Conference, define what deviations from the principles of Marxism they contain, and get a clear understanding of the Social-Democratic proletariat's concrete tasks in a democratic revolution. It is to this work that the present pamphlet is devoted. The testing of our tactics from the standpoint of the principles of Marxism and of the lessons of the revolution is also necessary for those who really desire to pave the way for unity of tactics as a basis for the future complete unity of the whole Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, and not to confine themselves solely to verbal admonitions.

July 1905 *N. Lenin*

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* The Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (London, May 1905) was attended only by Bolsheviks, while Mensheviks alone participated in the "Conference" (Geneva, time the same). In the present pamphlet the latter are frequently referred to as the "new-*Iskra* group" because, while continuing to publish *Iskra*, they declared through their then adherent Trotsky that there was a gulf between the old and the new *Iskra*. (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

1. AN URGENT POLITICAL QUESTION

At the present revolutionary juncture the question of the convocation of a popular constituent assembly is on the order of the day. Opinions are divided as to how this question should be solved. Three political trends are taking shape. The tsarist government admits the necessity of convening representatives of the people, but under no circumstances does it want to permit their assembly to be popular and constituent. It seems willing to agree, if we are to believe the newspaper reports on the work of the Bulygin Commission,[7] to a consultative assembly, which is to be elected without freedom of agitation, and by a system of restrictive qualifications or one that is restricted to certain social estates. Since it is led by the Social-Democratic Party, the revolutionary proletariat demands complete transfer of power to a constituent assembly, and for this purpose strives to achieve not only universal suffrage and complete freedom to conduct agitation, but also the immediate overthrow of the tsarist government and its replacement by a provisional revolutionary government. Finally, the liberal bourgeoisie, expressing its wishes through the leaders of the so-called "Constitutional-Democratic Party",[8] does not demand the overthrow of the tsarist government; nor does it advance the slogan of a provisional government, or insist on real guarantees that the elections will be absolutely free and fair and that the assembly of representatives will be genuinely popular and genuinely constituent. As a matter of fact, the liberal bourgeoisie, the only serious social support of the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend, is striving to effect as peaceful a deal as possible between the tsar and the revolutionary people, a deal, moreover,

that would give a maximum of power to itself, the bourgeoisie, and a minimum to the revolutionary people—the proletariat and the peasantry.

Such is the political situation at the present time. Such are the three main political trends, corresponding to the three main social forces in contemporary Russia. We have already shown on more than one occasion in *Proletary* (Nos. 3, 4, 5)* how the *Osvobozhdeniye* group use pseudo-democratic phrases to cover up their half-hearted, or, to put it more bluntly and plainly, their treacherous, perfidious policy towards the revolution. Let us now see how the Social-Democrats appraise the tasks of the moment. Excellent material for this is provided by the two resolutions quite recently adopted by the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and by the "Conference" of the Party's break-away section. The question as to which of these resolutions appraises the political situation more correctly and defines the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat more correctly is of enormous importance, and every Social-Democrat who is anxious to perform his duties intelligently as propagandist, agitator, and organiser, must study this question with the closest attention disregarding all irrelevant considerations.

By the Party's tactics we mean the Party's political conduct, or the character, direction, and methods of its political activity. Tactical resolutions are adopted by Party congresses in order to accurately define the political conduct of the Party as a whole with regard to new tasks or in view of a new political situation. Such a new situation has been created by the revolution that has started in Russia, i.e., the complete, decisive, and open break between the overwhelming majority of the people and the tsarist government. The new question concerns the practical methods of convening a genuinely popular and a genuinely constituent assembly (the theoretical question concerning such an assembly was officially settled by Social-Democracy long ago, before all other parties, in its Party programme).

* "Revolutionary Struggle and Liberal Brokerage", 1905; "The Democratic Tasks of the Revolutionary Proletariat", 1905 and "The First Steps of Bourgeois, Betrayal", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 486-94, 511-25.—*Ed.*

Since the people have broken with the government and the masses realise the necessity of setting up a new order, the party which set itself the object of overthrowing the government must necessarily consider what government should replace the old, deposed government. There arises a new question concerning a provisional revolutionary government. To give a complete answer to this question the party of the class-conscious proletariat must clarify: 1) the *significance* of a provisional revolutionary government in the revolution now in progress and in the entire struggle of the proletariat in general; 2) its *attitude* towards a provisional revolutionary government; 3) the precise conditions of Social-Democratic *participation* in this government; 4) the conditions under which pressure is to be brought to bear on this government *from below*, i.e., in the event of there being no Social-Democrats in it. Only when all these questions have been clarified, will the political conduct of the party in this sphere be principled, clear, and firm.

Let us now consider how the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party answers these questions. The following is the full text of the resolution:

"*Resolution on a Provisional Revolutionary Government*

"Whereas:

1) both the direct interests of the proletariat and those of its struggle for the ultimate aims of socialism require the fullest possible measure of political freedom, and, consequently, the replacement of the autocratic form of government by the democratic republic;

2) the establishment of a democratic republic in Russia is possible only as a result of a victorious popular insurrection whose organ will be a provisional revolutionary government, which alone will be capable of securing complete freedom of agitation during the election campaign and of convening a constituent assembly that will really express the will of the people, an assembly elected on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and secret ballot;

3) under the present social and economic order this democratic revolution in Russia will not weaken but strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie which at a certain juncture

will inevitably go to any length to take away from the Russian proletariat as many of the gains of the revolutionary period as possible:

"Therefore the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party resolves:

a) that it is necessary to spread among the working class a concrete idea of the most probable course of the revolution, and of the necessity, at a certain moment in the revolution, for the appearance of a provisional revolutionary government, from which the proletariat will demand the realisation of all the immediate political and economic demands of our programme (the minimum programme);

b) that subject to the alignment of forces and other factors which cannot be exactly predetermined, representatives of our Party may participate in the provisional revolutionary government for the purpose of waging a relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts and of defending the independent interests of the working class;

c) that an indispensable condition for such participation is strict control of its representatives by the Party, and the constant safeguarding of the independence of Social-Democracy which strives for the complete socialist revolution, and, consequently, is irreconcilably opposed to all the bourgeois parties;

d) that irrespective of whether participation of Social-Democrats in the provisional revolutionary government is possible or not, we must propagate among the broadest sections of the proletariat the idea that the armed proletariat, led by the Social-Democratic Party, must bring to bear constant pressure on the provisional government for the purpose of defending, consolidating, and extending the gains of the revolution."

2. WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT?

As is evident from its title, the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is devoted wholly and exclusively to the question of a provisional revolutionary government. Hence, the participa-

tion of Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government constitutes part of that question. On the other hand, the resolution deals with a provisional revolutionary government only, and with nothing else; consequently, the question of the "conquest of power" in general, etc., does not at all come into the picture. Was the Congress right in eliminating this and similar questions? Undoubtedly it was, because the political situation in Russia does not by any means turn such questions into immediate issues. On the contrary, the whole people have now raised the issue of the overthrow of the autocracy and the convocation of a constituent assembly. Party congresses should take up and decide not issues which this or that writer has happened to mention opportunely or inopportunely, but such as are of vital political importance by reason of the prevailing conditions and the objective course of social development.

Of what significance is a provisional revolutionary government in the present revolution and in the general struggle of the proletariat? The resolution of the Congress explains this by pointing at the very outset to the need for the "fullest possible measure of political liberty", both from the standpoint of the immediate interests of the proletariat and from the standpoint of the "final aims of socialism". And complete political liberty requires that the tsarist autocracy be replaced by a democratic republic, as our Party programme has already recognised. The stress the Congress resolution lays on the slogan of a democratic republic is necessary both as a matter of logic and in point of principle, for it is precisely complete liberty that the proletariat, as the foremost champion of democracy, is striving to attain. Moreover, it is all the more advisable to stress this at the present time, because right now the monarchists, namely, the so-called Constitutional-"Democratic" or the *Osvobozhdeniye* Party in our country, are flying the flag of "democracy". To establish a republic it is absolutely necessary to have an assembly of people's representatives, which must be a popular (i.e., elected on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections, and secret ballot), and constituent assembly. That is exactly what is recognised further on in the Congress resolution. However the resolution

does not stop at that. To establish a new order "that will really express the will of the people" it is not enough to term a representative assembly a constituent assembly. Such an assembly must have the authority and power to "constitute". Conscious of this the Congress resolution does not confine itself to the formal slogan of a "constituent assembly", but adds the material conditions which alone will enable such an assembly to carry out its task properly. This specification of the conditions enabling an assembly that is constituent in name to become one in fact is imperatively necessary, for, as we have more than once pointed out, the liberal bourgeoisie, as represented by the Constitutional-Monarchist Party, is deliberately distorting the slogan of a popular constituent assembly, and reducing it to a hollow phrase.

The Congress resolution states that a provisional revolutionary government *alone*, and one, moreover, that will be the organ of a victorious popular insurrection, can secure full freedom to conduct an election campaign and convene an assembly that will really express the will of the people. Is this thesis correct? Whoever took it into his head to dispute it would have to assert that it is possible for the tsarist government not to side with reaction, that it is capable of being neutral during the elections, that it will see to it that the will of the people really finds expression. Such assertions are so absurd that no one would venture to defend them openly; but they are being surreptitiously smuggled in under liberal colours, by our *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry. Somebody must convene the constituent assembly; somebody must guarantee the freedom and fairness of the elections; somebody must invest such an assembly with full power and authority. Only a revolutionary government, which is the organ of the insurrection, can desire this in all sincerity, and be capable of doing all that is required to achieve this. The tsarist government will inevitably oppose it. A liberal government which has come to terms with the tsar and which does not rely in full on the popular uprising, cannot sincerely desire this, and could not accomplish it, even if it most sincerely desired to. Therefore, the Congress resolution gives the only correct and entirely consistent democratic slogan.

But an appraisal of a provisional revolutionary government's significance would be incomplete and wrong if the class nature of the democratic revolution were lost sight of. The resolution, therefore, adds that a revolution will strengthen the rule of the bourgeoisie. This is inevitable under the present, i.e., capitalist, social and economic, system. And the strengthening of the bourgeoisie's rule over a proletariat that has secured some measure of political liberty must inevitably lead to a desperate struggle between them for power, must lead to desperate attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie "to take away from the proletariat the gains of the revolutionary period". Therefore, the proletariat, which is in the van of the struggle for democracy and heads that struggle, must not for a single moment forget the new antagonisms inherent in bourgeois democracy, or the new struggle.

Thus, the section of the resolution which we have just reviewed fully appraises the significance of a provisional revolutionary government both in its relation to the struggle for freedom and for a republic, in its relation to a constituent assembly, and in its relation to the democratic revolution which clears the ground for a new class struggle.

The next question is that of the proletariat's attitude in general towards a provisional revolutionary government. The Congress resolution answers this first of all by directly advising the Party to spread among the working class the conviction that a provisional revolutionary government is necessary. The working class must be made aware of this necessity. Whereas the "democratic" bourgeoisie keeps in the background the question of the overthrow of the tsarist government, we must bring it to the fore and insist on the need for a provisional revolutionary government. Moreover, we must outline for such a government a programme of action that will conform with the objective conditions of the present period and with the aims of proletarian democracy. This programme is the *entire* minimum programme of our Party, the programme of the immediate political and economic reforms which, on the one hand, can be fully realised on the basis of the existing social and economic relationships and, on the other hand, are requisite

for the next step forward, for the achievement of socialism.

Thus, the resolution clearly defines the nature and the purpose of a provisional revolutionary government. In origin and basic character such a government must be the organ of a popular uprising. Its formal purpose must be to serve as an instrument for convening a national constituent assembly. The content of its activities must be the implementation of the minimum programme of proletarian democracy, the only programme capable of safeguarding the interests of a people that has risen in revolt against the autocracy.

It might be argued that a provisional government, being only provisional, cannot carry out a constructive programme that has not yet received the approval of the entire people. Such an argument would merely be the sophistry of reactionaries and "absolutists". To refrain from carrying out a constructive programme means tolerating the existence of the feudal regime of a corrupt autocracy. Such a regime could be tolerated only by a government of traitors to the cause of the revolution, but not by a government that is the organ of a popular insurrection. It would be mockery for anyone to propose that we should refrain from exercising freedom of assembly pending the confirmation of such freedom by a constituent assembly, on the plea that the constituent assembly might not confirm freedom of assembly. It is equal mockery to object to the immediate execution of the minimum programme by a provisional revolutionary government.

Finally, we will note that the resolution, by making implementation of the minimum programme the provisional revolutionary government's task, eliminates the absurd and semi-anarchist ideas of giving immediate effect to the maximum programme, and the conquest of power for a socialist revolution. The degree of Russia's economic development (an objective condition), and the degree of class-consciousness and organisation of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition inseparably bound up with the objective condition) make the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class impossible. Only the most ignorant people can close their eyes to the bourgeois nature

of the democratic revolution which is now taking place; only the most naïve optimists can forget how little as yet the masses of the workers are informed about the aims of socialism and the methods of achieving it. We are all convinced that the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves; a socialist revolution is out of the question unless the masses become class-conscious and organised, trained, and educated in an open class struggle against the entire bourgeoisie. Replying to the anarchists' objections that we are putting off the socialist revolution, we say: we are not putting it off, but are taking the first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct path, namely, the path of a democratic republic. Whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary both in the economic and the political sense. If any workers ask us at the appropriate moment why we should not go ahead and carry out our maximum programme we shall answer by pointing out how far from socialism the masses of the democratically-minded people still are, how undeveloped class antagonisms still are, and how unorganised the proletarians still are. Organise hundreds of thousands of workers all over Russia; get the millions to sympathise with our programme! Try to do this without confining yourselves to high-sounding but hollow anarchist phrases—and you will see at once that achievement of this organisation and the spread of this socialist enlightenment depend on the fullest possible achievement of democratic transformations.

Let us continue. Once the significance of a provisional revolutionary government and the attitude of the proletariat towards it have been made clear, the following question arises: is it permissible for us to participate in such a government (action from above) and, if so, under what conditions? What should be our action from below? The resolution supplies precise answers to both these questions. It emphatically declares that it is *permissible* in principle for Social-Democrats to participate in a provisional revolutionary government (during the period of a democratic revolution, the period of struggle for a republic). By this

declaration we once and for all dissociate ourselves both from the anarchists, who answer this question in the negative in principle, and from the tail-enders in Social-Democracy (like Martynov and the new-*Iskra* supporters), who have *tried to frighten* us with the prospect of a situation in which it might prove necessary for us to participate in such a government. By this declaration the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party irrevocably rejected the new-*Iskra* idea that the participation of Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government would be a variety of Millerandism,[9] that it is impermissible in principle, as sanctifying the bourgeois order, etc.

It stands to reason, however, that the question of permissibility in principle does not solve the question of practical expediency. Under what conditions is this new form of struggle—the struggle "from above", recognised by the Party Congress—expedient? It goes without saying that it is impossible at present to speak of concrete conditions, such as the relation of forces, etc., and the resolution, naturally, refrains from defining these conditions in advance. No intelligent person would venture at present to predict anything on this subject. What we can and must do is to determine the nature and aim of our participation. That is what is done in the resolution, which points to the two purposes for which we participate: 1) a relentless struggle against counter-revolutionary attempts, and 2) the defence of the independent interests of the working class. At a time when the liberal bourgeoisie is beginning to talk with such zeal about the psychology of reaction (see Mr. Struve's most instructive "Open Letter" in *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 71) in an attempt to frighten the revolutionary people and induce it to show compliance towards the autocracy—at such a time it is particularly appropriate for the party of the proletariat to call attention to the task of waging a real war against counter-revolution. In the final analysis force alone settles the great problems of political liberty and the class struggle, and it is our business to prepare and organise this force and to employ it actively, not only for defence but also for attack. The long reign of political reaction in Europe, which has lasted almost uninterruptedly since the days of the Paris Commune, has made us too greatly

accustomed to the idea that action can proceed only "from below", has too greatly inured us to seeing only defensive struggles. We have now undoubtedly entered a new era—a period of political upheavals and revolutions has begun. In a period such as that which Russia is now passing through, it is impermissible to confine ourselves to old, stereotyped formulas. We must propagate the idea of action from above, must prepare for the most energetic, offensive action, and must study the conditions for and forms of such action. The Congress resolution brings two of these conditions into the forefront: one refers to the formal aspect of Social-Democratic participation in a provisional revolutionary government (strict control by the Party over its representatives), the other, to the nature of such participation (without for an instant losing sight of the aim of effecting a complete socialist revolution).

Having thus explained all aspects of the Party's policy with regard to action "from above"—this new, hitherto almost unprecedented method of struggle—the resolution also provides for the eventuality that we shall not be able to act from above. We must in any case exercise pressure on the provisional revolutionary government from below. To be able to exercise this pressure from below, the proletariat must be armed—for in a revolutionary situation matters develop with exceptional rapidity to the stage of open civil war—and must be led by the Social-Democratic Party. The object of its armed pressure is "to defend, consolidate, and extend the gains of the revolution", i.e., those gains which from the standpoint of the proletariat's interests, must consist in fulfilling the whole of our minimum programme.

With this, we conclude our brief analysis of the Third Congress resolution on a provisional revolutionary government. As the reader will see, the resolution explains the importance of this new question, the attitude of the party of the proletariat towards it, and the policy the party must pursue both within a provisional revolutionary government and outside it.

Let us now consider the corresponding resolution of the "Conference".

3. WHAT IS MEANT BY "THE REVOLUTION'S DECISIVE VICTORY OVER TSARISM"?

The resolution of the "Conference" is devoted to the question: "*The conquest of power and participation in a provisional government.*"* As we have already pointed out, there is confusion in the very manner in which the question is presented. On the one hand, the question is presented in a narrow way: it deals only with our participation in a provisional government and not with the Party's tasks in regard to a provisional revolutionary government in general. On the other hand, two totally different questions are confused, viz., the question of our participation in one of the stages of the *democratic* revolution and the question of the *socialist* revolution. Indeed, the "conquest of power" by Social-Democracy is precisely a socialist revolution, nor can it be anything else if we use these words in their direct and usual meaning. If, however, we are to understand these words to mean the conquest of power for a democratic revolution and not for a socialist revolution, then what is the point in talking not only about participation in a provisional revolutionary government but also about the "conquest of power" *in general*? Obviously our "conferees" were themselves not very certain as to what they should talk about—the democratic or the socialist revolution. Those who have followed the literature on this question know that this confusion was started by Comrade Martynov in his notorious *Two Dictatorships*; the new-Iskrists are reluctant to recall the manner in which this question was presented (even before January 9)[10] in that model of tail-ender writing. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that it exerted an ideological influence on the Conference.

But enough about the title of the resolution. Its contents reveal errors incomparably more serious and profound. Here is the first part:

"A decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism may be marked either by the establishment of a provisional

* The full text of this resolution can be reconstructed by the reader from the quotations given on pp. 400, 403, 407, 431, and 433 of the pamphlet. (Author's note to the 1907 edition. See pp. 32-33, 38-39, 44, 78, 82 of this volume.—*Ed.*)

government, which will emerge from a victorious popular insurrection, or by the revolutionary initiative of a representative institution of one kind or another, which, under direct revolutionary pressure from the people, decides to set up a popular constituent assembly."

Thus, we are told that a decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism may be marked either by a victorious insurrection, or ... by a representative institution's decision to set up a constituent assembly! What does that mean? How are we to understand it? A decisive victory may be marked by a "decision" to set up a constituent assembly?? And such a "victory" is put side by side with the establishment of a provisional government which will "emerge from a victorious popular insurrection"!! The Conference failed to note that a *victorious* popular insurrection and the *establishment* of a provisional government would signify the victory of the revolution *in actual fact*, whereas a "decision" to set up a constituent assembly would signify a victory of the revolution *in words* only.

The Conference of the new-*Iskra* Mensheviks fell into the very error that the liberals, the *Osvobozhdeniye* group, are constantly making. The *Osvobozhdeniye* group prattle about a "constituent" assembly, bashfully shutting their eyes to the fact that power and authority remain in the hands of the tsar and forgetting that to "constitute" one must possess the *power* to do so. The Conference also forgot that it is a far cry from a "decision" adopted by representatives—no matter who they are—to the fulfilment of that decision. The Conference also forgot that while power remains in the hands of the tsar all decisions of any representatives whatsoever will remain empty and miserable prattle, as was the case with the "decisions" of the Frankfort Parliament, famous in the history of the German Revolution of 1848. In his *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[11] Marx, the representative of the revolutionary proletariat, castigated the Frankfort *Osvobozhdeniye*-type liberals with merciless sarcasm, precisely because they uttered fine words, adopted all sorts of democratic "decisions", "constituted" all kinds of liberties, while in fact they left power in the hands of the king and failed to organise an armed struggle against the military forces at the king's disposal. And while the Frankfort-

Osvobozhdeniye liberals were prattling, the king bided his time and consolidated his military forces, and the counter-revolution relying on real force utterly routed the democrats, with all their fine "decisions".

The Conference put on a par with a decisive victory the very thing that lacks the essential condition for victory. How was it possible for Social-Democrats, who recognise the republican programme of our Party, to commit such an error? To understand this strange phenomenon we must turn to the Third Congress's resolution on the break-away section of the Party.* This resolution refers to the fact that various trends "akin to Economism" exist in our Party. Our "conferees" (it is not fortuitous that they are under the ideological guidance of Martynov) talk of the revolution in exactly the same way as the Economists talked of the political struggle or the eight-hour day. The Economists immediately brought forward the "theory of stages": 1) the struggle

* We cite this resolution in full. "The Congress places on record that since the time of the Party's fight against Economism certain trends have survived in the R.S.D.L.P. which are akin to Economism in varying degrees and respects and betray a common tendency to belittle the importance of the class-conscious elements in the proletarian struggle and to subordinate it to the element of spontaneity. On questions of organisation the representatives of these trends put forward, in theory, the organisation-as-process principle which is out of harmony with methodically conducted Party work, while in practice they systematically deviate from Party discipline in very many cases, and in other cases preach to the least enlightened section of the Party the idea of a wide application of the elective principle, without taking into consideration the objective conditions of Russian life, and so strive to undermine the only basis for Party ties that is possible at the present time. In tactical questions they betray a striving to narrow the scope of Party work, declaring their opposition to the Party pursuing completely independent tactics in relation to the liberal-bourgeois parties, denying that it is possible and desirable for our Party to assume the role of organiser in the people's insurrection and opposing the participation of the Party in a provisional democratic-revolutionary government under any conditions whatsoever.

"The Congress instructs all Party members everywhere to conduct an energetic ideological struggle against such partial deviations from the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy; at the same time, however, it is of the opinion that persons who share such views to any degree may belong to Party organisations on the indispensable condition that they recognise the Party congresses and the Party Rules and wholly submit to Party discipline." (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

for rights, 2) political agitation, 3) political struggle; or, 1) a ten-hour day, 2) a nine-hour day, 3) an eight-hour day. The results of this "tactics-as-process" are sufficiently well known to all. Now we are invited to make a preliminary and neat division of the revolution as well into the following stages: 1) the tsar convenes a representative institution; 2) this institution "decides" under pressure of the "people" to set up a constituent assembly; 3) ... the Mensheviks have not yet agreed among themselves as to the third stage; they have forgotten that the revolutionary pressure of the people will meet with the counter-revolutionary pressure of tsarism and that therefore either the "decision" will remain unfulfilled or the issue will be decided after all by the victory or the defeat of a popular insurrection. The Conference resolution duplicates the following Economist reasoning: a decisive victory of the workers may be marked either by the realisation of the eight-hour day in a revolutionary way, or by the granting of a ten-hour day and a "decision" to go over to a nine-hour day.... The duplication is perfect.

The objection may be made to us that the authors of the resolution did not mean *to place on a par* the victory of an insurrection and the "decision" of a representative institution convened by the tsar, and that they only wanted to provide for the Party's tactics in either case. To this we shall answer: 1) The text of the resolution plainly and unambiguously describes the *decision* of a representative institution as "a decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism". Perhaps that is the result of careless wording; perhaps it could be corrected after consulting the minutes, but, until corrected, the present wording can have only one meaning, and that meaning is entirely in keeping with the *Osvobozhdeniye* line of reasoning, 2) The *Osvobozhdeniye* line of reasoning into which the authors of the resolution have drifted stands out in far greater relief in other literary productions of the new-*Iskra* group. For instance, in its article "The Zemsky Sobor* and our Tactics", *Sotsial-Demokrat*,[12] organ of the Tiflis Committee (published in the Georgian language; praised by *Iskra* in No. 100), goes so far as to say

* National Assembly.—*Ed.*

that "tactics" "which would make the Zemsky Sobor our centre of action" (about the convocation of which, we may add, nothing definite is known as yet!) "*are more to our advantage*" than the "tactics" of insurrection and the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government. We shall again refer to this article later. 3) No objection can be made to a preliminary discussion of the tactics the Party should adopt both in the event of the victory of the revolution and in the event of its defeat, both in the event of a successful insurrection and in the event of the insurrection failing to develop into a serious force. It is possible that the tsarist government will succeed in convening a representative assembly for the purpose of striking a deal with the liberal bourgeoisie; providing for that eventuality, the Third Congress resolution speaks plainly about "hypocritical policy", "pseudo-democracy", "a travesty of popular representation, such as the so-called Zemsky Sobor".* But the whole point is that this is not said in a resolution on a provisional revolutionary government, for it had nothing to do with a provisional revolutionary government. This eventuality defers the problem of the insurrection and of

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* The following is the text of this resolution on the attitude towards the tactics of the government on the eve of the revolution:

"Whereas for purposes of self-preservation, the government during the present revolutionary period while intensifying the usual measures of repression directed mainly against the class-conscious elements of the proletariat, at the same time 1) tries by means of concessions and promises of reform to corrupt the working class politically and thereby to divert it from the revolutionary struggle; 2) with the same object clothes its hypocritical policy of concessions in pseudo-democratic forms, ranging from an invitation to the workers to elect their representatives to commissions and conferences, to the establishment of a travesty of popular representation, such as the so-called Zemsky Sobor; 3) organises the so-called Black Hundreds[13] and incites against the revolution all those elements of the people in general who are reactionary, ignorant, or blinded by racial or religious hatred:

"The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. resolves to call on All Party organisations:

a) while exposing the reactionary purpose of the government's concessions to emphasise in their propaganda and agitation the fact that on the one hand, these concessions were wrested by force, and, on the other, that it is absolutely impossible for the autocracy to grant reforms satisfactory to the proletariat;

b) taking advantage of the election campaign to explain to the

the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government; it alters this problem, etc. The point at issue today is not that all kinds of combinations are possible, that both victory and defeat are possible or that there may be direct or circuitous paths; the point is that it is impermissible for a Social-Democrat to cause confusion in workers' minds as to which is the genuinely revolutionary path; that it is impermissible to describe as a decisive victory, as *Osvobozhdeniye* does, something which lacks the *main* condition for victory. It is possible that we shall win even the eight-hour day, not at one stroke, but only in a long and roundabout way; but what would you say of a man who calls such impotence, such weakness as renders the proletariat *incapable* of counteracting procrastination, delays, haggling, treachery, and reaction—a victory for the workers? It is possible that the Russian revolution will end in an "abortive constitution", as was once stated in *Vperyod*,* but can this justify a Social-Democrat, who on the eve of a decisive struggle would call this abortion a "decisive victory over tsarism"? It is possible that at worst we shall not only fail to win a republic but that even the constitution will be illusory, a constitution "*à la* Shipov",[14] but would it be pardonable for a Social-Democrat to tone down our republican slogan?

Of course, the new-Iskrists have not as yet gone so far as to tone it down. But the degree to which the revolutionary

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workers the real significance of these governmental measures and to show that it is necessary for the proletariat to convene by revolutionary means a constituent assembly on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and secret ballot;

c) to organise the proletariat for the immediate realisation in a revolutionay way of the eight-hour working day and of the other immediate demands of the working class;

d) to organise armed resistance to the actions of the Black Hundreds and, in general, of all reactionary elements led by the government." (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

* The newspaper *Vperyod*, which was published in Geneva, began to appear in January 1905 as the organ of the Bolshevik section of the Party. From January to May eighteen issues appeared. In May by virtue of the decision of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, *Proletary* replaced *Vperyod* as the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. (This Congress took place in London, in May; the Mensheviks did not appear there but organised their own "Conference" in Geneva.) (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

spirit has abandoned them, the degree to which lifeless pedantry has blinded them to the militant tasks of the moment, is most vividly shown by the fact that in their resolution they, of all things, *forgot* to say a word about the republic. This is incredible but it is a fact. All the slogans of Social-Democracy were endorsed, repeated, explained, and presented in detail in the various resolutions of the Conference—even the election of shop-stewards and deputies by the workers was not forgotten, but they simply found no occasion to mention the republic in a resolution on a provisional revolutionary government. To talk of the "victory" of the people's insurrection, of the establishment of a provisional government without indicating what these "steps" and acts have to do with winning a republic amounts to writing a resolution with the intention of crawling along in the wake of the proletarian movement, and not of giving guidance to the proletariat's struggle.

To sum up: the first part of the resolution 1) gave no explanation whatever of the significance of a provisional revolutionary government from the standpoint of the struggle for a republic and of securing a genuinely popular and genuinely constituent assembly; 2) quite confused the democratic consciousness of the proletariat by placing on a par with revolution's decisive victory over tsarism a state of affairs in which precisely the main condition for a real victory is lacking.

4. THE ABOLITION OF THE MONARCHY. THE REPUBLIC

Let us go over to the next section of the resolution: "... in either case such a victory will inaugurate a new phase in the revolutionary epoch.

"The final abolition of the whole regime of the monarchy and the social estates in the process of mutual struggle between the elements of politically emancipated bourgeois society for the satisfaction of their social interests and for the direct acquisition of power—such is the task in this new phase which the objective conditions of social development spontaneously evoke.

"Therefore, a provisional government that would undertake to carry out the tasks of this revolution, bourgeois in its historical nature, would, in regulating the mutual struggle between antagonistic classes of a nation in the process of emancipation, not only have to advance revolutionary development, but also to combat factors in that development threatening the foundations of the capitalist system."

Let us examine this section which forms an independent part of the resolution. The basic idea in the arguments quoted above coincides with the one set forth in the third clause of the Congress resolution. However, collation of these parts of the two resolutions will at once reveal the following radical difference between them. The Congress resolution, which briefly describes the social and economic basis of the revolution, concentrates attention entirely on the clear-cut struggle of classes for definite gains, and places in the forefront the militant tasks of the proletariat. The resolution of the Conference, which carries a long, nebulous, and confused description of the socio-economic basis of the revolution, speaks very vaguely about a struggle for definite gains, and leaves the militant tasks of the proletariat completely in the background. The resolution of the Conference speaks of the old order in the process of mutual struggle among the various elements of society. The Congress resolution says that we, the party of the proletariat, must effect this abolition; that only establishment of a democratic republic signifies genuine abolition of the old order; that we must win that republic; that we shall fight for it and for complete liberty, not only against the autocracy, but also against the bourgeoisie, when it attempts (and it will surely do so) to wrest our gains from us. The Congress resolution calls on a definite class to wage a struggle for a precisely defined immediate aim. The Conference resolution discourses on the mutual struggle of various forces. One resolution expresses the psychology of active struggle, the other that of the passive onlooker; one resounds with the call for live action, the other is steeped in lifeless pedantry. Both resolutions state that the present revolution is only our first step, which will be followed by a second; but from this, one resolution draws the conclusion that we must take this

first step all the sooner, get it over all the-sooner, win a republic, mercilessly crush the counter-revolution, and prepare the ground for the second step. The other resolution, however, oozes, so to speak, with verbose descriptions of the first step and (excuse the crude expression) simply masticates it. The Congress resolution takes the old, yet eternally new, ideas of Marxism (the bourgeois nature of a democratic revolution) as a preface or first premise, whence it draws conclusions as to the progressive tasks of the progressive class, which is fighting both for the democratic and for the socialist revolution. The Conference resolution does not go beyond the preface, chewing it over and over again, and trying to be clever about it.

This is the very distinction which has long divided the Russian Marxists into two wings: the moralising and the militant wings of the old days of "legal Marxism", and the economic and political wings of the period of the nascent mass movement. From the correct Marxist premise concerning the deep economic roots of the class struggle in general and of the political struggle in particular, the Economists have drawn the singular conclusion that we must turn our backs on the political struggle and retard its development, narrow its scope, and reduce its aims. The political wing, on the contrary, has drawn a different conclusion from these same premises, namely, that the deeper the roots of our present struggle, the more widely, the more boldly, the more resolutely, and with greater initiative must we wage this struggle. We have the very same controversy before us now, only under different circumstances and in a different form. From the premises that a democratic revolution is far from being a socialist revolution, that the poor and needy are by no means the only ones to be "interested" in it, that it is deeply rooted in the inescapable needs and requirements of the *whole* of bourgeois society—from these premises we draw the conclusion that the advanced class must formulate its democratic aims all the more boldly, express them all the more sharply and completely, put forward the immediate slogan of a republic, and popularise the idea of the need to establish a provisional revolutionary government and to crush the counter-revolution ruthlessly. Our opponents, the new-*Iskra* group,

however, deduce from these very same premises that the democratic conclusions should not be expressed fully, that the republic may be omitted from the practical slogans, that we can refrain from popularising the idea of the need for a provisional revolutionary government, that a mere decision to convene a constituent assembly can be termed a decisive victory, that there is no need to advance the task of combating counter-revolution as our active aim, so that it may be submerged in a nebulous (and, as we shall presently see, wrongly formulated) reference to a "process of mutual struggle". This is not the language of political leaders, but of archive fogeys.

The more closely one examines the various formulations in the resolution of the new-*Iskra* group, the clearer its afore-mentioned basic features become. We are told, for instance, of a "process of mutual struggle between the elements of politically emancipated bourgeois society". Bearing in mind the subject this resolution deals with (a provisional revolutionary government) one asks in astonishment, "If you are referring to the process of mutual struggle, how can you keep silent about the elements which are politically *enslaving* bourgeois society? Do the 'conferees' really imagine that, since they have assumed the revolution will be victorious, these elements have already disappeared?" Such an idea would be absurd in general and an expression of the greatest political naïveté and political short-sightedness in particular. After the revolution's victory over counter-revolution the latter will not disappear; on the contrary, it will inevitably start a new and even more desperate struggle. Since the purpose of our resolution is to analyse the tasks that will confront us when the revolution is victorious, it is our duty to devote tremendous attention to the tasks of repelling counter-revolutionary attacks (as is done in the Congress resolution), and not to submerge these immediate, urgent, and vital political tasks of a militant party in general discussions on what will happen *after* the present revolutionary period, or what will happen when a "politically *emancipated* society" already exists. Just as the Economists would, by repeating the truism that politics are subordinated to economics, cover up their incapacity to understand urgent political tasks, so the new-

Iskra group, by repeating the truism that struggles will take place in a politically *emancipated* society, cover up their incapacity to understand the urgent revolutionary tasks of that society's political *emancipation*.

Take the expression "the final abolition of the whole regime of the monarchy and the social estates". In plain language the final abolition of the monarchist system means the establishment of a democratic republic. But our good Martynov and his admirers think that this expression is far too clear and simple. They insist on making it "deeper" and putting it more "cleverly". As a result, we get, on the one hand, ridiculous and vain efforts to appear profound; on the other hand, we get a description instead of a slogan, a kind of melancholy retrospection instead of a stirring appeal to march forward. We get the impression not of living people eager to fight for a republic here and now, but of so many withered mummies who, *sub specie aeternitatis*,* consider the question from the *plusquamperfectum* viewpoint.

Let us continue: "... the provisional government ... would undertake to carry out the tasks of this ... bourgeois revolution...". Here we at once see the result of our conferees having overlooked a concrete question confronting the proletariat's political leaders. The concrete question of a provisional revolutionary government has been obscured from their field of vision by the question of the future series of governments which will carry out the aims of the bourgeois revolution in general. If you want to consider the question "historically", the example of any European country will show you that it was a series of governments, by no means "provisional", that carried out the historical aims of the bourgeois revolution, that even governments which defeated the revolution were nevertheless forced to carry out the historical aims of that defeated revolution. But what you speak of is not called a "provisional revolutionary government": that is the name given to the government of a revolutionary epoch, one that immediately replaces the overthrown government and rests on the people's insurrection,

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* From the viewpoint of eternity (Latin).—*Ed*.

and not on some kind of representative institution coming from the people. A provisional revolutionary government is the organ of struggle for the immediate victory of the revolution, for the immediate repulsion of attempts at counter-revolution, and not at all an organ for the implementation of the historical aims of the bourgeois revolution in general. Let us leave it to the future historians of a future *Russkaya Starina*[15] to determine exactly what aims of the bourgeois revolution we, or some government or other, shall have achieved—there will be time enough to do that thirty years from now; at present we must put forward slogans and give practical directives for the struggle for a republic and for the proletariat's most active participation in that struggle.

For the reasons stated, the final propositions in the foregoing section of the resolution quoted above are also unsatisfactory. The expression that the provisional government would have to "regulate" the mutual struggle among the antagonistic classes is most inapt, or at any rate awkwardly put; Marxists should not use such liberal-*Osvobozhdeniye* formulas, which would have us believe that it is possible to have governments which serve not as organs of the class struggle but as its "regulators". ...The government would "not only have to advance revolutionary development but also to combat factors in that development threatening the foundations of the capitalist system". But it is the proletariat, in whose name the resolution speaks, that constitutes this "factor"! Instead of indicating just how the proletariat should "advance revolutionary development" at the present time (advance it farther than the constitutionalist bourgeoisie would care to go), instead of advice to make definite preparations for the struggle against the bourgeoisie when the latter turns against the conquests of the revolution, we are offered a general description of a process, a description which says nothing about the concrete aims of *our* activity. The new-*Iskra* manner of expressing its views reminds one of Marx's opinion (stated in his famous Theses on Feuerbach) of the old materialism, which was alien to the ideas of dialectics. The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways, said Marx; the point, however, is to *change* it.[16] Similarly, the new-*Iskra* group can

give a tolerable description and explanation of the process of struggle taking place before their eyes, but they are altogether incapable of giving a correct slogan for this struggle. Good marchers but poor leaders, they disparage the materialist conception of history by ignoring the active, leading, and guiding part which can and must be played in history by parties that have realised the material prerequisites of a revolution and have placed themselves at the head of the progressive classes.

5. HOW SHOULD "THE REVOLUTION BE ADVANCED"?

Let us quote the next section of the resolution:

"Under such conditions, Social-Democracy must strive to maintain throughout the revolution a position which will best of all ensure it the possibility of advancing the revolution, will not tie the hands of Social-Democracy in its struggle against the inconsistent and self-seeking policy of the bourgeois parties, and will preserve it from being dissolved in bourgeois democracy.

"Therefore, Social-Democracy must not set itself the aim of seizing or sharing power in the provisional government, but must remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition."

The advice to occupy a position which best ensures the possibility of advancing the revolution pleases us very much indeed. We would only desire that this piece of good advice should be accompanied by a direct indication as to how Social-Democracy should further advance the revolution right now, in the present political situation, in a period of rumours, conjectures, and talk and schemes about the convocation of the people's representatives. Can the revolution now be further advanced by those who fail to understand the danger of the *Osvobozhdeniye* theory of "compromise" between the people and the tsar, by those who call a mere "decision" to convene a constituent assembly a victory, who do not set themselves the task of carrying on active propaganda of the idea of the need for a provisional revolutionary government, or who leave the slogan of a democratic republic in the background? Such people actually

pull the revolution back, because, as far as *practical politics* are concerned, they have stopped at the level of the *Osvobozhdeniye* stand. What is the use of their recognising a programme which demands that the autocracy be replaced by a republic, if in a resolution on tactics that defines the Party's present and immediate tasks in the period of revolution they omit the slogan of a struggle for a republic? It is the *Osvobozhdeniye* position, the position of the constitutionalist bourgeoisie, that is now actually characterised by the fact that a decision to convene a popular constituent assembly is considered a decisive victory, while a prudent silence is maintained on the subject of a provisional revolutionary government and a republic! To *advance* the revolution, to take it beyond the limits to which the monarchist bourgeoisie advances it, it is necessary actively to produce, emphasise, and bring into the forefront slogans that will *preclude* the "inconsistency" of bourgeois democracy. At present there are *only two* such slogans: 1) a provisional revolutionary government, and 2) a republic, because the slogan of a popular constituent assembly *has been accepted* by the monarchist bourgeoisie (see the programme of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League) and accepted for the very purpose of devitalising the revolution, preventing its complete victory, and enabling the big bourgeoisie to strike a huckster's bargain with tsarism. And now we see that of the two slogans, which alone are capable of advancing the revolution, the Conference completely forgot the slogan of a republic, and plainly put the slogan of a provisional revolutionary government on a par with the *Osvobozhdeniye* slogan of a popular constituent assembly, calling both the one and the other "a decisive victory of the revolution"!!

Indeed, such is the undoubted fact, which, we are sure, will serve as a landmark for the future historian of Russian Social-Democracy. The Conference of Social-Democrats held in May 1905 passed a resolution which contains fine words about the necessity of advancing the democratic revolution, but in fact pulls it back and goes no farther than the democratic slogans of the monarchist bourgeoisie.

The new-*Iskra* group likes to accuse us of ignoring the danger of the proletariat becoming dissolved in bourgeois

democracy. We should like to see the person who would undertake to prove this charge on the basis of the text of the resolutions passed by the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Our reply to our opponents is—a Social-Democratic Party which operates in a bourgeois society cannot take part in politics without marching, in certain cases, *side by side* with bourgeois democracy. The difference between us in this respect is that we march side by side with the revolutionary and republican bourgeoisie, without merging with it, whereas you march side by side with the *liberal and the monarchist bourgeoisie*, without merging with it either. *That is how matters stand.*

The tactical slogans you have formulated in the name of the Conference *coincide* with the slogans of the "Constitutional-Democratic" Party, i.e., *the party of the monarchist bourgeoisie*; moreover, you have not even noticed or realised this coincidence, thus actually following in the *wake* of the *Osvobozhdeniye fraternity*.

The tactical slogans we have formulated in the name of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party coincide with the slogans of the democratic-revolutionary and republican bourgeoisie. In Russia this bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have not yet formed themselves into a big people's party.* But only one who is utterly ignorant of what is now taking place in Russia can doubt that elements of such a party exist. We intend to guide (if the great Russian revolution makes progress) not only the proletariat, organised by the Social-Democratic Party, but also this petty bourgeoisie, which is capable of marching side by side with us.

Through its resolution the Conference unconsciously *descends* to the level of the liberal and monarchist bourgeoisie. Through its resolution, the Party Congress consciously *raises* to its own level those elements of revolutionary democracy

* The Socialist-Revolutionaries are a terrorist group of intellectuals rather than the embryo of such a party, although the objective significance of this group's activities can be reduced to this very task of achieving the aims of the revolutionary and republican bourgeoisie.

that are capable of waging a struggle, and not acting as brokers.

Such elements are mostly to be found among the peasants. In classifying the big social groups according to their political tendencies we can, without danger of serious error, identify revolutionary and republican democracy with the mass of the peasants—of course, in the same sense and with the same reservations and implied conditions that we can identify the working class with Social-Democracy. In other words, we can formulate our conclusions in the following terms as well: in a revolutionary period the Conference, through its *nation-wide** *political* slogans, unconsciously *descends to the level of the mass of the landlords*. Through its country-wide political slogans, the Party Congress *raises the mass of the peasants to a revolutionary level*. To anyone who, because of this conclusion, would accuse us of a penchant for paradoxes, we issue the following challenge: let him refute the proposition that, if we are not strong enough to bring the revolution to a successful conclusion, if the revolution *ends* in a "decisive victory" in the *Osvobozhdeniye* sense, i.e., only in the form of a representative assembly convened by the tsar, one that could be called a constituent assembly only in derision—then that will be a revolution in which the *landlord and big bourgeois* element will preponderate. On the other hand, if we are destined to live through a really great revolution, if history does not allow a "miscarriage" this time, if we are strong enough to carry the revolution to a successful conclusion, to a decisive victory, not in the *Osvobozhdeniye* or the new-*Iskra* sense of the word, then that will be a revolution in which the peasant and proletarian element will preponderate.

Some people may, perhaps, interpret our admission that such a preponderance is possible as renunciation of the view that the impending revolution will be bourgeois in character. This is very likely, considering how this concept is misused in *Iskra*. For this reason it will not be at all superfluous to dwell on this question.

* We are not referring here to the special peasant slogans which have been dealt with in separate resolutions.

6. WHENCE IS THE PROLETARIAT THREATENED WITH THE DANGER OF FINDING ITSELF WITH ITS HANDS TIED IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INCONSISTENT BOURGEOISIE?

Marxists are absolutely convinced of the bourgeois character of the Russian revolution. What does that mean? It means that the democratic reforms in the political system, and the social and economic reforms that have become a necessity for Russia, do not in themselves imply the undermining of capitalism, the undermining of bourgeois rule; on the contrary, they will, for the first time, really clear the ground for a wide and rapid, European, and not Asiatic, development of capitalism; they will, for the first time, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class. The Socialist-Revolutionaries cannot grasp this idea, for they do not know the ABC of the laws of development of commodity and capitalist production; they fail to see that even the complete success of a peasant insurrection, even the redistribution of the whole of the land in favour of the peasants and in accordance with their desires ("general redistribution" or something of the kind) will not destroy capitalism at all, but will, on the contrary, give an impetus to its development and hasten the class disintegration of the peasantry itself. Failure to grasp this truth makes the Socialist-Revolutionaries unconscious ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie. Insistence on this truth is of enormous importance for Social-Democracy not only from the standpoint of theory but also from that of practical politics, for it follows therefrom that complete class independence of the party of the proletariat in the present "general democratic" movement is an indispensable condition.

But it does not by any means follow that a *democratic* revolution (bourgeois in its social and economic essence) would not be of *enormous* interest to the proletariat. It does not follow that the democratic revolution could not take place both in a form advantageous mainly to the big capitalist, the financial magnate, and the "enlightened" landlord, and in a form advantageous to the peasant and the worker.

The new-*Iskra* group completely misunderstands the meaning and significance of bourgeois revolution as a

category. The idea that is constantly running through their arguments is that a bourgeois revolution is one that can be advantageous only to the bourgeoisie. And yet nothing can be more erroneous than such an idea. A bourgeois revolution is a revolution which does not depart from the framework of the bourgeois, i.e., capitalist, socio-economic system. A bourgeois revolution expresses the needs of capitalist development, and, far from destroying the foundations of capitalism, it effects the contrary—it broadens and deepens them. This revolution, therefore, expresses the interests not only of the working class but of the entire bourgeoisie as well. Since the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class is inevitable under capitalism, it can well be said that a bourgeois revolution expresses the interests not so much of the proletariat as of the bourgeoisie. But it is quite absurd to think that a bourgeois revolution does not at all express proletarian interests. This absurd idea boils down either to the hoary Narodnik theory that a bourgeois revolution runs counter to the interests of the proletariat, and that, therefore, we do not need bourgeois political liberty; or to anarchism which denies any participation of the proletariat in bourgeois politics, in a bourgeois revolution and in bourgeois parliamentarianism. From the standpoint of theory this idea disregards the elementary propositions of Marxism concerning the inevitability of capitalist development on the basis of commodity production. Marxism teaches us that at a certain stage of its development a society which is based on commodity production and has commercial intercourse with civilised capitalist nations must inevitably take the road of capitalism. Marxism has irrevocably broken with the Narodnik and anarchist gibberish that Russia, for instance, can bypass capitalist development, escape from capitalism, or skip it in some way other than that of the class struggle, on the basis and within the framework of this same capitalism.

All these principles of Marxism have been proved and explained in minute detail in general and with regard to Russia in particular. And from these principles it follows that the idea of seeking salvation for the working class in anything save the further development of capitalism is *reactionary*. In countries like Russia the working class

suffers not so much from capitalism as from the insufficient development of capitalism. The working class is, therefore, *most certainly interested* in the broadest, freest, and most rapid development of capitalism. The removal of all the remnants of the old order which hamper the broad, free, and rapid development of capitalism is of absolute *advantage* to the working class. The bourgeois revolution is precisely an upheaval that most resolutely sweeps away survivals of the past, survivals of the serf-owning system (which include not only the autocracy but the monarchy as well), and most fully guarantees the broadest, freest, and most rapid development of capitalism.

That is why a *bourgeois* revolution is *in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat*. A bourgeois revolution is *absolutely* necessary in the interests of the proletariat. The more complete, determined, and consistent the bourgeois revolution, the more assured will the proletariat's struggle be against the bourgeoisie and for socialism. Only those who are ignorant of the ABC of scientific socialism can regard this conclusion as new, strange, or paradoxical. And from this conclusion, among other things, follows the thesis that *in a certain sense* a bourgeois revolution is *more advantageous* to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie. This thesis is unquestionably correct in the following sense: it is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to rely on certain remnants of the past, as against the proletariat, for instance, on the monarchy, the standing army, etc. It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie for the bourgeois revolution not to sweep away all remnants of the past too resolutely, but keep some of them, i.e., for this revolution not to be fully consistent, not complete, and not to be determined and relentless. Social-Democrats often express this idea somewhat differently by stating that the bourgeoisie betrays its own self, that the bourgeoisie betrays the cause of liberty, that the bourgeoisie is incapable of being consistently democratic. It is of greater advantage to the bourgeoisie for the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy to take place more slowly, more gradually, more cautiously, less resolutely, by means of reforms and not by means of revolution; for these changes to spare the "venerable" institutions of the serf-owning system (such as

the monarchy) as much as possible; for these changes to develop as little as possible the independent revolutionary activity, initiative, and energy of the common people, i.e., the peasantry and especially the workers, for otherwise it will be easier for the workers, as the French say, "to change the rifle from one shoulder to the other", i.e., to turn against the bourgeoisie the weapon the bourgeois revolution will supply them with, the liberty the revolution will bring, and the democratic institutions that will spring up on ground cleared of the serf-owning system.

On the other hand, it is more advantageous to the working class for the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy to take place by way of revolution and not by way of reform, because the way of reform is one of delay, procrastination, the painfully slow decomposition of the putrid parts of the national organism. It is the proletariat and the peasantry that suffer first of all and most of all from that putrefaction. The revolutionary path is one of rapid amputation, which is the least painful to the proletariat, the path of the immediate removal of what is putrescent, the path of least compliance with and consideration for the monarchy and the abominable, vile, rotten, and noxious institutions that go with it.

So it is not only because of the censorship, not only "for fear of the Jews", that our bourgeois-liberal press deplores the possibility of the revolutionary path, fears the revolution, tries to frighten the tsar with the bogey of revolution, seeks to avoid revolution, and grovels and toadies for the sake of miserable reforms as the foundation of the reformist path. This standpoint is shared not only by *Russkiye Vedomosti*,[17] *Syn Otechestva*,[18] *Nasha Zhizn*,[19] and *Nashi Dni*,[20] but also by the illegal, uncensored *Osvobozhdeniye*. The very position the bourgeoisie holds as a class in capitalist society inevitably leads to its inconsistency in a democratic revolution. The very position the proletariat holds as a class compels it to be consistently democratic. The bourgeoisie looks backward in fear of democratic progress which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but with the aid of democratism it has the whole world to win. That is why the more consistent the bourgeois revolution is in achieving

its democratic transformations, the less will it limit itself to what is of advantage exclusively to the bourgeoisie. The more consistent the bourgeois revolution, the more does it guarantee the proletariat and the peasantry the benefits accruing from the democratic revolution.

Marxism teaches the proletarian not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to be indifferent to it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight most resolutely for consistent proletarian democratism, for the revolution to be carried to its conclusion. We cannot get out of the bourgeois-democratic boundaries of the Russian revolution, but we can vastly extend these boundaries, and within these boundaries we can and must fight for the interests of the proletariat, for its immediate needs and for conditions that will make it possible to prepare its forces for the future complete victory. There is bourgeois democracy and bourgeois democracy. The Zemstvo monarchist who favours an upper chamber and "asks" for universal suffrage, while secretly, on the sly, striking a bargain with tsarism for a docked constitution, is a bourgeois democrat too. The peasant, who has taken up arms against the landlords and the government officials, and with a "naïve republicanism" proposes "to send the tsar packing",* is also a bourgeois democrat. There are bourgeois-democratic regimes like the one in Germany, and also like the one in England; like the one in Austria and also like those in America and Switzerland. He would be a fine Marxist indeed, who in a period of democratic revolution failed to see this difference between the degrees of democratism and the difference between its forms, and confined himself to "clever" remarks to the effect that, after all, this is "a bourgeois revolution", the fruit of "bourgeois revolution".

Our new-Iskrists are just such clever fellows, who actually flaunt their short-sightedness. They confine themselves to disquisitions on the bourgeois character of revolution, just when and where it is necessary to be able to draw a distinction between republican-revolutionary and monarch-

* See *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 71, p. 337, footnote 2.

ist-liberal bourgeois democracy, to say nothing of the distinction between inconsistent bourgeois democratism and consistent proletarian democratism. They are satisfied—as if they had really become like the "man in the muffler"[21]—with doleful talk about a "process of mutual struggle of antagonistic classes", when the question is one of providing *democratic leadership* in the present revolution, of emphasising *progressive democratic* slogans, as distinct from the treacherous slogans of Mr. Struve and Co., of bluntly and straightforwardly stating the immediate aims of the really revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry as distinct from the liberal haggling of the landlords and manufacturers. Such now is the gist of the matter, which you, gentlemen, have missed, namely: will our revolution result in a real, immense victory, or merely in a wretched deal; will it go so far as the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, or will it "peter out" in a liberal constitution *à la* Shipov?

At first sight it may appear that in raising this question we are deviating entirely from our subject. However, that may appear so only at first sight. As a matter of fact, it is precisely this question that lies at the root of the difference in principle which has already become clearly marked between the Social-Democratic tactics of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and the tactics initiated by the Conference of the new-*Iskra* supporters. The latter have already taken not two but three steps back resurrecting the mistakes of Economism in solving problems that are incomparably more complex, more important, and more vital to the workers' party, viz., questions of its tactics in time of revolution. That is why we must analyse the question we have raised with all due attention.

The above-quoted section of the new-Iskrists' resolution points to the danger of Social-Democracy tying its own hands in the struggle against the inconsistent policy of the bourgeoisie, of its becoming dissolved in bourgeois democracy. The thought of this danger pervades all specifically new-Iskrist literature; it lies at the very heart of the principle involved in our Party split (ever since the bickering in the split wag completely overshadowed by the turn towards

Economism). Without any equivocation we admit that this danger really exists, that just at the present time, at the height of the Russian revolution, this danger has become particularly grave. The pressing and extremely responsible duty that devolves on all of us theoreticians or—as I should prefer to say of myself—publicists of Social-Democracy is to find out *from what direction* this danger actually threatens. For the source of our disagreement is not a dispute as to whether such a danger exists, but the dispute as to whether it is caused by the so-called tail-ism of the "Minority" or the so-called revolutionism of the "Majority".

To remove all misinterpretations and misunderstandings let us first of all note that the danger to which we are referring lies not in the subjective, but in the objective aspect of the matter, not in the formal stand which Social-Democracy will take in the struggle, but in the material outcome of the entire present revolutionary struggle. The question is not whether this or that Social-Democratic group will want to dissolve in bourgeois democracy, or whether they realise that they are doing so. Nobody suggests that. We do not suspect any Social-Democrat of harbouring such a desire, and this is not at all a matter of desire. Nor is it a question of whether this or that Social-Democratic group will formally retain its separate identity, individuality, and independence of bourgeois democracy throughout the course of the revolution. They may not merely proclaim such "independence", but may even retain it formally, and yet *it may turn out* that their hands will nevertheless be tied in the struggle against the inconsistency of the bourgeoisie. The ultimate political outcome of the revolution may prove to be that, despite the formal "independence" of Social-Democracy, despite its complete organisational individuality as a separate party, it will in fact not be independent; it will not be able to place the imprint of its proletarian independence on the course of events; it will prove so weak that, on the whole and in the last analysis, its "dissolution" in bourgeois democracy will nevertheless be a historical fact.

That is what constitutes the real danger. Now let us see from what direction the danger threatens—from the deviation of Social-Democracy, as represented by the new *Iskra*,

to the Right, as we believe; or from the deviation of Social-Democracy, as represented by the "Majority", *Vperyod*, etc., to the Left—as the new-*Iskra* group believes.

The answer to this question, as we have pointed out, is determined by the objective combination of the operation of the various social forces. The character of these forces has been defined theoretically by the Marxist analysis of Russian life; at present it is being determined in practice by open action by groups and classes in the course of the revolution. Now the entire theoretical analysis made by the Marxists long before the period we are now passing through, as well as all the practical observations of the development of revolutionary events, show that, from the standpoint of objective conditions, there are two possible courses and two possible outcomes of the revolution in Russia. The transformation of the economic and political system in Russia along bourgeois-democratic lines is inevitable and inescapable. No power on earth can prevent such a transformation, but the combined action of the existing forces which are effecting it may result in either of two things, may bring about either of two forms of that transformation. Either 1) matters will end in "the revolution's decisive victory over tsarism", or 2) the forces will be inadequate for a decisive victory and matters will end in a deal between tsarism and the most "inconsistent" and most "self-seeking" elements of the bourgeoisie. By and large, all the infinite variety of details and combinations, which no one is able to foresee, lead to one outcome or the other.

Let us now consider these two possibilities, first, from the standpoint of their social significance and, secondly, from the standpoint of the position of Social-Democracy (its "dissolution" or "having its hands tied") in one outcome or the other.

What is meant by "the revolution's decisive victory over tsarism"? We have already seen that in using this expression the new-*Iskra* group fail to grasp even its immediate political significance. Still less do they seem to understand the class essence of this concept. Surely, we Marxists must not under any circumstances allow ourselves to be deluded by *words*, such as "revolution" or "the great Russian revolution", as do many revolutionary democrats (of the Gapon

type). We must be perfectly certain in our minds as to what real social forces are opposed to "tsarism" (which is a real force perfectly intelligible to all) and are capable of gaining a "decisive victory" over it. The big bourgeoisie, the landlords, the factory owners, and "society", which follows the *Osvobozhdeniye* lead, cannot be such a force. We see that they do not even want a decisive victory. We know that owing to their class position they are incapable of waging a decisive struggle against tsarism; they are too heavily fettered by private property, by capital and land to enter into a decisive struggle. They stand in too great need of tsarism, with its bureaucratic, police, and military forces for use against the proletariat and the peasantry, to want it to be destroyed. No, the only force capable of gaining "a decisive victory over tsarism", is the *people*, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry, if we take the main, big forces, and distribute the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie (also part of "the people") between the two. "The revolution's decisive victory over tsarism" means the establishment of the *revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry*. Our new-*Iskra* group cannot escape from this conclusion, which *Vperyod* indicated long ago. No other force is capable of gaining a decisive victory over tsarism.

And such a victory will be precisely a dictatorship, i.e., it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an insurrection, and not on institutions of one kind or another established in a "lawful" or "peaceful" way. It can be only a dictatorship, for realisation of the changes urgently and absolutely indispensable to the proletariat and the peasantry will evoke desperate resistance from the landlords, the big bourgeoisie, and tsarism. Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down that resistance and repel counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist dictatorship. It will be unable (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism. At best, it may bring about a radical redistribution of landed property in favour of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy, including the formation of a republic, eradicate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only in rural but also in factory life,

lay the foundation for a thorough improvement in the conditions of the workers and for a rise in their standard of living, and—last but not least—carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe. Such a victory will not yet by any means transform our bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution; the democratic revolution will not immediately overstep the bounds of bourgeois social and economic relationships; nevertheless, the significance of such a victory for the future development of Russia and of the whole world will be immense. Nothing will raise the revolutionary energy of the world proletariat so much, nothing will shorten the path leading to its complete victory to such an extent, as this decisive victory of the revolution that has now started in Russia.

How far such a victory is probable is another question. We are not in the least inclined to be unreasonably optimistic on that score; we do not for a moment forget the immense difficulties of this task, but, since we are out to fight, we must desire victory and be able to point out the right road to it. Trends capable of leading to such a victory undoubtedly exist. True, our influence on the masses of the proletariat—the Social-Democratic influence—is as yet very, very inadequate; the revolutionary influence on the mass of the peasantry is quite insignificant; the proletarians, and especially the peasants, are still frightfully disunited, backward, and ignorant. However, revolution unites rapidly and enlightens rapidly. Every step in its development rouses the masses and attracts them with irresistible force to the side of the revolutionary programme, as the only programme that fully and consistently expresses their real and vital interests.

According to a law of mechanics, action and reaction are always equal. In history too, the destructive force of a revolution is to a considerable degree dependent on how strong and protracted the suppression of the striving for liberty has been, and how profound is the contradiction between the outmoded "superstructure" and the living forces of our times. The international political situation, too, is in many respects taking shape in a way most advantageous to the Russian revolution. The workers' and peasants' insurrection has already begun; it is sporadic, spontaneous, and

weak, but it unquestionably and undoubtedly proves the existence of forces capable of waging a decisive struggle-and marching towards a decisive victory.

If these forces prove inadequate tsarism will have time to conclude a deal, which is already being prepared at the two extremes by the Bulygins and the Struves. Then the whole matter will end in a docked constitution, or, if the worst comes to the worst, even in a travesty of a constitution. This, too, will be a "bourgeois revolution", but it will be a miscarriage, a premature birth, an abortion. Social-Democracy entertains no illusions on that score; it knows the treacherous nature of the bourgeoisie; it will not lose heart or abandon its persistent, patient, and sustained work of giving the proletariat class training, even in the most drab, humdrum days of bourgeois-constitutional "Shipov" bliss. Such an outcome would be more or less similar to that of almost all the nineteenth-century democratic revolutions in Europe, and our Party development would then proceed along the arduous, long, but familiar and beaten track.

The question now arises: in which outcome of the two possible will Social-Democracy find its hands actually tied in the struggle against the inconsistent and self-seeking bourgeoisie, find itself actually "dissolved", or almost so, in bourgeois democracy?

It is sufficient to put this question clearly to have a reply without a moment's difficulty.

If the bourgeoisie succeeds in frustrating the Russian revolution by coming to terms with tsarism, Social-Democracy will find its hands actually tied in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeoisie; Social-Democracy will find itself "dissolved" in bourgeois democracy in the sense that the proletariat will not succeed in placing its clear imprint on the revolution, will not succeed in settling accounts with tsarism in the proletarian or, as Marx once said, "in the plebeian manner".

If the revolution gains a decisive victory—then we shall settle accounts with tsarism in the Jacobin, or, if you like, in the plebeian way. "The whole French terrorism," wrote Marx in 1848 in the famous *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, "was nothing but a plebeian manner of settling accounts with the enemies of the bourgeoisie, with absolutism, feudalism,

and philistinism" (see Marx, *Nachlass*, Mehring's edition, Vol. III, p. 211).[22] Have those people who in a period of a democratic revolution try to frighten the Social-Democratic workers in Russia with the bogey of "Jacobinism" ever given thought to the significance of these words of Marx?

The new-*Iskra* group, the Girondists of contemporary Russian Social-Democracy, does not merge with the *Osvobozhdeniye* group, but actually, by reason of the nature of its slogans, it follows in the wake of the latter. And the *Osvobozhdeniye* group, i.e., the representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, wishes to settle accounts with the autocracy in a reformist manner, gently and compliantly, so as not to offend the aristocracy, the nobles, or the Court—cautiously, without breaking anything—kindly and politely as befits gentlemen in white gloves (like the ones Mr. Petrunkevich borrowed from a bashi-bazouk to wear at the reception of "representatives of the people" [?] held by Nicholas the Bloodstained, see *Proletary*, No. 5*).

The Jacobins of contemporary Social-Democracy—the Bolsheviks, the *Vperyod* supporters, the "Congress" group, *Proletary* supporters—or whatever else we may call them—wish by their slogans to raise the revolutionary and republican petty bourgeoisie, and especially the peasantry, to the level of the consistent democratism of the proletariat, which fully retains its individuality as a class. They want the people, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry, to settle accounts with the monarchy and the aristocracy in the "plebeian way", ruthlessly destroying the enemies of liberty, crushing their resistance by force, making no concessions whatever to the accursed heritage of serf-ownership, Asiatic barbarism, and human degradation.

This, of course, does not mean that we necessarily propose to imitate the Jacobins of 1793, and borrow their views, programme, slogans, and methods of action. Nothing of the kind. Our programme is not an old one but a new—the minimum programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. We have a new slogan: the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. If we live to see the real victory of the revolution we shall

* "'Revolutionaries' in Kid Gloves", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 526-30.—*Ed.*

also have new methods of action in keeping with the nature and aims of the working-class party that is striving for a complete socialist revolution. By our parallel we merely want to explain that the representatives of the progressive class of the twentieth century, the proletariat, i.e., the Social-Democrats, are divided into two wings (the opportunist and the revolutionary) similar to those into which the representatives of the progressive class of the eighteenth century, the bourgeoisie, were divided, i.e., the Girondists and the Jacobins.

Only in the event of a complete victory of the democratic revolution will the proletariat have its hands free in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeoisie; only in that event will it not become "dissolved" in bourgeois democracy, but will leave its proletarian, or rather proletarian-peasant, imprint on the whole revolution.

In a word, to avoid finding itself with its hands tied in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeois democracy the proletariat must be class-conscious and strong enough to rouse the peasantry to revolutionary consciousness, guide its assault, and thereby independently pursue the line of consistent proletarian democratism.

That is how matters stand in the question—so ineptly dealt with by the new-*Iskra* group—of the danger of our hands being tied in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie will always be inconsistent. There is nothing more naïve and futile than attempts to set forth conditions and points* which, if satisfied, would enable us to consider that the bourgeois democrat is a sincere friend of the people. Only the proletariat can be a consistent fighter for democracy. It can become a victorious fighter for democracy only if the peasant masses join its revolutionary struggle. If the proletariat is not strong enough for this the bourgeoisie will be at the head of the democratic revolution and will impart an inconsistent and self-seeking nature to it. Nothing but a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry can prevent this.

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* As was attempted by Starover in his resolution, annulled by the Third Congress,[23] and as the Conference attempts in an equally poor resolution.

Thus, we arrive at the indubitable conclusion that it is the new-*Iskra* tactics which, by its objective significance, is *playing into the hands of the bourgeois democrats*. The preaching of organisational diffuseness which goes to the length of plebiscites, the principle of compromise, and the divorcement of Party literature from the Party; belittling of the aims of insurrection; confusing of the popular political slogans of the revolutionary proletariat with those of the monarchist bourgeoisie; distortion of the requisites for "revolution's decisive victory over tsarism"—an these taken together produce that very policy of tail-ism in a revolutionary period, which bewilders the proletariat, disorganises it, confuses its understanding, and belittles the tactics of Social-Democracy instead of pointing out the only way to victory and getting all the revolutionary and republican elements of the people to adhere to the proletariat's slogan.

To bear out this conclusion, reached by us through analysis of the resolution, let us approach this same question from other angles. Let us first see how in the Georgian *Sotsial-Demokrat* a naïve and outspoken Menshevik illustrates the new-*Iskra* tactics. Secondly, let us see who is actually making use of the new-*Iskra* slogans in the present political situation.

7. THE TACTICS OF "ELIMINATING THE CONSERVATIVES FROM THE GOVERNMENT"

The article in the organ of the Tiflis Menshevik "Committee" (*Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 1), to which we have just referred, is entitled "The Zemsky Sobor and Our Tactics". Its author has not yet entirely forgotten our programme; he advances the slogan of a republic, but this is how he discusses tactics:

"It is possible to point to two ways of achieving this goal" (a republic): "either completely ignore the Zemsky Sobor that is being convened by the government and defeat the government by force of arms, form a revolutionary government and convene a constituent assembly, or declare the Zemsky Sobor the centre of our action, influencing its composition and activities, by force of arms, forcibly

compelling it to declare itself a constituent assembly, or convene a constituent assembly through it. These two tactics differ very sharply from each other. Let us see which of them is of more advantage to us."

This is how the Russian new-Iskrists set forth ideas subsequently incorporated in the resolution we have analysed. Note that this was written before the battle of Tsushima,[24] when the Bulygin "scheme" had not yet seen the light of day. Even the liberals were losing patience and voicing their distrust from the pages of the legal press; however, a Social-Democrat of the new-*Iskra* brand has proved more credulous than the liberals. He declares that the Zemsky Sobor "is being convened" and trusts the tsar so much that he proposes to make this as yet non-existent Zemsky Sobor (or, possibly, "State Duma" or "Advisory Legislative Assembly"?) the centre of our action. Being more outspoken and straightforward than the authors of the resolution adopted at the Conference, our Tiflisian does not put the two "tactics" (which he expounds with inimitable naïveté) on a par, but declares that the second is of greater "advantage". Just listen:

"The first tactic. As you know, the coming revolution is a bourgeois revolution, i.e., its purpose is to effect such chances in the present system as are of interest not only to the proletariat but to the whole of bourgeois society. All classes are opposed to the government, even the capitalists themselves. The militant proletariat and the militant bourgeoisie are in a certain sense marching together and jointly attacking the autocracy from different sides. The government is completely isolated and has no public sympathy. For this reason it is very easy to destroy it. The Russian proletariat, as a whole, is not yet sufficiently class-conscious and organised to be able to carry out the revolution by itself. And even if it were able to do so it would carry through a proletarian (socialist) revolution and not a bourgeois revolution. Hence, it is in our interest that the government should remain without allies, that it should be unable to divide the opposition, join hands with the bourgeoisie, and leave the proletariat in isolation...."

So it is in the interests of the proletariat that the tsarist government should be unable to divide the bourgeoisie and the proletariat! Is it not by mistake that this Georgian organ is called *Sotsial-Demokrat* instead of *Osvobozhdeniye*? And note its peerless philosophy of democratic revolution! Is it not obvious that this poor Tiflisian is hopelessly confused by the pedantic tail-ist interpretation of the concept "bourgeois revolution"? He discusses the question of the

possible isolation of the proletariat in a democratic revolution, and *forgets* ... forgets a trifle ... the peasantry! Of the possible allies of the proletariat he knows and favours the Zemstvo landlords, but is not aware of the peasants. And this in the Caucasus! Well, were we not right when we said that in its reasoning the new *Iskra* was sinking to the level of the monarchist bourgeoisie instead of raising the revolutionary peasantry to the position of our ally?

"...Otherwise the defeat of the proletariat and the victory of the government are inevitable. This is just what the autocracy is striving for. In its Zemsky Sobor it will undoubtedly attract to its side representatives of the nobility, the Zemstvos, the cities, the universities, and similar bourgeois institutions. It will try to appease them with petty concessions, and thereby reconcile them to itself. Strengthened in this way, it will direct all its blows against the working people, who will have been isolated. It is our duty to prevent such an unfortunate outcome. But can this be done by the first method? Let us assume that we paid no attention whatever to the Zemsky Sobor, but started to prepare for insurrection ourselves, and one fine day came out in the streets armed and ready for battle. The result would be that we would be confronted not with one but with two enemies: the government and the Zemsky Sobor. While we were preparing, they were able to come to terms, enter into an agreement with each other, draw up a constitution advantageous to themselves, and divide power between them. This tactic is of direct advantage to the government, and we must reject it in the most energetic fashion...."

Now this is frank! So we must resolutely reject the "tactics" of preparing an insurrection because "meanwhile" the government would come to terms with the bourgeoisie. Can one find in the old literature of the most rabid Economism anything that would even approximate such a disgrace to revolutionary Social-Democracy? It is a fact that insurrections and outbreaks by workers and peasants are occurring, first in one place and then in another. The Zemsky Sobor, however, is a Bulygin promise. And the *Sotsial-Demokrat* of the city of Tiflis decides that the tactic of preparing an insurrection should be rejected, and a "centre of influence" should be awaited—the Zemsky Sobor....

"...The second tactic, on the contrary, consists in bringing the Zemsky Sobor under our supervision, in not giving it the opportunity to act according to its own will, and enter into an agreement with the government.*

* By what means can the Zemstvo people be deprived of their own will? Perhaps by use of a special sort of litmus-paper?

"We support the Zemsky Sobor inasmuch as it fights the autocracy, and we fight it whenever it becomes reconciled with the autocracy. By energetic intervention and by force we shall bring about a split among the deputies,* rally the radicals to our side, eliminate the conservatives from the government, and thus put the whole Zemsky Sobor on the path of revolution. Thanks to such tactics, the government will always remain isolated, the opposition will be strong, and the establishment of a democratic system will thereby be facilitated."

Well, well! Let anyone now say that we exaggerate the new-Iskrists' turn to the most vulgar semblance of Economism. This is positively like the famous powder for exterminating flies: first you catch your fly, stick it on the fly-paper, and the sly will die. Bring about a split among the deputies of the Zemsky Sobor by *force*, "eliminate the conservatives from the government"—and the *whole* Zemsky Sobor will take *the path of revolution*.... No "Jacobin" armed insurrection of any sort, but just like that, in genteel, almost parliamentary fashion, "influencing" *the members of the Zemsky Sobor*.

Poor Russia! It has been said that she always wears the old-fashioned bonnets that Europe has discarded. We have no parliament as yet, even Bulygin has not yet promised one, but we have any amount of parliamentary cretinism.[25]

"...How should this intervention be effected? First of all, we shall demand that the Zemsky Sobor be convened on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections by secret ballot. Simultaneously with the announcement** of this electoral procedure, complete freedom to carry on the election campaign, i.e., freedom of assembly, speech and the press, the inviolability of electors and candidates, and the release of all political prisoners, must be made law.*** The elections themselves must be fixed as late as possible, to give us sufficient time to inform and prepare the people. And since the drafting of the regulations governing the convocation of the Sobor has been entrusted to a commission headed by Bulygin, Minister of the Interior, we should also exert pressure on this commission and on its members.**** If the Bulygin Commission refuses to satisfy our demands***** and

* Heavens! This is certainly rendering tactics "profound"! There are no forces available to fight in the streets, but it is possible "to bring about a split among the deputies" "by force". Listen, comrade from Tiflis, lie if you must, but there's a limit....

** In *Iskra*?

*** By Nicholas?

**** So this is what is meant by the tactic of "eliminating the conservatives from the government"!

***** But surely such a thing cannot happen if we follow this correct and profound tactic!

grants suffrage only to property owners, then we must intervene in these elections and by revolutionary means make the voters elect progressive candidates and in the Zemsky Sobor demand a constituent assembly. Finally, we must by all possible measures—demonstrations, strikes, and insurrection if need be—compel the Zemsky Sobor to convene a constituent assembly or declare itself to be such. The armed proletariat must be the defender of the constituent assembly, and together* both will march forward to a democratic republic.

"Such is the Social-Democratic tactics, and it alone will secure us victory."

Let not the reader imagine that this incredible nonsense comes from some new-*Iskra* maiden writer, a man with no authority or influence. No, this is stated in the *organ* of an entire committee of new-*Iskra* supporters, the Tiflis Committee. More than that. This nonsense has been *openly endorsed by Iskra*, in No. 100 of which we read the following about that issue of the *Sotsial-Demokrat*:

"*The first issue is edited in a lively and talented manner. The experienced hand of a capable editor and writer is perceptible.... It may be said with all confidence that the newspaper will carry out brilliantly the task it has set itself.*"

Yes! If that task is to show clearly to all and sundry the utter ideological decay of the new-*Iskra* trend, then it has indeed been carried out "brilliantly". No one could have expressed new-*Iskra* degradation to liberal bourgeois opportunism in a more "lively, talented, and capable" manner.

8. THE *OSVOBOZHDENIYE* AND NEW-*ISKRA* TRENDS

Let us now proceed to another striking confirmation of the political significance of the new-*Iskra* trend.

In a splendid, remarkable, and most instructive article, entitled "How to Find Oneself" (*Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 71), Mr. Struve wages war against the "programmatic revolutionism" of our extreme parties. Mr. Struve is particularly displeased with me personally.** As far as I am concerned,

* Both the armed proletariat and the conservatives "eliminated from the government"?

** "In comparison with the revolutionism of Mr. Lenin and his associates the revolutionism of the West-European Social-Democracy of Bebel, and even of Kautsky, is opportunism; but the foundations of even this already toned-down revolutionism have been undermined and washed away by history." A most irate thrust. Only Mr. Struve

Mr. Struve could not have pleased me more: I could not wish for a better ally in the fight against the renascent Economism of the new-*Iskra* group and the absence of principles displayed by the Socialist-Revolutionaries. On some other occasion we shall relate how Mr. Struve and *Osvobozhdeniye* have proved in practice how utterly reactionary are the "amendments" to Marxism made in the Socialist-Revolutionaries' draft programme. We have already repeatedly* spoken of the honest, faithful and real service rendered to

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should not think he can lay all the blame on me, as he could on an opponent no longer alive. I have only to challenge Mr. Struve, though I am sure he will never accept such a challenge, to answer the following questions. When and where did I call the "revolutionism of Bebel and Kautsky" opportunism? When and where did I ever claim to have created any sort of special trend in international Social-Democracy *not identical* with the trend of Bebel and Kautsky? When and where have there been brought to light differences between me, on the one hand, and Bebel and Kautsky, on the other—differences even slightly approximating in gravity the differences between Bebel and Kautsky, for instance, on the agrarian question in Breslau?[26] Let Mr. Struve try to answer these three questions.

To our readers we say: the liberal bourgeoisie *everywhere* and *always* resorts to the method of assuring its adherents in a given country that the Social-Democrats of that country are most unreasonable, whereas their comrades in a neighbouring country are "goody-goodies". The German bourgeoisie has *hundreds of times* held up "goody-goody" French socialists as models for the Bebels and the Kautskys. The French bourgeoisie quite recently pointed to "goody-goody" Bebel as a model for the French socialists. That is an old trick, Mr. Struve! You will find only children and ignoramuses swallowing such bait. The complete unanimity of international revolutionary Social-Democracy on all major questions of programme and tactics is a most incontrovertible fact.

* Let us remind the reader that the article "What Should Not Be Done" (*Iskra*, No. 52) was vociferously hailed by *Osvobozhdeniye* as a "noteworthy turn" towards concessions to the opportunists. The principles underlying the new-*Iskra* ideas were especially lauded by *Osvobozhdeniye* in an item on the split among Russian Social-Democrats. Commenting on Trotsky's pamphlet, *Our Political Tasks*, *Osvobozhdeniye* noted the similarity between this author's ideas and what was once written and said by the *Rabocheye Dyelo* writers Krichevsky, Martynov, Akimov (see the leaflet entitled "An Obliging Liberal" published by *Vperyod*). *Osvobozhdeniye* welcomed Martynov's pamphlet on the two dictatorships (see the item in *Vperyod*, No. 9). Finally, Starover's belated complaints about the old slogan of the old *Iskra*, "first draw a line of demarcation and then unite", met with particular sympathy from *Osvobozhdeniye*.

me by Mr. Struve whenever he approved of the new-*Iskra* trend *in principle*, and we shall now speak of that once more.

Mr. Struve's article contains a number of very interesting statements, which we can note here only in passing. He intends "to create Russian democracy by relying on class collaboration and not on class struggle", in which case "the socially privileged intelligentsia" (something like the "cultured nobility" to which Mr. Struve makes obeisance with the grace of a true high-society ... lackey) will bring "the weight of its social position" (the weight of its moneybags) to this "non-class" party. Mr. Struve expresses the desire to acquaint the youth with the worthlessness "of the hackneyed radical opinion that the bourgeoisie has become frightened and has betrayed the proletariat and the cause of liberty". (We welcome this desire with all our heart. Nothing can confirm the correctness of this Marxist "hackneyed opinion" better than a war waged against it by Mr. Struve. Please, Mr. Struve, don't put off this splendid plan of yours!)

For the purposes of our subject it is important to note the *practical* slogans now being warred against by this politically sensitive representative of the Russian bourgeoisie who is so responsive to the slightest change in the weather. First, he is warring against the slogan of republicanism. Mr. Struve is firmly convinced that this slogan is "incomprehensible and foreign to the mass of the people" (he has forgotten to add: comprehensible to, but not to the advantage of, the bourgeoisie!). We should like to see what reply Mr. Struve would get from the workers in our study circles and at our mass meetings. Or perhaps the workers are not the people? And what about the peasants? They are sometimes given to what Mr. Struve calls "naïve republicanism" ("to send the tsar packing")—yet the liberal bourgeoisie believes that *naïve* republicanism will be replaced not by enlightened republicanism, but by enlightened monarchism! *Ca dépend*, Mr. Struve; it will depend on circumstances. Both tsarism and the bourgeoisie cannot but oppose a radical improvement in the condition of the peasantry at the expense of the landed estates, whereas the working class cannot but assist the peasantry in this respect.

Secondly, Mr. Struve asserts that "in a civil war the attacker is always in the wrong". This idea verges closely on the above-mentioned new-*Iskra* trends. We will not say, of course, that in civil war it is *always* advantageous to attack; no, sometimes defensive tactics is obligatory *for the time being*. But to apply to the Russia of 1905 a proposition like the one Mr. Struve has made means precisely to demonstrate a little of the "hackneyed radical opinion" ("the bourgeoisie takes fright and betrays the cause of liberty"). Whoever now refuses to attack the autocracy and reaction, whoever fails to prepare for such an attack, and whoever does not advocate it, has no right to call himself an adherent of revolution.

Mr. Struve condemns the slogans: "secrecy" and "rioting" (a riot being "an insurrection in miniature"). Mr. Struve despises both of these—and he does so from the standpoint of "the approach to the masses". We should like to ask Mr. Struve whether he can point to any passage in, for instance, *What Is To Be Done?*—the work, from his standpoint, of an extreme revolutionary—which advocates rioting. As regards "secrecy", is there really much difference between, for example, us and Mr. Struve? Are we not both working on "illegal" newspapers which are being smuggled into Russia "secretly" and serve the "secret" groups of either the *Osvobozhdeniye* League or the R.S.D.L.P.? Our workers' mass meetings are often held "secretly"—we do commit that sin. But what about the meetings held by gentlemen of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League? Have you any grounds to brag, Mr. Struve, and look down upon contemptible partisans of contemptible secrecy?

True, strict secrecy is required in supplying the workers with arms. On this point Mr. Struve is rather more outspoken. Just listen: "As regards insurrection, or a revolution in the technical sense, only mass propaganda in favour of a democratic programme can create the socio-psychological conditions for a general armed uprising. Thus, even from the point of view of an insurrection being the *inevitable* consummation of the present struggle for emancipation—a view I do not share—the imbuing of the masses with ideas of democratic reform is a most fundamental and most necessary task."

Mr. Struve tries to evade the issue. He speaks of the inevitability of an insurrection instead of speaking of its necessity for the victory of the revolution. An insurrection—unprepared, spontaneous, sporadic—has already begun. No one can positively vouch that it will develop into a full-fledged and integral insurrection of the people, for that depends on the state of the revolutionary forces (which can be fully gauged only in the course of the struggle itself), on the behaviour of the government and the bourgeoisie, and on a number of other circumstances, which cannot be estimated with precision. It is pointless to speak of inevitability, in the meaning of absolute certainty with regard to some concrete event, to which Mr. Struve would reduce the matter. What you must speak of, if you would be a partisan of revolution, is whether insurrection is *necessary for the victory* of the revolution, whether it is necessary to proclaim it vigorously, to advocate it and make immediate and energetic preparations for it. Mr. Struve cannot fail to understand this difference: he does not, for instance, obscure the question of the need for universal suffrage—which to a democrat is indisputable—by questioning the inevitability of its attainment in the course of the present revolution—which, to people engaged in political activity, is disputable and of little account. By evading the issue of the need for an insurrection, Mr. Struve reveals the innermost essence of the liberal bourgeoisie's political stand. In the first place, the bourgeoisie would prefer to come to terms with the autocracy rather than crush it; secondly, the bourgeoisie, in all cases, shifts the armed struggle on to the workers' shoulders. That is the real meaning of Mr. Struve's evasiveness. That is why he backs out of the question of the need for an insurrection, towards the question of its "socio-psychological conditions", and preliminary "propaganda". Just as in the Frankfort Parliament of 1848 the bourgeois windbags were busy drawing up resolutions, declarations, and decisions, engaging in "mass propaganda" and preparing the "socio-psychological conditions" when it was a matter of repelling the government's armed forces, when the movement had "led to the necessity" of an armed struggle, when verbal persuasion alone (which is a hundredfold necessary during the preparatory period) had become banal, bourgeois inactivity and cowardice

—so Mr. Struve also evades the question of insurrection, and takes cover behind *phrases*. Mr. Struve shows us revealingly what many Social-Democrats turn a blind eye to, namely, that a revolutionary period differs from ordinary, everyday, preparatory periods in history in that the temper, excitement, and convictions of the masses must and do express themselves in *action*.

Vulgar revolutionism fails to see that words are action, too; this proposition is indisputable when applied to history in *general*, or to those periods of history when no open political mass action takes place. No putsches of any sort can replace or artificially evoke such action. Tail-ist revolutionaries fail to understand that when a revolutionary period has set in, when the old "superstructure" has cracked from top to bottom, when open political action by the classes and masses that are creating a new superstructure for themselves has become a fact, and when civil war has begun—it is apathy, lifelessness, pedantry, or else betrayal of the revolution and treachery to it to confine oneself to "words" *in the old way*, without advancing the *direct slogan* on the need to pass over to "action", and to try to avoid action by pleading the need for "psychological conditions" and "propaganda" in general. The democratic bourgeoisie's Frankfort windbags are a memorable historical example of just such treachery or of just such pedantic stupidity.

Would you like an instance provided by the history of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia to explain this difference between vulgar revolutionism and tail-ism in revolutionaries? We shall provide you with such an explanation. Call to mind the years 1901 and 1902, which are so recent, but already seem ancient history to us today. Demonstrations had begun. Vulgar revolutionism had raised a wail about "assault tactics" (*Rabocheye Dyelo*[27]), "bloodthirsty leaflets" were being issued (of Berlin origin, if my memory does not fail me), and attacks were being made on the "literary pretentiousness" and armchair nature of the idea of agitation being conducted on a country-wide scale through a newspaper (Nadezhdin).[28] On the contrary, revolutionaries' tail-ism found expression at the time in the teaching that "the economic struggle is the *best* means of political agitation". How did the revolutionary Social-

Democrats behave? They attacked both these trends. They condemned pyrotechnic methods and the cries about assault tactics, for it was, or should have been, obvious to all that open mass action was a matter of the morrow. They condemned tail-ism and openly issued the slogan *even* of a popular insurrection, not in the meaning of a direct appeal (Mr. Struve would not discover any appeal to "riot" in our utterances of that period), but in the meaning of a *necessary* deduction, the meaning of "propaganda" (of which Mr. Struve has only now bethought himself—our worthy Mr. Struve is always several years behind the times), in the sense of preparing those very "socio-psychological conditions" on which the representatives of the bewildered and huckstering bourgeoisie are now "sadly and inappropriately" holding forth. *At that time* propaganda and agitation, agitation and propaganda were really brought to the fore by the objective state of affairs. *At that time* work on an all-Russia political newspaper, the weekly publication of which seemed an ideal, could be proposed (and was proposed in *What Is To Be Done?*) as the touchstone of the work of preparing for an insurrection. *At that time* slogans advocating mass agitation *instead of* direct armed action, preparation of the socio-psychological conditions for insurrection *instead of* pyrotechnics were revolutionary Social-Democracy's only correct slogans. *At the present time* these slogans have been overtaken by events; the movement has left them behind; they have become tatters, rags fit only to cover *Osvobozhdeniye* hypocrisy and new-*Iskra* tail-ism!

Or perhaps I am mistaken? Perhaps the revolution has not yet begun? Perhaps the time has not yet arrived for open political action by the classes? Perhaps there is no civil war yet, and the criticism of weapons should not yet be the *necessary* and obligatory successor, heir, trustee, and consummator of the weapon of criticism?

Get out of your study, look about you, and seek your answer in the streets. Has not the government itself started civil war by everywhere shooting down crowds of peaceful and unarmed citizens? Have not the armed Black Hundreds come out as an "argument" of the autocracy? Has not the bourgeoisie—even the bourgeoisie—recognised the need for a citizens' militia? Does not Mr. Struve himself, the ideally

moderate and punctilious Mr. Struve, say (alas, he does so only to evade the issue!) that "the open nature of revolutionary action" (that's what we are like today!) "is now one of the most important conditions for exerting an educational influence upon the mass of the people"?

Those who have eyes to see can have no doubt as to how the question of an insurrection must now be presented by partisans of revolution. Examine the *three* presentations of this question provided in those organs of the free press that are at all capable of influencing the *masses*.

Presentation one. The resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.* It is publicly acknowledged and declared that the general

* The following is the text in full:

"1. Whereas the proletariat being, by virtue of its position, the foremost and only consistently revolutionary class, is therefore called upon to play the leading role in the general democratic revolutionary movement in Russia;

"2. Whereas this movement at the present time has already led to the necessity of an armed uprising;

"3. Whereas the proletariat will inevitably take the most energetic part in this uprising, which participation will decide the destiny of the revolution in Russia;

"4. Whereas the proletariat can play the leading role in this revolution only if it is united in a single and independent political force under the banner of the Social-Democratic Labour Party, which directs its struggle both ideologically and practically;

"5. Whereas only the performance of this role will ensure to the proletariat the most advantageous conditions for the struggle for socialism, against the propertied classes of bourgeois-democratic Russia;

"Therefore the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. holds that the task of organising the proletariat for direct struggle against the autocracy by means of the armed uprising is one of the major and most urgent tasks of the Party at the present revolutionary moment.

"Accordingly, the Congress instructs all Party organisations:

"a) to explain to the proletariat by means of propaganda and agitation, not only the political significance, but the practical organisational aspect of the impending armed uprising,

"b) to explain in that propaganda and agitation the role of mass political strikes, which may be of great importance at the beginning and during the progress of the uprising, and

"c) to take the most energetic steps towards arming the proletariat, as well as drawing up a plan of the armed uprising and of direct leadership thereof, for which purpose special groups of Party workers should be formed as and when necessary." (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed*.)

democratic revolutionary movement *has already brought about the necessity* of an insurrection. The organisation of the proletariat for an insurrection has been placed on the order of the day as one of the essential, principal, and *indispensable* tasks of the Party. Instructions have been issued for *most energetic* measures to be taken to arm the proletariat and ensure the possibility of direct leadership of the insurrection.

Presentation two. An article in *Osvobozhdeniye*, with a statement of principles, by the "leader of the Russian constitutionalists" (as Mr. Struve was recently described by so influential an organ of the European bourgeoisie as *Frankfurter Zeitung*[29]) or the leader of the Russian progressive bourgeoisie. He does not share the opinion that an insurrection is inevitable. Secret activity and rioting are the specific methods of unreasonable revolutionism. Republicanism is the method of stunning. An insurrection is really a mere technical question, whereas "the fundamental and most necessary task" is to carry on mass propaganda and to prepare the socio-psychological conditions.

Presentation three. The resolution of the new-*Iskra* Conference. Our task is to prepare an insurrection. A planned insurrection is out of the question. Favourable conditions for an insurrection are created by the disorganisation of the government, by our agitation, and by our organisation. Only then "can technical combat preparations acquire more or less serious significance".

Is that all? Yes, that is all. Whether insurrection has become necessary is something the new-*Iskra* leaders of the proletariat do not yet know. Whether the task of organising the proletariat for the immediate struggle is an urgent one is not yet clear to them. It is not necessary to urge the adoption of the most energetic measures; it is far more important (in 1905, and not in 1902) to explain in general outline under what conditions these measures "may" acquire "more or less serious" significance....

Do you see now, comrades of the new *Iskra*, where your turn to Martynovism has led you? Do you realise that your political philosophy has proved a rehash of the *Osvobozhdeniye* philosophy?—that (against your will, and without your being aware of it) you are following in the wake of the monarchist

bourgeoisie? Is it now clear to you that, while repeating stale truths and perfecting yourselves in sophistry, you have lost sight of the fact that—in the memorable words of Pyotr Struve's memorable article—"the open nature of revolutionary *action* is now one of the most important conditions for exerting an educational influence upon the mass of the people"?

9. WHAT IS MEANT BY BEING A PARTY OF EXTREME OPPOSITION IN TIME OF REVOLUTION?

Let us return to the resolution on a provisional government. We have shown that new-Iskrist tactics does not push the revolution forward—the possibility of which they would like to ensure by their resolution—but pull it back. We have shown that it is precisely this tactics that *ties the hands* of Social-Democracy in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeoisie and does not prevent its being dissolved in bourgeois democracy. The false premises of the resolution naturally lead to the following false conclusion: "Therefore, Social-Democracy must not set itself the aim of seizing or sharing power in the provisional government, but must remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition." Consider the first half of this conclusion, which contains a statement of aims. Do the new-Iskrists declare that the revolution's decisive victory over tsarism is the aim of Social-Democratic activity? They do. They are unable correctly to formulate the conditions of a decisive victory, and lapse into the *Osvobozhdeniye* formulation, but they do set themselves this aim. Further, do they associate a provisional government with insurrection? Yes, they do so directly by stating that a provisional government "will emerge from a victorious popular insurrection". Finally, do they set themselves the aim of guiding the insurrection? Yes, they do. Like Mr. Struve they evade the admission that an insurrection is an urgent necessity, but at the same time, unlike Mr. Struve, they say that "Social-Democracy strives to *subordinate* it (the insurrection) to its influence and *leadership* and to use it in the interests of the working class".

How nicely this hangs together, does it not? We set ourselves the *aim* of subordinating the insurrection of both the

proletarian and *non-proletarian* masses to our influence and our leadership, and of using it in our interests. Hence, we set ourselves the aim of leading, in the insurrection both the proletariat, and the revolutionary bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie ("the non-proletarian groups"), i.e., of "*sharing*" the leadership of the insurrection between the Social-Democracy and the revolutionary bourgeoisie. We set ourselves the aim of securing *victory* for the insurrection, which is to lead to the establishment of a provisional government ("which will emerge from a victorious popular insurrection"). *Therefore* ... therefore we must not set ourselves the aim of seizing power or of sharing it in a provisional revolutionary government!!

Our friends cannot make their arguments dovetail. They vacillate between the standpoint of Mr. Struve, who evades the issue of an insurrection, and the standpoint of revolutionary Social-Democracy, which calls upon us to undertake this urgent task. They vacillate between anarchism, which on principle condemns all participation in a provisional revolutionary government as betrayal of the proletariat, and Marxism, which demands such participation, given Social-Democracy's guiding influence in the insurrection.* They have no independent stand whatever: neither that of Mr. Struve, who wants to come to terms with tsarism and is, therefore, compelled to resort to evasions and subterfuges on the question of insurrection, nor that of the anarchists, who condemn all action "from above" and all participation in a bourgeois revolution. The new-*Iskra* group confuses a deal with tsarism and a victory over the latter. They want to take part in a bourgeois revolution. They have gone somewhat beyond Martynov's *Two Dictatorships*. They even consent to lead an insurrection of the people—in order to renounce that leadership immediately after victory is won (or, perhaps, immediately before the victory?), i.e., *in order not to avail themselves of the fruits of victory*, but to turn all these fruits over *entirely to the bourgeoisie*. This is what they call "using the insurrection in the interests of the working class...".

* See *Proletary*, No. 3, "On the Provisional Revolutionary Government", article two, 1905. (See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 474-81.—*Ed.*)

There is no need to dwell on this muddle any longer. It will be more useful to examine how this muddle *originated* in the formulation which reads: "remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition".

This is one of the familiar propositions of international revolutionary Social-Democracy. It is a perfectly correct proposition. It has become a common place to all opponents of revisionism or opportunism in parliamentary countries. It has become generally accepted as the legitimate and necessary rebuff to "parliamentary cretinism", to Millerandism, Bernsteinism,[30] and Italian reformism of the Turati brand. Our good new-Iskrists have learned this excellent proposition by heart and are zealously applying it ... *quite inappropriately*. Categories of the parliamentary struggle are introduced into resolutions written for conditions in which no parliament exists. The concept "opposition', which is the reflection and the expression of a political situation in which no one seriously speaks of an *insurrection*, is meaninglessly applied to a situation in which insurrection *has begun* and in which all supporters of revolution are thinking and talking about leadership in it. The desire to "*remain*" with the old methods, i.e., action only "from below", is voiced with pomp and clamour *precisely at a time* when the revolution has confronted us with the necessity, in the event of a victorious insurrection, of acting *from above*.

No, our new-*Iskra* group is decidedly out of luck! Even when they formulate a correct Social-Democratic proposition they do not know how to apply it correctly. They have failed to understand that when the revolution gets under way, and there are civil war and insurrectionary outbursts, but still no parliament, terms and concepts of parliamentary struggle undergo a transformation and turn into their opposites. They do not realise that in the conditions under examination amendments are introduced by means of street demonstrations, interpellations are made by means of offensive action by armed citizens, and opposition to the government is effected by the forcible overthrow of that government.

Just as the well-known hero of our folk epos repeated good advice when it was out of place, our admirers of Martynov repeat the lessons of peaceful parliamentarianism at a time when, as they themselves state, actual hostilities have begun.

There is nothing more ridiculous than this pompous advancement of the slogan of "extreme opposition" in a resolution which begins by referring to a "decisive victory of the revolution" and to a "popular insurrection"! Try to conceive, gentlemen, what it means to be the "extreme opposition" in a period of insurrection. Does it mean exposing the government, or deposing it? Does it mean voting against the government, or defeating its armed forces in open battle? Does it mean refusing to replenish the government's exchequer, or the revolutionary seizure of that exchequer for the needs of the uprising, to arm the workers and peasants, and to convoke a constituent assembly? Are you not beginning to understand, gentlemen, that the term "extreme opposition" expresses only negative actions—exposing, voting against, refusing? Why is that so? Because this term applies only to the parliamentary struggle and, moreover, in a period when no one makes "decisive victory" the immediate object of the struggle. Are you not beginning to understand that things change cardinally in this respect, from the moment the politically oppressed people launch a determined attack along the whole front in desperate struggle for victory?

The workers ask us: Must the urgent business of insurrection be energetically begun? What is to be done to make the incipient insurrection victorious? What use should be made of victory? What programme can and should then be implemented? The new-Iskrists, who are making Marxism more profound, answer: we must remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition.... Well, were we not right in calling these knights past masters of philistinism?

10. "REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNES" AND THE REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTRY

The Conference of the new-*Iskra* group did not keep to the anarchist stand into which the new *Iskra* had talked itself (action only "from below", not "from below and from above"). The absurdity of admitting the possibility of an insurrection and not admitting the possibility of victory and participation in a provisional revolutionary government was too glaring. The resolution, therefore, introduced certain

reservations and restrictions into the Martynov-Martov solution of the question. Let us consider these reservations, as stated in the following section of the resolution:

"This tactic" ("to remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition") "does not, of course, in any way exclude the expediency of a partial and episodic seizure of power and the establishment of revolutionary communes in one city or another, or in one district or another, exclusively for the purpose of helping to spread the insurrection and of disrupting the government."

If that is the case, it means the admission in principle of action not only from below, but also from above. It means that the proposition laid down in L. Martov's well-known *feuilleton* in *Iskra* (No. 93) is discarded, and that the tactics of *Vperyod*, i.e., not only "from below", but also "from above", is acknowledged as correct.

Further, the seizure of power (even if partial, episodic, etc.) obviously presupposes participation not only of Social-Democrats, and not only of the proletariat. This follows from the fact that it is not the proletariat alone that is interested and takes an active part in a democratic revolution. It follows from the insurrection being a "popular" one, as is stated at the beginning of the resolution under examination, with "non-proletarian groups" (the words used in the Conference resolution on the uprising), i.e., the bourgeoisie, also taking part in it. Hence, the principle that any participation of socialists in a provisional revolutionary government jointly with the petty bourgeoisie is betrayal of the working class *was thrown overboard by the Conference*, which is what *Vperyod* sought to achieve. "Betrayal" does not cease to be betrayal because the action constituting it is partial, episodic, local, etc. Hence, the idea that participation in a provisional revolutionary government is tantamount to vulgar Jaurèsism *was thrown overboard* by the Conference, which is what *Vperyod* sought to achieve.[31] A government does not cease to be a government because its power extends not to many cities but to a single city, not to many districts but to a single district, or because of the name it bears. Thus, *the theoretical presentation of this question*, as attempted by the new *Iskra*, *was discarded by the Conference.*

Let us see whether the restrictions the Conference imposed on the formation of revolutionary governments and on participation in them, which are now admitted in principle, are reasonable. We are not aware of the distinction between "episodic" and "provisional".* We are afraid that the former word, which is "new" and foreign, is merely a screen for lack of clear thinking. It *seems* "more profound", but actually it is only more obscure and confused. What is the difference between the "expediency" of a partial "seizure of power" in a city or district, and participation in a provisional revolutionary government of the entire state? Do not "cities" include a city like St. Petersburg where the events of January 9 took place? Do not districts include the Caucasus, which is bigger than many a state? Will not the problems (which at one time embarrassed the new *Iskra*) of what to do with the prisons, the police, the treasury, etc., confront us the moment we "seize power" even in a single city, let alone in a district? No one will deny, of course, that if we lack sufficient forces, if the insurrection is not wholly successful, or if the victory is indecisive, provisional revolutionary governments may possibly be set up in individual localities, in individual cities and the like. But what has all that got to do with the point at issue, gentlemen? Do not you yourselves, in the beginning of the resolution, speak of a "decisive victory of the revolution", a "victorious popular insurrection"?? Since when have Social-Democrats taken over the job of the anarchists: splitting the attention and the aims of the proletariat, and directing its attention to the "partial", instead of the general, the single, the integral, and the complete? While presupposing "seizure of power" in a city, you yourselves speak of "extending the insurrection"—to another city, may we venture to think?—to all cities, may we dare to hope? Your conclusions, gentlemen, are as unsound and haphazard, as contradictory and confused, as your premises. The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. gave an exhaustive and clear answer to the question of a provisional revolutionary government in general. This answer covers all cases of local provisional governments as

* The first word was in scholarly use at the time, while the second was, and still is, colloquial Russian.—*Tr.*

well. However, by artificially and arbitrarily isolating a *part* of the question, the Conference's answer merely *evades* the issue as a whole (and that unsuccessfully), and creates confusion.

What is meant by "revolutionary communes"? Does this concept differ from "a provisional revolutionary government", and, if so, in what respect? The gentlemen of the Conference do not know themselves. Confusion of revolutionary thought leads them, as very often happens, to *revolutionary phrase-mongering*. Indeed, the use of the words "revolutionary commune" in a resolution passed by representatives of Social-Democracy is revolutionary phrase-mongering and nothing else. Marx often condemned such phrase-mongering in which some "charming" terms from the *outworn past* are used to conceal the tasks of the future. In such cases the charm of a term which has already played its part in history becomes so much useless and harmful tinsel, a child's rattle. We must give the workers and the whole people a clear and unambiguous notion as to *why* we want a provisional revolutionary government to be set up, and *exactly what changes* we shall bring about if we exercise decisive influence on the government on the very day following the victory of the popular insurrection which has already commenced. These are questions confronting political leaders.

The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. replied to these questions with absolute clarity, and drew up a complete programme of these changes—our Party's minimum programme. The word "commune", however, gives no answer at all; it only confuses people's minds with the distant echo of a sonorous phrase or empty rhetoric. The more we cherish, for instance, the memory of the Paris Commune of 1871, the less permissible is it to refer to it offhand, without analysing its mistakes and the special conditions attending it. To do so would mean repeating the absurd example of the Blanquists—whom Engels ridiculed—who (in 1874, in their "Manifesto") paid homage to every act of the Commune.[32] What reply will a conferee give to a worker who asks him about *this* "revolutionary commune", the one that is mentioned in the resolution? He will only be able to tell him that this is the name by which a certain workers' government is known in history, a government that was unable, and could

not at that time, distinguish between the elements of a democratic revolution and a socialist revolution, a government that confused the tasks of fighting for a republic with those of fighting for socialism, was unable to launch an energetic military offensive against Versailles, made a mistake in failing to seize the Bank of France, etc. In short, whether in your answer you refer to the Paris Commune or to some other commune, your answer will be: it was a government *such as ours should not be*. A fine answer, indeed! Does it not testify to pedantic moralising and impotence on the part of a revolutionary, when a resolution says nothing about the practical programme of the Party and inappropriately begins giving lessons from history? Does this not reveal the very mistake we have unsuccessfully been accused of, i.e., confusing a democratic revolution with a socialist revolution, between which none of the "communes" was able to distinguish?

Extending the insurrection and disorganising the government are presented as the "exclusive" aim of a provisional government (so inappropriately termed a "commune"). Taken in its literal sense, the word "exclusive" eliminates all other aims; it is an echo of the absurd theory of "only from below". Such elimination of other aims is another instance of short-sightedness and lack of reflection. A "revolutionary commune", i.e., a revolutionary government, even if only in a single city, will inevitably have to administer (even if provisionally, "partly, episodically") *all* affairs of state and it is the height of folly to hide one's head under one's wing and refuse to see this. This government will have to enact an eight-hour working day, establish workers' inspection of factories, institute free universal education, introduce the election of judges, set up peasant committees, etc.; in a word, it will certainly have to carry out a number of reforms. To designate these reforms as "helping to spread the insurrection" would be playing with words and deliberately causing greater confusion in a matter that calls for absolute clarity.

The concluding part of the new-*Iskra* Conference resolution provides no fresh material for a criticism of basic

Economist trends that have been revived in our Party, but it does illustrate, from a somewhat different angle, what has been said above.

Here is that concluding part:

"Only in one event should Social-Democracy on its own initiative direct its efforts towards seizing power and holding it as long as possible—namely, in the event of the revolution spreading to the advanced countries of Western Europe, where conditions for the achievement of socialism have already reached a certain [?] degree of maturity. In that event the limited historical scope of the Russian revolution can be considerably widened and the possibility will arise of entering on the path of socialist reforms.

"By basing its tactics on the expectation that during the entire revolutionary period the Social-Democratic Party will retain its stand of extreme revolutionary opposition to all governments that may succeed one another in the course of the revolution, Social-Democracy will best be able to prepare itself to utilise governmental power if it falls [??] into its hands."

The basic idea here is the one repeatedly formulated by *Vperyod*, which has stated that we must not be afraid (as Martynov is) of Social-Democracy's complete victory in a democratic revolution, i.e., of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, for such a victory will enable us to rouse Europe; after throwing off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, the socialist proletariat of Europe will in its turn help us to accomplish the socialist revolution. But see how the new-*Iskra* rendering impairs this idea. We shall not dwell on details; on the absurd assumption that power could "fall" into the hands of a class-conscious party which considers seizure of power harmful tactics; on the fact that in Europe the conditions for socialism have reached not a certain degree of maturity, but maturity in general; on the fact that our Party programme knows no socialist reforms, but only the socialist revolution. Let us take the principal and basic difference between *Vperyod*'s idea and the one presented in the resolution. *Vperyod* set the revolutionary proletariat of Russia an active task: winning the battle for democracy and using this victory to bring the revolution into Europe. The resolution fails to grasp this link

between our "decisive victory" (not in the new-*Iskra* sense) and the revolution in Europe, and, therefore, it does not speak of the tasks of the proletariat or the prospects of the *latter*'s victory, but of one of the possibilities in general: "in the event of the revolution spreading...." *Vperyod* pointedly and definitely indicated—and this was incorporated in the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party—how "governmental power" can and must "be utilised" in the interests of the proletariat, bearing in mind what can be achieved immediately, at a given stage of social development, and what must first be achieved as a democratic prerequisite of the struggle for socialism. Here, too, the resolution lags hopelessly behind when it states: "will be able to prepare itself to utilise", but fails to say *how* it will be able, *how* it will prepare itself, and to utilise *for what purpose*. We have no doubt, for instance, that the new-Iskrists may be "able to prepare themselves to utilise" their leading position in the Party, but the point is that so far their experience of that utilisation, their preparation, does not hold out much hope of possibility becoming reality....

Vperyod stated quite definitely wherein lies the real "possibility of retaining power"—namely, in the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry; in their joint mass strength, which is capable of outweighing all the forces of counter-revolution; in the inevitable concurrence of their interests in *democratic* reforms. Here, too, the resolution of the Conference gives us nothing positive; it merely evades the issue. Surely, the possibility of retaining power in Russia must be determined by the composition of the social forces in Russia herself, by the circumstances of the democratic revolution now taking place in our country. A victory of the proletariat in Europe (it is still quite a far cry from bringing the revolution into Europe to the victory of the proletariat) will give rise to a desperate counter-revolutionary struggle on the part of the Russian bourgeoisie—yet the resolution of the new-Iskrists does not say a word about this counter-revolutionary force whose significance was appraised in the resolution of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Third Congress. If, in our fight for a republic and democracy, we could not rely upon the peasantry as well as upon the

proletariat, the prospect of our "retaining power" would be hopeless. But if it is not hopeless, if the "revolution's decisive victory over tsarism" opens up such a possibility, then we must indicate it, call actively for its transformation into reality, and issue practical slogans not only *for the contingency* of the revolution being brought into Europe, but also for the *purpose* of taking it there. The reference made by tail-ist Social-Democrats to the "limited historical scope of the Russian revolution" merely serves to cover up their limited understanding of the aims of this democratic revolution, and of the proletariat's leading role in it!

One of the objections raised to the slogan of "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" is that dictatorship presupposes a "single will" (*Iskra*, No. 95), and that there can be no single will of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. This objection is unsound, for it is based on an abstract, "metaphysical" interpretation of the term "single will". There may be a single will in one respect and not in another. The absence of unity on questions of socialism and in the struggle for socialism does not preclude singleness of will on questions of democracy and in the struggle for a republic. To forget this would be tantamount to forgetting the logical and historical difference between a democratic revolution and a socialist revolution. To forget this would be tantamount to forgetting the character of the democratic revolution as one *of the whole people*: if it is "of the whole people", that means that there is "singleness of will" precisely in so far as this revolution meets the needs and requirements of the whole people. Beyond the bounds of democratism there can be no question of the proletariat and the peasant bourgeoisie having a single will. Class struggle between them is inevitable, but it is in a democratic republic that this struggle will be the most thoroughgoing and widespread struggle of the people *for socialism*. Like everything else in the world, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy, serfdom, monarchy, and privilege. In the struggle against this past, in the struggle against counter-revolution, a "single will" of the proletariat and the peasantry is possible, for here there is unity of interests.

Its future is the struggle against private property, the struggle of the wage-worker against the employer, the struggle for socialism. Here singleness of will is impossible.* Here the path before us lies not from autocracy to a republic, but from a petty-bourgeois democratic republic to socialism.

Of course, in actual historical circumstances, the elements of the past become interwoven with those of the future; the two paths cross. Wage-labour with its struggle against private property exists under the autocracy as well; it arises even under serfdom. But this does not in the least prevent us from logically and historically distinguishing between the major stages of development. We all contrapose bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution; we all insist on the absolute necessity of strictly distinguishing between them; however, can it be denied that in the course of history individual, particular elements of the two revolutions become interwoven? Has the period of democratic revolutions in Europe not been familiar with a number of socialist movements and attempts to establish socialism? And will not the future socialist revolution in Europe still have to complete a great deal left undone in the field of democratism?

A Social-Democrat must never for a moment forget that the proletariat will inevitably have to wage a class struggle for socialism even against the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. This is beyond doubt. Hence, the absolute necessity of a separate, independent, strictly class party of Social-Democracy. Hence, the temporary nature of our tactics of "striking a joint blow" with the bourgeoisie and the duty of keeping a strict watch "over our ally, as over an enemy", etc. All this also leaves no room for doubt. However, it would be ridiculous and reactionary to deduce from this that we must forget, ignore, or neglect tasks which, although transient and temporary, are vital at the

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* The development of capitalism, more extensive and rapid in conditions of liberty, will inevitably soon put an end to singleness of will; that will take place the sooner, the earlier counter-revolution and reaction are crushed.

present time. The struggle against the autocracy is a temporary and transient task for socialists, but to ignore or neglect this task in any way amounts to betrayal of socialism and service to reaction. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is unquestionably only a transient, temporary socialist aim, but to ignore this aim in the period of a democratic revolution would be downright reactionary.

Concrete political aims must be set in concrete circumstances. All things are relative, all things flow, and all things change. German Social-Democracy does not put into its programme the demand for a republic. The situation in Germany is such that this question can in practice hardly be separated from that of socialism (although with regard to Germany too, Engels in his comments on the draft of the Erfurt Programme in 1891 warned against belittling the importance of a republic and of the struggle for a republic!).[33] In Russian Social-Democracy the question of eliminating the demand for a republic from its programme and its agitation has never even arisen, for in our country there can be no talk of an indissoluble link between the question of a republic and that of socialism. It was quite natural for a German Social-Democrat of 1898 not to place special emphasis on the question of a republic, and this evokes neither surprise nor condemnation. But in 1848 a German Social-Democrat who would have relegated to the background the question of a republic would have been a downright traitor to the revolution. There is no such thing as abstract truth. Truth is always concrete.

The time will come when the struggle against the Russian autocracy will end, and the period of democratic revolution will have passed in Russia; it will then be ridiculous even to speak of "singleness of will" of the proletariat and the peasantry, about a democratic dictatorship, etc. When that time comes we shall deal directly with the question of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat and speak of it in greater detail. At present the party of the advanced class cannot but strive most energetically for the democratic revolution's decisive victory over tsarism. And a decisive victory means nothing else than the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Note[34]

1) We would remind the reader that in the polemic between *Iskra* and *Vperyod*, the former referred, among other things, to Engels's letter to Turati, in which Engels warned the (future) leader of the Italian reformists against confusing the democratic revolution with the socialist.[35] The impending revolution in Italy, Engels wrote about the political situation in Italy in 1894, would be a petty-bourgeois, democratic and not a socialist revolution. *Iskra* reproached *Vperyod* with having departed from the principle laid down by Engels. This reproach was unjustified, because, on the whole, *Vperyod* (No. 14)* fully acknowledged the correctness of Marx's theory of the distinction between the three main forces in nineteenth-century revolutions. According to this theory, the following forces take a stand against the old order, against the autocracy, feudalism, and the serf-owning system: 1) the liberal big bourgeoisie, 2) the radical petty bourgeoisie, 3) the proletariat. The first fights for nothing more than a constitutional monarchy; the second, for a democratic republic; the third, for a socialist revolution. To confuse the petty bourgeoisie's struggle for a complete democratic revolution with the proletariat's struggle for a socialist revolution threatens the socialist with political bankruptcy. Marx's warning to this effect is quite justified. It is, however, precisely for this very reason that the slogan of "revolutionary communes" is erroneous, because the very mistake made by the communes known to history was that of confusing the democratic revolution with the socialist revolution. On the other hand, our slogan—a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry—fully safeguards us against this mistake. While recognising the incontestably bourgeois nature of a revolution incapable of *directly* overstepping the bounds of a mere democratic revolution our slogan *advances* this particular revolution and strives to give it forms most advantageous to the proletariat; consequently, it strives to make the utmost of the democratic revolution in order to attain the greatest success in the proletariat's further struggle for socialism.

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* "Social-Democracy and the Provisional Revolutionary Government", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 275-92.—*Ed.*

11. A CURSORY COMPARISON BETWEEN SEVERAL OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. AND THOSE OF THE "CONFERENCE"

The question of the provisional revolutionary government is at present the pivotal tactical question of the Social-Democratic movement. It is neither possible nor necessary to dwell in similar detail on the other resolutions of the Conference. We shall confine ourselves merely to referring briefly to several points which confirm the difference in principle, analysed above, between the tactical trend in the resolutions of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and that in the Conference resolutions.

Take the question of the attitude towards the government's tactics on the eve of revolution. Once again you will find a comprehensive answer to this question in a resolution of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. This resolution takes into account all the multifarious conditions and tasks of the particular moment: exposure of the hypocrisy of the government's concessions; utilisation of "travesties of popular representation"; the revolutionary realisation of the working class's urgent demands (the principal one being the eight-hour working day), and, finally, resistance to the Black Hundreds. In the Conference resolutions this question is dealt with piecemeal in several sections: "resistance to the evil forces of reaction" is mentioned only in the preamble to the resolution on the attitude towards other parties. Participation in elections to representative bodies is considered apart from tsarism's "compromises" with the bourgeoisie. Instead of calling for the achievement of an eight-hour working day by revolutionary means a special resolution with the pretentious title "On the Economic Struggle" merely repeats (after high-flown and very stupid phrases about "the central place occupied by the labour question in Russian public life") the old slogan of campaigning for "the legislative institution of an eight-hour day". The inadequacy and the belatedness of this slogan at the present time are too obvious to require proof.

The question of open political action. The Third Congress takes into consideration the impending *radical* change in our activities. Secret activities and the development of

the underground organisation must on no account be abandoned: this would be playing into the hands of the police and be of the utmost advantage to the government. But at the same time we must give thought to open action as well. Expedient forms of such action and, consequently, special bodies—less secret—must be *prepared* immediately for this purpose. Legal and semi-legal associations must be made use of with a view to transforming them, as far as possible, into bases for the future open Social-Democratic Labour Party in Russia.

Here, too, the Conference splits up the issue and fails to bring forward any integral slogans. What strikes the eye is the ridiculous instruction to the Organising Committee to see to the "placement" of legally functioning publicists. Then there is the totally absurd decision "to subordinate to our influence the democratic newspapers that set themselves the aim of rendering assistance to the working-class movement". This is the professed aim of all our legal liberal newspapers, nearly all of which are of the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend. Why should not the *Iskra* Editorial Board themselves make a start in carrying out their advice and give us an example of how to subordinate *Osvobozhdeniye* to Social-Democratic influence? Instead of the slogan of utilising legally existing associations so as to establish bases for the *Party*, we are given, first, a particular piece of advice about "trade" unions only (Party members must be active in them), and, secondly, advice to guide "the revolutionary organisations of the workers"="unofficially constituted organisations"="revolutionary workers' clubs". How these "clubs" have come to be classed as unofficially constituted organisations, and what these "clubs" really are—goodness only knows. Instead of definite and clear instructions from a supreme Party body we have some thoughts jotted down at random and some rough drafts made by men of letters. There is no complete picture of the beginning of the Party's transition to an entirely new basis in all its work.

The "peasant question" was presented in entirely different ways by the Party Congress and the Conference. The Congress drew up a resolution on the "attitude to the peasant movement"; the Conference—on "work among the peasants". In the one case prominence is given to the task of

guiding the entire revolutionary-democratic movement in the general national interests of the struggle against tsarism. In the other case the question is reduced to mere "work" among a particular section of society. In the one case a central practical slogan for our agitation is advanced calling for the immediate organisation of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry out all democratic changes. In the other, a "demand for the organisation of committees" is to be presented to a constituent assembly. Why should we wait for this constituent assembly? Will it really be constituent? Will it be stable without the preliminary and simultaneous establishment of revolutionary peasant committees? The Conference has lost sight of all these questions. Its decisions all reflect the general idea which we have been following up—namely, that in the bourgeois revolution we must do only our own special work, without pursuing the aim of guiding the entire democratic movement, and of conducting that movement independently. Just as the Economists were constantly falling into the fallacy that the economic struggle is for the Social-Democrats, while the political struggle is for the liberals, so the new-*Iskra* supporters, in all their reasonings, keep falling into the idea that we should modestly sit in a corner out of the way of the bourgeois revolution, with the bourgeoisie doing the active work of carrying out the revolution.

Finally, note must also be taken of the resolution on the attitude towards other parties. The resolution of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. speaks of exposing all limitedness and inadequacy in the bourgeois movement for emancipation, without entertaining the naïve idea of enumerating, from congress to congress, every possible instance of such limitedness, or of drawing a line of distinction between bad bourgeois and good bourgeois. Repeating the mistake made by Starover the Conference persistently searched for that line and developed the famous "litmus-paper" theory. Starover proceeded from a very good idea—that of presenting the severest possible conditions to the bourgeoisie. Only he forgot that any attempt to separate in advance bourgeois democrats that deserve approval, agreements, etc., from those that do not deserve them leads to a "formula" which is immediately scrapped by developments and intro-

duces confusion into proletarian class-consciousness. From real unity in the struggle the emphasis is shifted to declarations, promises, and slogans. Starover held that "universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and the secret ballot" was such a radical slogan. Hardly had two years elapsed when the "litmus-paper" proved its uselessness and the slogan of universal suffrage was taken over by the *Osvobozhdeniye* group, who thereby not only came no closer to Social-Democracy, but, on the contrary, tried by means of that very slogan to mislead the workers and divert them from socialism.

Now the new-Iskrists are presenting "conditions" that are even "severer". They are "demanding" from the enemies of tsarism "energetic and unequivocal [!?] support of every determined action by the organised proletariat", etc., up to, and including, "active participation in the self-arming of the people". The line has been carried much further—but nevertheless this line is *again already obsolete*, at once revealing its uselessness. Why, for instance, is there no slogan for a republic? How is it that the Social-Democrats—in the interests of "relentless revolutionary war against all the foundations of the system of social estates and the monarchy" —"demand" from the bourgeois democrats anything you like except the struggle for a republic?

That this question is not mere captiousness, that the new-Iskrists' mistake is of vital political significance is proved by the Russian Liberation Union (see *Proletary*, No. 4).* These "enemies of tsarism" will meet in full all the "requirements" of the new-*Iskra* supporters. And yet we have shown that the *Osvobozhdeniye* spirit reigns in the programme (or lack of programme) of this Russian Liberation Union, and that the *Osvobozhdeniye* group can easily take it in tow. However, in the concluding section of the resolution the

* *Proletary*, No. 4, which appeared on June 4, 1905, contained a lengthy article entitled "A New Revolutionary Workers' Association", (see present, edition, Vol. 8, pp. 499-510.—*Ed.*). The article gives the contents of the appeals issued by this union, which assumed the name of the "Russian Liberation Union" and set itself the aim of convening a constituent assembly with the aid of an insurrection. Further, the article defines the attitude of Social-Democrats to such non-party unions. In what measure this union really existed and what its fate was in the revolution is absolutely unknown to us. (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

Conference declares that "Social-Democracy will continue to oppose, as *hypocritical friends of the people*, all those political parties which, though they display a liberal and democratic banner, refuse to render genuine support to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat". The Russian Liberation Union not only does not withhold this support, but offers it most insistently. Is that a guarantee that the leaders of this union are not "hypocritical friends of the people", even though they are "liberationists".

You see: by inventing "conditions" in advance, and presenting "demands" that are ludicrous by reason of their redoubtable impotence, the new-Iskrists immediately put themselves in a ridiculous position. Their conditions and demands immediately prove inadequate when it comes to an appraisal of living realities. Their chase after formulas is hopeless, for no formula can embrace all the various manifestations of hypocrisy, inconsistency, and narrow-mindedness displayed by the bourgeois democrats. It is not a question of "litmus-paper", forms, or written and printed demands, nor is it a question of drawing, in advance, a line of distinction between hypocritical and sincere "friends of the people"; it is a question of real unity in the struggle, of the Social-Democrats unabatingly criticising every "uncertain" step taken by bourgeois democracy. What is needed for "genuine consolidation of all the social forces interested in democratic change" is not the "points" over which the Conference laboured so assiduously and so vainly, but the ability to put forward genuinely revolutionary slogans. For this slogans are needed that will raise the revolutionary and republican bourgeoisie to the level of the proletariat, and not lower the aims of the proletariat to the level of the monarchist bourgeoisie. What is needed for this is the most energetic participation in the insurrection, not sophistical evasion of the urgent task of an insurrection.

12. WILL THE SWEEP OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION BE DIMINISHED IF THE BOURGEOISIE RECOILS FROM IT?

The foregoing lines were already written when a copy came to hand of the resolutions adopted by the Caucasian Conference of the new-Iskrists, and published by *Iskra*. Even if

we tried we could not invent anything better *pour la bonne bouche* (as a titbit).

The editors of *Iskra* remark with full justice: "On the fundamental question of tactics the Caucasian Conference also arrived at a decision *analogous*" (in truth!) "to that adopted by the All-Russia Conference" (i.e., of the new-*Iskra* group). "The question of Social-Democracy's attitude towards a provisional revolutionary government has been settled by the Caucasian Comrades in the spirit of most outspoken opposition to the new method advocated by the *Vperyod* group and the delegates of the so-called Congress who joined it." "It must be admitted that the formulation of the proletarian party's tactics in a bourgeois revolution, as given by the Conference, is *most apt*."

What is true is true. No one could have given a more "apt" formulation of the fundamental error of the new-*Iskra* group. We shall quote this formulation in full, first mentioning parenthetically the blossoms, and then, at the end, the fruit.

Here is the resolution on a provisional government adopted by the Caucasian Conference of new-*Iskra* supporters:

"Whereas we consider it to be our task to take advantage of the revolutionary situation so as to deepen [of course! They should have added: "*à la* Martynov!"] Social-Democratic consciousness in the proletariat [only to render the consciousness more profound, and not to win a republic? What a "profound" conception of revolution!] and in order to secure for the Party complete freedom to criticise the nascent bourgeois-state system [it is not our business to secure a republic! Our business is only to secure freedom of criticism. Anarchist ideas engender anarchist language: "bourgeois-state" system!], the Conference declares itself against the formation of a Social-Democratic provisional government, and entering such a government [recall the resolution passed by the Bakuninists ten months before the Spanish revolution and referred to by Engels: see *Proletary*, No. 3][36], and considers it to be the most expedient course to exercise pressure from without [from below and not from above] upon the bourgeois provisional government in order to secure a feasible measure [!?] of democratisation of the state system. The Conference believes that the formation of a provisional government by Social-Democrats, or their entering such a government

would lead, on the one hand, to the masses of the proletariat becoming disappointed in the Social-Democratic Party and abandoning it, because the Social-Democrats, despite the seizure of power, would not be able to satisfy the pressing needs of the working class, including the establishment of socialism [a republic is not a pressing need! The authors in their innocence do not notice that they are speaking purely anarchist language, as if they were repudiating participation in bourgeois revolutions!], and, on the other hand, *would cause the bourgeois classes to recoil from the revolution and thus diminish its sweep.*"

That is the crux of the matter. That is where anarchist ideas become interwoven (as is constantly the case among the West-European Bernsteinians too) with the sheerest opportunism. Just imagine: these people will not enter a provisional government because that would cause the bourgeoisie to recoil from the revolution, thereby diminishing the sweep of the revolution! Here, indeed, we have the new-*Iskra* philosophy as a whole, in a pure and consistent form: since the revolution is a bourgeois revolution, we must bow to bourgeois philistinism and make way for it. If we are even in part, even for a moment, guided by the consideration that our participation may cause the bourgeoisie to recoil, we thereby simply hand over leadership of the revolution entirely to the bourgeois classes. We thereby place the proletariat entirely under the tutelage of the bourgeoisie (while retaining complete "freedom of criticism"!!) compelling the proletariat to be moderate and meek, so that the bourgeoisie should not recoil. We emasculate the most vital needs of the proletariat, namely, its political needs—which the Economists and their imitators have never properly understood—so as not to make the bourgeoisie recoil. We go over completely from the platform of revolutionary struggle for the achievement of democracy to the extent required by the proletariat, to a platform of chaffering with the bourgeoisie, buying the bourgeoisie's voluntary consent ("so that it should not recoil") at the price of our principles, by betraying the revolution.

In two short lines, the Caucasian new-Iskrists managed to express the gist of the tactic of betraying revolution and

converting the proletariat into a wretched appendage of the bourgeois classes. That which we deduced above from the errors of the new-*Iskra* tendency we now see elevated to a clear and definite principle, viz., following in the wake of the monarchist bourgeoisie. Since the establishment of a republic would make the bourgeoisie recoil (and is already doing so—Mr. Struve is an example), down with the fight for a republic. Since every energetic and consistent democratic demand on the part of the proletariat makes the bourgeoisie recoil, always and everywhere in the world—hide in your lairs, working-men; act only from without; do not dream of using, in the interests of the revolution, the instruments and weapons of the "bourgeois-state" system; reserve for yourselves "freedom of criticism"!

The fundamental fallacy in their very conception of the term "bourgeois revolution" has come to the surface. The Martynov or new-*Iskra* "conception" of this term leads directly to the proletariat's cause being betrayed to the bourgeoisie.

Those who have forgotten the old Economism and do not study or remember it will find it difficult to understand the present resurgence of Economism. Call to mind the Bernsteinian *Credo*.[37] From "purely proletarian" views and programmes its authors drew the following conclusion: we Social-Democrats must concern ourselves with economics, with the real working-class cause, with freedom to criticise all political chicanery, with really rendering Social-Democratic work more profound. Politics are for the liberals. God save us from falling into "revolutionism": that will make the bourgeoisie recoil. Those who will re-read the whole *Credo* or the Separate Supplement to No. 9 of *Rabochaya Mysl* (September 1899)[38] will discern the entire course of this reasoning.

Today we have the same thing, only on a large scale, applied to an appraisal of the whole of the "great" Russian revolution—alas, vulgarised and reduced in advance to a travesty by the theoreticians of orthodox philistinism! We Social-Democrats must concern ourselves with freedom of criticism, with making class-consciousness more profound, with action from without. They, the bourgeois classes, must have freedom to act, a free field for revolutionary

(read: liberal) leadership, freedom to effect "reforms" from above.

These vulgarisers of Marxism have-never given thought to what Marx said about the need to replace the weapon of criticism by the criticism of weapons.[39] Taking the name of Marx in vain they, in actual fact, draw up resolutions on tactics wholly in the spirit of the Frankfort bourgeois windbags, who freely criticised absolutism and deepened democratic consciousness, but failed to understand that a time of revolution is a time of action, of action from both above and below. By turning Marxism into sophistry they have turned the ideology of the advanced, the most determined, and energetic revolutionary class into an ideology of its most backward strata, of those who shrink from difficult revolutionary-democratic tasks, and leave them to Messrs. the Struves to take care of.

If the bourgeois classes recoil from revolution because Social-Democrats enter a revolutionary government they will thereby "diminish the sweep" of the revolution.

Listen to that, Russian workers: the sweep of the revolution will be the mightier if it is effected by the Struves, who are not scared of the Social-Democrats, and do not want victory over tsarism, but want to come to terms with it. The sweep of the revolution will be mightier if the first of the two possible outcomes outlined above eventuates, i.e., if the monarchist bourgeoisie comes to terms with the autocracy on a "constitution" *à la* Shipov!

Social-Democrats, who write such disgraceful things in resolutions for the guidance of the whole Party, or who approve of such "apt" resolutions, are so blinded by sophistry, which has utterly driven the living spirit out of Marxism, that they fail to notice that these resolutions turn all their other fine words into empty phrases. Take any of their articles in *Iskra*, or even the notorious pamphlet written by our notorious Martynov—there you will read about a *popular* insurrection, about carrying the revolution to *completion*, about striving to rely upon the *common people* in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeoisie. However, all these excellent things become miserable phrases as soon as you accept or approve the idea that "the sweep of the revolution" will be "diminished" as a consequence of the bourgeoisie's

alienation. These are the alternatives, gentlemen: either we, together with the people, must strive to carry out the revolution and win complete victory over tsarism *despite* the inconsistent, self-seeking, and cowardly bourgeoisie, or else we do not accept this "despite", and are afraid that the bourgeoisie may "recoil" from the revolution; in the second case we are betraying the proletariat and the people to the bourgeoisie—the inconsistent, self-seeking, and cowardly bourgeoisie.

Don't take it into your heads to misinterpret my words. Don't shrill that you are being accused of deliberate treachery. No, you have always crawled towards the marsh, and have at last crawled into it, just as unconsciously as the Economists of old, who were irresistibly and irrevocably drawn down the inclined plane of "deeper" Marxism, until it at last became an anti-revolutionary, soulless, and lifeless intellectual pose.

Have you, gentlemen, ever given thought to real social forces that determine "the sweep of the revolution"? Let us disregard the foreign political forces, the international combinations, which have developed very favourably for us at the present time, but which we all leave out of the discussion, and rightly so, inasmuch as we are concerned with the question of Russia's internal forces. Examine these internal social forces. Aligned against the revolution are the autocracy, the imperial court, the police, the bureaucracy, the army, and a handful of the aristocracy. The deeper the indignation of the people grows, the less reliable the troops become, and the more the bureaucracy wavers. Moreover, the bourgeoisie, on the whole, is now in favour of revolution, zealously speechifying about liberty and holding forth more and more frequently in the name of the people and even in the name of the revolution.* But we Marxists all know from theory and from daily and hourly observation of our liberals, Zemstvo people, and *Osvobozhdeniye* supporters that the bourgeoisie is inconsistent, self-seeking, and cowardly in its support of the revolution. The bourgeoisie, in the mass, will inevitably turn towards counter-revolution,

* Of interest in this connection is Mr. Struve's open letter to Jaurès recently published by the latter in *l'Humanité*[40] and by Mr. Struve in *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 72.

towards the autocracy, against the revolution, and against the people, as soon as its narrow, selfish interests are met, as soon as it "recoils" from consistent democracy (*and it is already recoiling from it!*). There remains the "people", that is, the proletariat and the peasantry: the proletariat alone can be relied on to march on to the end, for it goes far beyond the democratic revolution. That is why the proletariat fights in the forefront for a republic and contemptuously rejects stupid and unworthy advice to take into account the possibility of the bourgeoisie recoiling. The peasantry includes a great number of semi-proletarian as well as petty-bourgeois elements. This makes it also unstable, compelling the proletariat to rally in a strictly class party. However, the instability of the peasantry differs radically from that of the bourgeoisie, for at present the peasantry is interested not so much in the absolute preservation of private property as in the confiscation of the landed estates, one of the principal forms of private property. Without thereby becoming socialist, or ceasing to be petty-bourgeois, the peasantry is capable of becoming a wholehearted and most radical adherent of the democratic revolution. The peasantry will inevitably become such if only the course of revolutionary events, which brings it enlightenment, is not prematurely cut short by the treachery of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of the proletariat. Subject to this condition the peasantry will inevitably become a bulwark of the revolution and the republic, for only a completely victorious revolution can give the peasantry *everything* in the sphere of agrarian reforms—*everything* that the peasants desire, dream of, and truly need (not for the abolition of capitalism as the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" imagine, but) in order to emerge from the mire of semi-serfdom, from the gloom of oppression and servitude, in order to improve their living conditions, as much as they can be improved within the system of commodity production.

Moreover, it is not only by the prospect of radical agrarian reform that the peasantry is attached to the revolution, but by all its general and permanent interests as well. Even when fighting with the proletariat, the peasantry stands in need of democracy, for only a democratic system is capable of accurately expressing its interests and ensuring its pre-

dominance as a mass, as the majority. The more enlightened the peasantry becomes (and since the war with Japan it is becoming enlightened at a pace unsuspected by many who are accustomed to measure enlightenment with the school yardstick), the more consistently and resolutely will it stand for a thoroughgoing democratic revolution; for, unlike the bourgeoisie, it has nothing to fear from the people's supremacy, but on the contrary stands to gain by it. A democratic republic will become the peasantry's ideal as soon as it begins to throw off its naïve monarchism, because the conscious monarchism of the bourgeois stockjobbers (with an upper chamber, etc.) implies for the peasantry the same absence of rights and the same oppression and ignorance as it suffers today, only slightly polished over with the varnish of European constitutionalism.

That is why, as a class, the bourgeoisie naturally and inevitably tends to come under the wing of the liberal-monarchist party, while the peasantry, in the mass, tends to come under the leadership of the revolutionary and republican party. That is why the bourgeoisie is incapable of carrying through the democratic revolution to its consummation, while the peasantry is capable of doing so, and we must exert all our efforts to help it do so.

The objection may be raised that this goes without saying, is all ABC, something that all Social-Democrats understand perfectly well. No, that is not the case; it is not understood by those who can talk about "the diminishing sweep" of the revolution as a consequence of the bourgeoisie falling away from it. Such people repeat the words of our agrarian programme, which they have learned by rote without understanding their meaning, for otherwise they would not be frightened by the concept of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which inevitably follows from the entire Marxist world outlook and from our programme; otherwise they would not restrict the sweep of the great Russian revolution to the limits to which the bourgeoisie is prepared to go. Such people defeat their abstract Marxist revolutionary phrases by their concrete anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary resolutions.

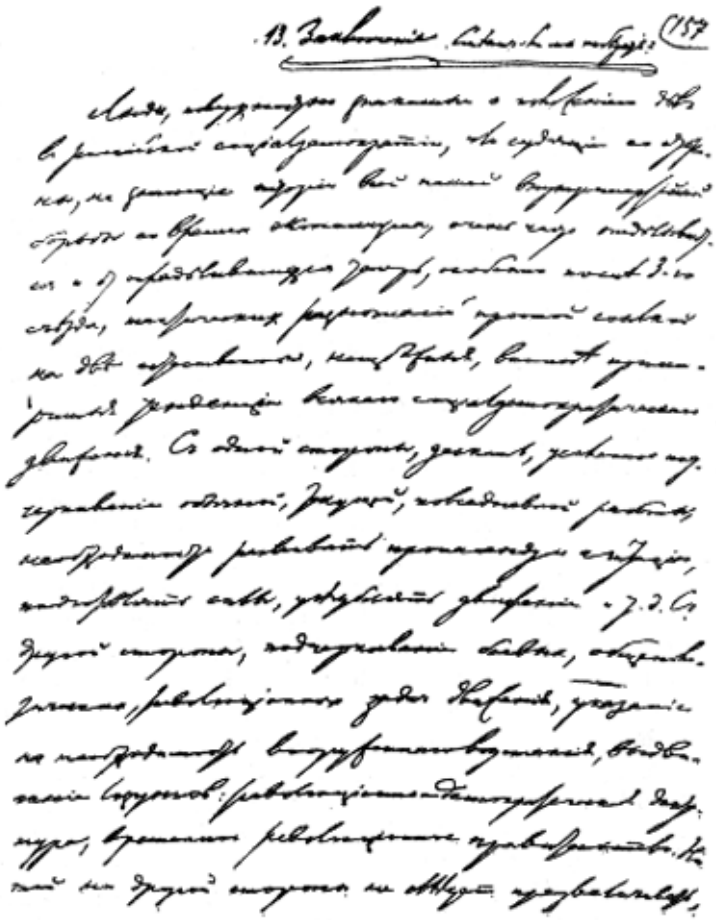
Those who really understand the role of the peasantry in a victorious Russian revolution would not dream of saying

that the sweep of the revolution will be diminished if the bourgeoisie recoils from it. For, in actual fact, the Russian revolution will begin to assume its real sweep, and will really assume the widest revolutionary sweep possible in the epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolution, only when the bourgeoisie recoils from it and when the masses of the peasantry come out as active revolutionaries side by side with the proletariat. To be consistently carried through to the end, our democratic revolution must rely on forces capable of paralysing the inevitable inconsistency of the bourgeoisie (i.e., capable precisely of "making it recoil from the revolution", which the Caucasian adherents of *Iskra* fear so much because of their thoughtlessness).

The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Such are the tasks of the proletariat, so narrowly presented by the new-*Iskra* group in all their arguments and resolutions on the sweep of the revolution.

One circumstance, however, should not be forgotten, one that is frequently lost sight of in discussions about the "sweep" of the revolution. It should not be forgotten that it is not a question of the difficulties presented by this problem, but the way in which its solution is to be sought and attained. It is not a question of whether it is easy or difficult to render the sweep of the revolution mighty and invincible, but of how to act so as to make that sweep more powerful. It is on the fundamental nature of our activities, the direction they should follow, that our views differ. We emphasise this because inattentive and unscrupulous people only too frequently confuse two different problems, viz., that of the direction to be followed, i.e., the choice of one of two different roads, and that of the ease of attaining our goal, or the nearness of its attainment along a given road.

In the foregoing we have not dealt with this last problem at all because it has not evoked any disagreement or differ-



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Reduced

ences in the Party. The problem itself is, of course, extremely important and deserving of the most serious attention from all Social-Democrats. It would be unforgivable optimism to forget the difficulties involved in drawing into the movement the masses not only of the working class, but also of the peasantry. These difficulties have more than once wrecked efforts to carry through a democratic revolution to completion, the inconsistent and self-seeking bourgeoisie triumphing most of all, because it has "made capital" in the shape of monarchist protection against the people, at the same time "preserving the virginity" of liberalism ... or of the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend. However, difficulty does not imply impossibility. The important thing is to be confident that the path chosen is the right one, this confidence multiplying a hundredfold revolutionary energy and revolutionary enthusiasm, which can perform miracles.

The depth of the rift among present-day Social-Democrats on the question of the path to be chosen can at once be seen by comparing the Caucasian resolution of the new-*Iskra* supporters with the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. The Congress resolution says: the bourgeoisie is inconsistent and will without fail try to deprive us of the gains of the revolution. Therefore, make more energetic preparations for the fight, comrades and workers! Arm yourselves, win the peasantry over to your side! We shall not, without a struggle, surrender our revolutionary gains to the self-seeking bourgeoisie. The resolution of the Caucasian new-*Iskra* supporters says: the bourgeoisie is inconsistent and may recoil from the revolution. Therefore, comrades and workers, please do not think of joining a provisional government, for, if you do, the bourgeoisie will certainly recoil, and the sweep of the revolution will thereby be diminished!

One side says: advance the revolution to its consummation despite resistance or passivity on the part of the inconsistent bourgeoisie.

The other side says: do not think of independently advancing the revolution to completion, for if you do, the inconsistent bourgeoisie will recoil from it.

Are these not two diametrically opposite paths? Is it not obvious that one set of tactics absolutely excludes the other,

that the first tactics is the only correct tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy, while the second is in fact purely *Osvobozhdeniye* tactics?

13. CONCLUSION. DARE WE WIN?

People who are superficially acquainted with the state of affairs in Russian Social-Democracy, or who judge as mere onlookers, with no knowledge of the whole history of our inner-Party struggle since the days of Economism, very often dismiss the disagreements on tactics which have now taken shape, especially after the Third Congress, with the simple argument that there are two natural, inevitable, and quite reconcilable trends in every Social-Democratic movement. One side, they say, lays special emphasis on the ordinary, current, and everyday work, on the necessity of developing propaganda and agitation, of preparing forces, deepening the movement, etc., while the other side lays emphasis on the militant, general political, revolutionary tasks of the movement, points to the necessity of insurrection, and advances the slogans of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship, and a provisional revolutionary government. Neither side should exaggerate, they say; extremes are bad in both cases (and, generally speaking, everywhere in the world), etc., etc.

The cheap truism of the pedestrian (and "political" in quotation marks) wisdom undoubtedly contained in such arguments, too often conceals an inability to understand the urgent and acute needs of the Party. Take the present-day tactical differences among Russian Social-Democrats. Of course, the special emphasis on the everyday, routine aspect of the work, such as we see in the new-*Iskra* arguments about tactics, could not of itself present any danger or give rise to any divergence of opinion regarding tactical slogans. But it is sufficient to compare the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party with the Conference resolutions for this divergence to become striking.

What, then, is the trouble? In the first place, it is not enough to speak in the abstract of two currents in the movement, and of the harmfulness of extremes. One must know concretely what ails a given movement at a given time, and

what constitutes the real political danger to the Party at the present time. Secondly, one must know what real political forces profit by the tactical slogans advanced—or perhaps by the absence of certain slogans. If one were to listen to the new-Iskrists one would arrive at the conclusion that the Social-Democratic Party is threatened with the danger of throwing overboard propaganda and agitation, the economic struggle, and criticism of bourgeois democracy, the danger of becoming inordinately absorbed in military preparations, armed attacks, the seizure of power, etc. Actually, however, real danger is threatening the Party from an entirely different quarter. Anyone who is at all familiar with the state of the movement, anyone who follows it carefully and thoughtfully, cannot fail to see the ridiculous aspect of the new-Iskrists' fears. The entire work of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has already taken definite and unvarying shape, which absolutely guarantees that our main attention will be fixed on propaganda and agitation, extemporaneous and mass meetings, the distribution of leaflets and pamphlets, assisting in the economic struggle and championing the slogans of that struggle. There is not a single Party committee, not a single district committee, not a single central delegates' meeting or a single factory group where ninety-nine per cent of all the attention, energy, and time is not always and invariably devoted to these functions, which have become firmly established ever since the middle of the nineties. Only those who are entirely unfamiliar with the movement do not know that. Only very naïve or ill-informed people will accept new *Iskra*'s repetition of stale truths at their face value, when that is done with an air of great importance.

The fact is that, far from displaying excessive zeal with regard to the tasks of insurrection, to general political slogans and to giving leadership to the entire popular revolution, we, on the contrary, display a most striking *backwardness* in this very respect, a backwardness which constitutes our greatest weakness and is a real danger to the movement, which may degenerate, and in some places is degenerating, from one that is revolutionary in deed into one that is revolutionary in word. Among the many, many hundreds of organisations, groups, and circles that are conducting the work of the Party you will not find one which has not, since its

very inception, conducted the kind of day-by-day work the new-*Iskra* wiseacres now talk of with the air of people who have discovered new truths. On the other hand, you will find only an insignificant percentage of groups and circles that have understood the tasks an insurrection entails, have begun to carry them out, and have realised the necessity of leading the entire popular revolution against tsarism, the necessity of advancing certain definite progressive slogans and no other, for that purpose.

We have incredibly fallen behind our progressive and genuinely revolutionary tasks; in very many instances we have not even become aware of them; here and there we have failed to notice that revolutionary bourgeois democracy has gained strength owing to our backwardness in this respect. But, with their backs turned to the course of events and the requirements of the times, the new-*Iskra* writers keep insistently repeating: "Don't forget the old! Don't let yourselves be carried away by the new!" This is the unvarying *leit-motiv* in all the important resolutions of the Conference; whereas in the Congress resolutions you just as unvaryingly read: while confirming the old (but not stopping to masticate it over and over again precisely because it is old and has already been settled and recorded in literature, in resolutions and by experience), we bring forward a new task, draw attention to it, issue a new slogan, and demand that genuinely revolutionary Social-Democrats immediately set to work to put it into effect.

That is how matters really stand with regard to the question of the two trends in Social-Democratic tactics. The revolutionary period has presented new tasks, which only the totally blind can fail to see. Some Social-Democrats unhesitatingly recognise these tasks and place them on the order of the day, declaring: the armed uprising brooks no delay; prepare yourselves for it immediately and energetically; remember that it is indispensable for a decisive victory; bring forward slogans for a republic, for a provisional government, for a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Other Social-Democrats, however, draw back, mark time, write prefaces instead of giving slogans; instead of seeing what is new, while confirming what is old, they masticate the latter tediously and at great

length, inventing pretexts to avoid the new, unable to determine the conditions for a decisive victory or to bring forward slogans which alone are in line with a striving to achieve full victory.

The political outcome of this tail-ism stares us in the face. The fable about a *rapprochement* between the "majority" of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and revolutionary bourgeois democracy remains a fable unconfirmed by a single political fact, by a single important resolution of the "Bolsheviks" or a single document of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. On the other hand, the opportunist, monarchist bourgeoisie, as represented by the *Osvobozhdeniye*, has long been *welcoming* the trends in the "principles" advocated by the new-*Iskra* group, and is now actually using their stream to drive its ~ill and is adopting their catchwords and "ideas", which are directed against "secrecy" and "riots", against exaggerating the "technical" aspect of the revolution, against openly proclaiming the slogan of insurrection, against the "revolutionism" of extreme demands, etc., etc. The resolution of an entire Conference of "Menshevik" Social-Democrats in the Caucasus and the endorsement of that resolution by the editors of the new *Iskra* sums up the whole matter politically in no mistakable way: what if the bourgeoisie should recoil in case the proletariat takes part in a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship! This puts the matter in a nutshell and gives the finishing touches to the proletariat's transformation into an appendage to the monarchist bourgeoisie. The *political significance* of the new *Iskra*'s tail-ism is thereby proved in fact—not by a casual observation from some individual but by a resolution especially endorsed by an entire trend.

Anyone who gives thought to these facts will understand the real significance of stock references to two sides and two trends in the Social-Democratic movement. For a full-scale study of these trends one should take Bernsteinism. In exactly the same way the Bernsteinians have been dinning into our ears that it is they who understand the proletariat's true needs and the tasks of building up its forces, the task of deepening all the work, preparing the elements of a new society, and the task of propaganda and agitation. Bernstein says: we demand a frank recognition of that which is, thus sanctifying "move-

ment" *without* any "ultimate aim", sanctifying defensive tactics alone, preaching the tactics of fear "lest the bourgeoisie recoil". So the Bernsteinians raised an outcry against the "Jacobinism" of the revolutionary Social-Democrats, against "publicists" who fail to understand the "workers' initiative", etc., etc. In reality, as everyone knows, revolutionary Social-Democrats have never even thought of abandoning day-by-day, petty work, the mustering of forces, etc., etc. All they demanded was a clear understanding of the ultimate aim, a clear presentation of the revolutionary tasks; they wanted to raise the semi-proletarian and semi-petty-bourgeois strata to the revolutionary level of the proletariat—not to reduce the latter level to that of opportunist considerations such as "lest the bourgeoisie recoil". Perhaps the most vivid expression of this rift between the intellectual opportunist wing and the proletarian revolutionary wing of the Party was the question: *dürfen wir siegen?* "Dare we win?" Is it permissible for us to win? Would it not be dangerous for us to win? Ought we to win? This question, so strange at first sight, was however raised and had to be raised, because the opportunists were afraid of victory, were frightening the proletariat away from it, predicting that trouble would come of it and ridiculing slogans that straightforwardly called for it.

The same fundamental division into an intellectual-opportunist and proletarian-revolutionary trend exists among us too, with the very material difference, however, that here we are faced with the question of a democratic, not of a socialist revolution. The question "dare we win?", which seems so absurd at first sight, has been raised among us as well. It has been raised by Martynov in his *Two Dictatorships*, wherein he prophesies dire misfortune if we prepare well for an insurrection, and carry it out quite successfully. The question has been raised in all the new-*Iskra* literature dealing with a provisional revolutionary government, and persistent if futile efforts have all the time been made to liken Millerand's participation in a bourgeois-opportunist government to Varlin's[41] participation in a petty-bourgeois revolutionary government. It is embodied in the resolution: "lest the bourgeoisie recoil". And although Kautsky, for instance, now tries to wax ironical and says that our dispute about a

provisional revolutionary government is like sharing out the meat before the bear is killed, this irony only proves that even clever and revolutionary Social-Democrats are liable to put their foot in it when they talk about something they know of only by hearsay. German Social-Democracy is not yet so near to killing its bear (carrying out a socialist revolution), but the dispute as to whether we "dare" kill the bear has been of enormous importance from the point of view of principles and of practical politics. Russian Social-Democrats are not yet so close to being able to "kill their bear" (carry out a democratic revolution), but the question as to whether we "dare" kill it is of extreme importance to the whole future of Russia and that of Russian Social-Democracy. An army cannot be energetically and successfully mustered and led unless we are sure that we "dare" win.

Take our old Economists. They, too, clamoured that their opponents were conspirators and Jacobins (see *Rabocheye Dyelo*, especially No. 10, and Martynov's speech at the Second Congress, in the debate on the programme), that by plunging into politics they were divorcing themselves from the masses, that they were losing sight of the fundamentals of the working-class movement, ignoring the workers' initiative, etc., etc. In reality these supporters of "workers' initiative" were opportunist intellectuals, who tried to foist on the workers their own narrow and philistine conception of the tasks of the proletariat. In reality the opponents of Economism, as everyone can see from the old *Iskra*, did not neglect or relegate into the background any of the aspects of Social-Democratic work, nor did they in the least forget the economic struggle; at the same time they were able to present the urgent and immediate political tasks in their full scope and thus opposed the transformation of the workers' party into an "economic" appendage to the liberal bourgeoisie.

The Economists learned by rote that politics are based on economics and "understood" this to mean that the political struggle should be reduced to the level of the economic struggle. The new-Iskrists have learned by rote that in its economic essence, the democratic revolution is a bourgeois revolution, and "understand" this to mean that the democratic aims of the proletariat should be lowered to the level of bourgeois moderation, a level beyond which "the bourgeoisie

will recoil". On the pretext of deepening their work, on the pretext of rousing the workers' initiative and pursuing a purely class policy, the Economists were actually delivering the working class into the hands of the liberal-bourgeois politicians, i.e., were leading the Party along a path whose objective significance was exactly such. On the same pretexts the new-Iskrists are actually betraying to the bourgeoisie the interests of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, i.e., are leading the Party along a path whose objective significance is exactly such. The Economists thought that leadership in the political struggle was not the concern of Social-Democrats, but, properly speaking, that of the liberals. The new-Iskrists think that the active conduct of the democratic revolution is no concern of the Social-Democrats, but, properly speaking, that of the democratic bourgeoisie, for, they argue, the proletariat's guidance and pre-eminent part will "diminish the sweep" of the revolution.

In short, the new-Iskrists are imitators of Economism, not only in having their origin at the Second Party Congress, but also in the manner in which they now present the tactical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. They, too, constitute an intellectual-opportunist wing of the Party. In the sphere of organisation they made their *début* with the anarchist individualism of intellectuals and ended up with "disorganisation-as-process", establishing in the "Rules"[42] adopted by the Conference the separation of Party publishing activities from the Party organisation, and an indirect and practically four-stage system of elections, a system of Bonapartist plebiscites instead of democratic representation, and finally the principle of "agreements" between the part and the whole. In Party tactics they slid down the same inclined plane. In the "plan of the Zemstvo campaign" they declared that addresses to the Zemstvo-ists were "the highest type of demonstration", and discerned only two active forces on the political scene (on the eve of January 9!)—the government and the bourgeois democrats. They made the urgent task of arming the people "more profound" by replacing a direct and practical slogan with a call to arm the people with a burning desire to arm themselves. In their official resolutions they have distorted and emascu-

lated the tasks connected with an insurrection, with the establishment of a provisional government, and with a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. "Lest the bourgeoisie recoil"—this final chord of their latest resolution throws clear light on the question of where their path is leading the Party.

In its social and economic essence, the democratic revolution in Russia is a bourgeois revolution. It is, however, not enough merely to repeat this correct Marxist proposition. It has to be properly understood and properly applied to political slogans. In general, all political liberty founded on present-day, i.e., capitalist, relations of production is bourgeois liberty. The demand for liberty expresses primarily the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its representatives were the first to raise this demand. Its supporters have everywhere used like masters the liberty they acquired, reducing it to moderate and meticulous bourgeois doses, combining it with the most subtle suppression of the revolutionary proletariat in peaceful times, and with savage suppression in times of storm.

But only rebel Narodniks, anarchists, and Economists could conclude therefrom that the struggle for liberty should be negated or disparaged. These intellectualist-philistine doctrines could be foisted on the proletariat only for a time and against its will. The proletariat has always realised instinctively that it needs political liberty, needs it more than anyone else, although the immediate effect of that liberty will be to strengthen and organise the bourgeoisie. It is not by evading the class struggle that the proletariat expects to find its salvation, but by developing it, by extending its scope, its consciousness, organisation, and resoluteness. Whoever disparages the tasks of the political struggle transforms the Social-Democrat from a tribune of the people into a trade union secretary. Whoever disparages the proletarian tasks in a democratic bourgeois revolution transforms the Social-Democrat from a leader of the people's revolution into a leader of a free labour union.

Yes, the *people*'s revolution. Social-Democracy has fought, and is quite rightly fighting, against the bourgeois-democratic abuse of the word "people". It demands that this word shall not be used to cover up failure to understand

class antagonisms within the people. It insists categorically on the need for complete class independence for the party of the proletariat. However, it does not divide the "people" into "classes" so that the advanced class will become locked up within itself, will confine itself within narrow limits, and emasculate its activity for fear that the economic rulers of the world will recoil; it does that so that the adanced class, which does not suffer from the half-heartedness, vacillation, and indecision of the intermediate classes, should fight with all the greater energy and enthusiasm for the cause of the whole people, at the head of the whole people.

That is what the present-day new-Iskrists so often fail to understand, people who substitute for active political slogans in the democratic revolution a mere pedantic repetition of the word "class", declined in all cases and genders!

The democratic revolution is bourgeois in nature. The slogan of a general redistribution, or "land and freedom"—that most widespread slogan of the peasant masses, downtrodden and ignorant, yet passionately yearning for light and happiness—is a bourgeois slogan. But we Marxists should know that there is not, nor can there be, any other path to real freedom for the proletariat and the peasantry, than the path of bourgeois freedom and bourgeois progress. We must not forget that there is not, nor can there be at the present time, any other means of bringing socialism nearer, than complete political liberty, than a democratic republic, than the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. As representatives of the advanced and only revolutionary class, revolutionary without any reservations, doubts, or looking back, we must confront the whole of the people with the tasks of the democratic revolution as extensively and boldly as possible and with the utmost initiative. To disparage these tasks means making a travesty of theoretical Marxism, distorting it in philistine fashion, while in practical politics it means placing the cause of the revolution into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which will inevitably recoil from the task of consistently effecting the revolution. The difficulties that lie on the road to complete victory of the revolution are very great. No one will be able

to blame the proletariat's representatives if, when they have done everything in their power, their efforts are defeated by the resistance of reaction, the treachery of the bourgeoisie, and the ignorance of the masses. But everybody, and, above all, the class-conscious proletariat will condemn Social-Democracy if it curtails the revolutionary energy of the democratic revolution and dampens revolutionary ardour because it is afraid to win, because it is actuated by the consideration: lest the bourgeoisie recoil.

Revolutions are the locomotives of history, said Marx.[43] Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited. At no other time are the mass of the people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order, as at a time of revolution. At such times the people are capable of performing miracles, if judged by the limited, philistine yardstick of gradualist progress. But it is essential that leaders of the revolutionary parties, too, should advance their aims more comprehensively and boldly at such a time, so that their slogans shall always be in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon, reveal to them our democratic and socialist ideal in all its magnitude and splendour, and show them the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute, and decisive victory. Let us leave to the opportunists of the *Osvobozhdeniye* bourgeoisie the task of inventing roundabout, circuitous paths of compromise, out of fear of the revolution and of the direct path. If we are forcibly compelled to drag ourselves along such paths we shall be able to fulfil our duty in petty, everyday work also. But first let the choice of path be decided in ruthless struggle. We shall be traitors, betrayers of the revolution, if we do not use this festive energy of the masses and their revolutionary ardour to wage a ruthless and self-sacrificing struggle for the direct and decisive path. Let the bourgeois opportunists contemplate the future reaction with craven fear. The workers will not be intimidated either by the thought that reaction intends to be terrible, or that the bourgeoisie proposes to recoil. The workers do not expect to make deals; they are not asking for petty concessions. What they are striving towards is ruthlessly to crush the reactionary forces, i.e., to set up a *revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry*.

Of course, in stormy times greater dangers threaten the ship of our Party than in periods of the smooth "sailing" of liberal progress, which means the painfully steady sucking of the working class's life-blood by its exploiters. Of course, the tasks of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship are infinitely more difficult and more complex than the tasks of an "extreme opposition", or of an exclusively parliamentary struggle. But whoever is consciously capable of preferring smooth sailing and the course of safe "opposition" in the present revolutionary situation had better abandon Social-Democratic work for a while, had better wait until the revolution is over, until the festive days have passed, when humdrum, everyday life starts again, and his narrow routine standards no longer strike such an abominably discordant note, or constitute such an ugly distortion of the tasks of the advanced class.

At the head of the whole people, and particularly of the peasantry—for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited—for socialism! Such in practice must be the policy of the revolutionary proletariat, such is the class slogan which must permeate and determine the solution of every tactical problem, every practical step of the workers' party during the revolution.

EPILOGUE

ONCE AGAIN THE *OSVOBOZHDENIYE* TREND, ONCE AGAIN THE NEW-*ISKRA* TREND

Osvobozhdeniye, Nos. 71-72, and *Iskra*, Nos. 102-103, provide a wealth of additional material on the question dealt with in Chapter 8 of our pamphlet. Since it is quite impossible here to make use of all this rich material we shall confine ourselves to the most important points only: firstly, the kind of "realism" in Social-Democracy that *Osvobozhdeniye* praises, and why the latter should praise it; secondly, the relationship between the concepts of revolution and dictatorship.

1. WHY DO BOURGEOIS LIBERAL REALISTS PRAISE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC "REALISTS"?

Articles entitled "The Split in Russian Social-Democracy" and "The Triumph of Common Sense" (*Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 72) express an opinion on Social-Democracy held by representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, an opinion of remarkable value to class-conscious proletarians. We cannot too strongly recommend to every Social-Democrat that he should read these articles in full and *ponder over* every sentence in them. We shall first of all reproduce the most important propositions in these two articles.

"It is fairly difficult," writes *Osvobozhdeniye*, "for an outside observer to grasp the real political meaning of the differences that have split the Social-Democratic Party into two factions. A definition of the 'Majority' faction as the more radical and unswerving, as distinct from the 'Minority' which allows of certain compromises in the interests of the cause, is not quite exact, and in any case does not provide an exhaustive characterisation. At any rate the traditional dogmas of Marxist orthodoxy are observed by the Minority faction with even greater zeal, perhaps, than by the Lenin faction. The

following characterisation would appear to us to be more accurate. The fundamental political temper of the 'Majority' is abstract revolutionism, rebelliousness, and eagerness to stir up insurrection among the popular masses by any and every means and to immediately seize power on their behalf, to a certain extent this brings the 'Leninists' close to the Socialist-Revolutionaries and makes the idea of a Russian revolution of the whole people overshadow in their minds the idea of the class struggle. While in practice abjuring much of the narrow-mindedness of the Social-Democratic doctrine, the 'Leninists' are, on the other hand, thoroughly imbued with the narrow-mindedness of revolutionism; they renounce all practical work except the preparation of an immediate insurrection, ignore on principle all forms of legal and semi-legal agitation and any kind of practically useful compromise with other oppositional trends. On the contrary, the Minority, while steadfastly adhering to the doctrine of Marxism, at the same time preserves the realistic elements of the Marxist world outlook. Contraposing the interests of the 'proletariat' to those of the bourgeoisie is the fundamental idea of this group. On the other hand, however, the proletariat's struggle is conceived—of course within certain bounds dictated by the immutable dogmas of Social-Democracy—in realistically sober fashion, with a clear realisation of all the concrete conditions and aims of this struggle. Neither of the two factions pursues its basic point of view quite consistently, for in their ideological and political activities they are bound by the stringent formulas of the Social-Democratic catechism, which prevent the 'Leninists' from becoming unswerving rebels after the fashion of, at least, some Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the '*Iskra* group' from becoming practical leaders of the real political movement of the working class."

After quoting the contents of the most important resolutions the *Osvobozhdeniye* writer goes on to illustrate his general "ideas" with several concrete remarks about them. In comparison with the Third Congress, he says, "the Minority Conference takes a totally different attitude towards an insurrection". "In connection with the attitude towards an insurrection" there is a difference in the respective resolutions on a provisional government. "A similar difference is revealed with regard to the workers' trade unions. In their resolution the 'Leninists' have not said a single word about this most important starting-point in the political education and organisation of the working class. The Minority, on the contrary, drew up a very weighty resolution." With regard to the liberals, both factions, he says, see eye to eye, but the Third Congress "repeats almost word for word the Plekhanov resolution on the attitude towards the liberals, adopted at the Second Congress, and rejects the Starover resolution adopted by the same Congress, which was more favourably inclined towards the liberals". Although the Congress and the Conference resolutions on the peasant movement coincide on the whole, "the 'Majority' lays more emphasis on the idea of the revolutionary confiscation of the landlords' estates and other land, while the 'Minority' wants to make the demand for democratic state and administrative reforms the basis of its agitation".

Finally, *Osvobozhdeniye* cites from No. 100 of *Iskra* a Menshevik resolution, whose main clause reads as follows: "Since underground work alone does not at present secure adequate participation of the masses in Party life, and in some degree leads to the masses as such being contraposed to the Party as an illegal organisation, the latter must assume leadership of the trade union struggle of the workers on a legal basis, strictly linking up this struggle with the Social-Democratic tasks." Commenting on this resolution *Osvobozhdeniye* exclaims: "We heartily welcome this resolution as a triumph of common sense, as evidence that a definite section of the Social-Democratic Party is beginning to see the light with regard to tactics."

The reader now has before him all the noteworthy opinions of *Osvobozhdeniye*. It would, of course, be a most grave error to regard these opinions as correct in the sense of corresponding to the objective truth. Mistakes in them will easily be detected by every Social-Democrat at every step. It would be naïve to forget that these opinions are thoroughly imbued with the liberal bourgeoisie's interests and points of view, and that in this sense they are utterly biased and tendentious. They reflect the Social-Democrats' views in the same way as objects are reflected in a concave or convex mirror. It would, however, be an even greater mistake to forget that in the final analysis these bourgeois-distorted opinions reflect the actual interests of the bourgeoisie, which, as a class, undoubtedly understands correctly which trends in Social-Democracy are advantageous, close, akin, and agreeable to it, and which trends are harmful, distant, alien, and antipathetic. A bourgeois philosopher or a bourgeois publicist will never understand Social-Democracy properly, whether it is Menshevik or Bolshevik Social-Democracy. But if he is at all a sensible publicist, his class instinct will not fail him, and he will always grasp the essence of what one trend or another in the Social-Democratic movement may mean to the bourgeoisie, although he may present it in a distorted way. That is why our enemy's class instinct, his class opinion always deserves the closest attention from every class-conscious proletarian.

What, then, does the Russian bourgeoisie's class instinct, as voiced by *Osvobozhdeniye* adherents, tell us?

It quite definitely expresses its satisfaction with the trend resented by the new *Iskra*, praising it for realism, sobermindedness, the triumph of common sense, the soundness of

its resolutions, its having begun to see the light on questions of tactics, its practicalness, etc.—and it expresses dissatisfaction with the trend of the Third Congress, censuring it for its narrow-mindedness, revolutionism, rebelliousness, its repudiation of practically useful compromises, etc. The class instinct of the bourgeoisie suggests to it exactly what has been repeatedly proved in our literature with the aid of most precise facts, namely, that the new-*Iskra* supporters are the opportunist wing of the present-day Russian Social-Democratic movement, and their opponents—the revolutionary wing. The liberals cannot but sympathise with the trends in the former, and cannot but censure the trends in the latter. As ideologists of the bourgeoisie the liberals understand perfectly well that the bourgeoisie stands to gain by the "practicalness, sober-mindedness, and soundness" of the working class, by actually restricting its field of activity within the framework of capitalism, reforms, the trade union struggle, etc. The proletariat's "revolutionary narrow-mindedness", its endeavours to win the leadership in a popular Russian revolution in order to promote its own class aims—these things are dangerous and frightening to the bourgeoisie.

That this is the actual significance of the word "realism" in its *Osvobozhdeniye* sense is evident, among other things, from the way it was previously used by *Osvobozhdeniye* and by Mr. Struve. *Iskra* itself could not but admit that such was the significance of *Osvobozhdeniye*'s "realism". Take, for instance, the article entitled "High Time!" in the supplement to *Iskra*, No. 73-74. The author of this article (a consistent exponent of the views of the "Marsh" at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) frankly expressed the opinion that "at the Congress Akimov played the part of the ghost of opportunism rather than of its real representative". And the editors of *Iskra* were forthwith obliged to correct the author of the article "High Time!" by stating in a note:

> "This opinion cannot be agreed with. Comrade Akimov's views on the programme bear the clear imprint of opportunism, which fact is admitted even by the *Osvobozhdeniye* critic, who—in one of its recent issues—stated that Comrade Akimov is an adherent of the 'realist'—read: revisionist—tendency."

Thus, *Iskra* itself is perfectly aware that *Osvobozhdeniye*'s "realism" is simply opportunism and nothing else. If in attacking "liberal realism" (*Iskra*, No. 102) *Iskra* now says nothing about *its having been praised by the liberals* for its realism, this silence is explained by the circumstance that such praise is bitterer than any censure. Such praise (which *Osvobozhdeniye* uttered not by mere chance and not for the first time) actually proves the affinity between liberal realism and those tendencies of Social-Democratic "realism" (read: opportunism) that stand out in every resolution of the new-Iskrists, in consequence of the fallacy of their entire tactical stand.

Indeed, the Russian bourgeoisie has already fully revealed its inconsistency and cupidity in the "popular" revolution —has revealed it in Mr. Struve's arguments, in the entire tenor and content of the bulk of liberal newspapers, and in the nature of the political utterances of most Zemstvo members, the bulk of the intellectuals, and in general of all the adherents of Messrs. Trubetskoi, Petrunkevich, Rodichev, and Co. Of course, the bourgeoisie does not always reveal a clear understanding, but by and large, its class instinct enables it to realise perfectly well that, on the one hand, the proletariat and the "people" are useful for *its* revolution as cannon fodder, as a battering-ram against the autocracy, but that, on the other hand, the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry will be terribly dangerous to it if they win a "decisive victory over tsarism" and carry the democratic revolution to completion. That is why the bourgeoisie strains every effort to induce the proletariat to be content with a "modest" role in the revolution, to be more sober-minded, practical, and realistic, and let its activities be guided by the principle, "lest the bourgeoisie recoil".

Intellectual bourgeois know full well that they will not be able to get rid of the working-class movement. That is why they do not at all come out against the working-class movement as such, or against the proletariat's class struggle as such—no, they even pay lip service to the right to strike and to a genteel class struggle, since they understand the working-class movement and the class struggle in the Brentano or Hirsch-Duncker sense. In other words they are fully prepared to "yield" to the workers the right to

strike and freedom of association (which in fact has already been almost won by the workers themselves), if only the workers renounce their "rebelliousness", their "narrow-minded revolutionism", their hostility to "compromises of practical use", their claims and aspirations to place upon the "revolution of the whole Russian people" the imprint of *their* class struggle, the imprint of proletarian consistency, proletarian determination, and "plebeian Jacobinism". That is why intellectual bourgeois all over Russia are exerting every effort, resorting to thousands of ways and means—books,* lectures, speeches, talks, etc., etc.—to imbue the workers with the ideas of (bourgeois) sober-mindedness, (liberal) practicalness, (opportunist) realism, (Brentano) class struggle, (Hirsch-Duncker) trade unions,[44] etc. The last two slogans are particularly convenient for the bourgeois of the "Constitutional-Democratic" Party, the *Osvobozhdeniye* party, since in appearance they coincide with Marxist slogans, and, with some minor omissions and slight distortions, can easily be confused with and sometimes even passed off as Social-Democratic slogans. For instance, the legal liberal newspaper *Rassvet* (which we shall some day try to discuss in greater detail with *Proletary* readers) frequently says such "outspoken" things about the class struggle, the possible deception of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, the working-class movement, the proletariat's initiative, etc., etc., that the inattentive reader or unenlightened worker might easily be led to believe that its "Social-Democratism" is genuine. Actually, however, it is a bourgeois imitation of Social-Democratism, an opportunist distortion and perversion of the concept of the class struggle.

At the root of all this gigantic bourgeois subterfuge (gigantic in the extent of its influence on the masses) lies an urge to reduce the working-class movement mainly to a trade union movement, to keep it as far away as possible from an independent policy (i.e., one that is revolutionary and directed towards a democratic dictatorship), "to make the idea of the class struggle overshadow, in the workers' minds, the idea of a Russian revolution of the whole people".

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* Cf. Prokopovich, *The Labour Question in Russia*.

As the reader will perceive, we have turned the *Osvobozhdeniye* formulation upside down. This is an excellent formulation, one that excellently expresses two views upon the proletariat's role in a democratic revolution—the bourgeois view and the Social-Democratic view. The bourgeoisie wants to confine the proletariat to the trade union movement, and thereby to "make the idea of the (*Brentano*) class struggle overshadow in its mind the idea of a Russian revolution of the whole people"—fully in the spirit of the Bernsteinian authors of the *Credo*, who tried to make the idea of a "purely working-class movement" overshadow in the workers' minds the idea of political struggle. On the contrary, Social-Democracy wants to develop the proletariat's class struggle to the level of leadership in the Russian revolution of the whole people, i.e., to bring that revolution to the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The revolution in our country is one of the whole people, says the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. As a separate class, you should, therefore, confine yourselves to your class struggle; in the name of "common sense" you should devote your attention mainly to the trade unions and their legalisation; you should consider these trade unions as "the most important starting-point in your political education and organisation"; in a revolutionary situation you should for the most part draw up "sound" resolutions like the new-*Iskra* resolution; you should give heed to resolutions "more favourably inclined towards the liberals"; you should show preference for leaders with a tendency to become "practical leaders of the real political movement of the working class", and should "preserve the realistic elements of the Marxist world outlook" (if you have unfortunately already become infected with the "stringent formulas" of this 'unscientific" catechism).

The revolution in our country is one of the whole people, the Social-Democrats say to the proletariat. As the most progressive and the only thoroughly revolutionary class, you should strive to play not merely a most active part in it, but the leading part as well. Therefore, you must not confine yourself within a narrowly conceived framework of the class struggle, understood mainly as the trade union movement;

on the contrary, you must strive to extend the framework and the content of your class struggle so as to make it *include* not only *all* the aims of the present, democratic Russian revolution of the whole people, but the aims of the subsequent socialist revolution as well. Therefore, without ignoring the trade union movement, or refusing to take advantage of even the slightest legal opportunities, you must in a revolutionary period bring into the forefront the tasks of an insurrection and the formation of a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government, as being the only way to the people's complete victory over tsarism, to the achievement of a democratic republic and genuine political freedom.

It would be superfluous to speak about the half-hearted and inconsistent stand, naturally so pleasing to the bourgeoisie, taken on this question by the new-*Iskra* resolutions because of their mistaken "line".

II. COMRADE MARTYNOV AGAIN GIVES "PROFUNDITY" TO THE QUESTION

Let us pass on to Martynov's articles in Nos. 102 and 103 of *Iskra*. We shall, of course, make no reply to Martynov's attempts to prove the incorrectness of our interpretation, and the correctness of his own interpretation, of a number of quotations from Engels and Marx. These attempts are so trivial, Martynov's subterfuges so obvious, and the question so clear that it would be of no interest to dwell on this point again. Every thoughtful reader will be able easily to see through the simple wiles employed by Martynov in his full retreat, especially when the complete translations of Engels's pamphlet *The Bakuninists at Work* and Marx's *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League* of March 1850,[45] now being prepared by a group of *Proletary* collaborators, are published. A single quotation from Martynov's article will suffice to make his retreat clear to the reader.

"*Iskra* 'admits'," says Martynov in No. 103, "that setting up a provisional government is a possible and expedient way of furthering the revolution, but denies the expediency of Social-Democrats participating in a *bourgeois* provisional government, precisely so as to be able, in the future, to gain

complete control of the state machinery for a socialist revolution." In other words, *Iskra* now admits the absurdity of all its fears concerning a revolutionary government's responsibility for the exchequer and the banks, concerning the danger and impossibility of taking over the "prisons", etc. But *Iskra* is only muddling things as previously, confusing democratic with socialist dictatorship. This muddle is unavoidable; it is a means to cover up the retreat.

But among the muddle-heads of the new *Iskra* Martynov stands out as Muddle-head No. 1, as a muddle-head of talent, if one might say so. By confusing the question by his laboured efforts to "give it profundity", he almost invariably "arrives" at new formulations which lay bare all the falseness of the stand he has taken. You will remember how in the days of Economism he rendered Plekhanov "more profound" and created the formulation: "economic struggle against the employers and the government". In all Economist literature it would be difficult to find a more apt expression of this trend's falseness. It is the same today. Martynov serves the new *Iskra* zealously and almost every time he opens his mouth he furnishes us with new and excellent material for an appraisal of the new *Iskra*'s false position. In No. 102 he says that Lenin "has imperceptibly put the concept of dictatorship in place of that of revolution" (p. 3, col. 2).

In essence, all the accusations the new-Iskrists have levelled at us can be reduced to this one. Indeed, we are grateful to Martynov for this accusation! He has rendered us most invaluable service in the struggle against the new-*Iskra* ideas by formulating his accusation in this way! We must positively beg the editors of *Iskra* to let Martynov loose against us more often for the purpose of making the attacks on *Proletary* "more profound", and for a "truly principled" formulation of these attacks. For the more Martynov exerts himself to argue on the plane of principles, the worse do his arguments appear, and the more clearly does he reveal the gaps in the new-*Iskra* trend, the more successfully does he perform on himself and on his friends the useful *reductio ad absurdum* pedagogical operation (reducing the principles of the new *Iskra* to an absurdity).

Vperyod and *Proletary* use the concepts of dictatorship and revolution "interchangeably". *Iskra* does not want such

"interchangeability". Just so, most esteemed Comrade Martynov! You have unwittingly stated a great truth. With this *new* formulation you have confirmed our contention that *Iskra* is lagging behind the revolution and straying into an *Osvobozhdeniye* formulation of its tasks, whereas *Vperyod* and *Proletary* are issuing slogans that advance the democratic revolution.

Is this something you don't understand, Comrade Martynov? In view of the importance of the question we shall try to give you a detailed explanation.

The bourgeois character of the democratic revolution expresses itself, among other things, in the fact that a number of classes, groups, and sections of society which fully stand for recognition of private property and commodity production and are incapable of going beyond these bounds, are compelled by force of circumstances to recognise the uselessness of the autocracy and of the whole feudal order in general, and join in the demand for liberty. The bourgeois character of *this* liberty, which is demanded by "society" and advocated in a flood of words (and only words!) from the landowners and the capitalists, is manifesting itself more and more clearly. At the same time the radical difference between the workers' and the bourgeoisie's struggle for liberty, between proletarian and liberal democratism, is also becoming more palpable. The working class and its class-conscious representatives are marching forward and carrying this struggle forward, not only unafraid of bringing it to completion, but striving to go far beyond the uttermost limits of the democratic revolution. Inconsistent and selfish, the bourgeoisie accepts the slogans of liberty hypocritically and only in part. Doomed to inevitable failure are all attempts to establish, by some particular line or by drawing up particular "points" (like those in Starover's resolution or that of the conferees), the limits beyond which this hypocrisy of the bourgeois friends of liberty, or, rather, this betrayal of liberty by its bourgeois friends, begins. That is because the bourgeoisie, caught between two fires (the autocracy and the proletariat), is capable of changing its position and slogans by a thousand ways and means, adapting itself by moving an inch to the left or an inch to the right, haggling and chaffering all the time. The task of proletarian democratism is

not to invent such lifeless "points", but to criticise the developing political situation ceaselessly, to expose the ever new and unforeseeable inconsistencies and betrayals on the part of the bourgeoisie.

Recall the history of Mr. Struve's political pronouncements in the illegal press, the history of Social-Democracy's war with him, and you will clearly see how these tasks have been carried out by Social-Democracy, the champion of proletarian democratism. Mr. Struve began with a purely Shipov slogan: "Rights and an Authoritative Zemstvo" (see my article in *Zarya*, "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism"*). Social-Democracy exposed him and drove him towards a definitely constitutionalist programme. When these "shoves" took effect, thanks to the particularly rapid progress of revolutionary events, the struggle shifted to the *next* problem of democratism: not merely a constitution in general, but one providing for universal and equal suffrage, direct elections, and a secret ballot. When we "captured" this new position from the "enemy" (the adoption of universal suffrage by the *Osvobozhdeniye* League) we began to press further; we showed up the hypocrisy and falseness of a two-chamber system, and the fact that universal suffrage had not been fully recognised by the *Osvobozhdeniye* League; we pointed to their *monarchism* and showed up the huckstering nature of their democratism, or, in other words, the *bartering away* of the interests of the great Russian revolution by these *Osvobozhdeniye* heroes of the money-bag.

Finally, the autocracy's obduracy, the tremendous progress of the civil war, and the hopelessness of the plight to which the monarchists have reduced Russia have begun to penetrate into even the thickest of skulls. The revolution became a *fact*. It was no longer necessary to be a revolutionary to acknowledge the revolution. The autocratic government has actually been disintegrating before our eyes. As has justly been remarked in the legal press by a certain liberal (Mr. Gredeskul), actual disobedience to this government has set in. Notwithstanding its apparent might the

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* First published in 1901. See present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 31-80.—*Ed.*

autocracy has proved impotent; the events attending the developing revolution have simply begun to thrust aside this parasitic organism, which is rotting alive. Compelled to base their activities (or, to put it more correctly, their shady political deals) on relationships as they are actually taking shape, the liberal bourgeois *have begun to see the necessity of recognising the revolution*. They do so not because they are revolutionaries, but despite the fact that they are *not* revolutionaries. They do so of necessity and against their will, glaring angrily at the success of the revolution, and levelling the accusation of revolutionism against the autocracy, which does not want to strike a bargain, but wants a life-and-death struggle. Born hucksters, they hate struggle and revolution, but circumstances force them to stand on the ground of revolution, for there is no other ground under their feet.

We are witnessing a highly instructive and highly comical spectacle. The bourgeois liberal prostitutes are trying to drape themselves in the toga of revolution. The *Osvobozhdeniye* people—*risum teneatis, amici*!*—the *Osvobozhdeniye* people are beginning to speak in the name of the revolution! They are beginning to assure us that they "do not fear revolution" (Mr. Struve in *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 72)!!! They are voicing their claim "to be at the head of the revolution"!!!

This is a most significant phenomenon, one that characterises not only an advance in bourgeois liberalism, but even more so the advance of the real successes of the revolutionary movement, which has *compelled* recognition. Even the bourgeoisie is beginning to feel that it is more to its advantage to take its stand on the side of the revolution, for the autocracy is so shaky. On the other hand, however, this phenomenon, which testifies to the new and higher level reached by the entire movement, sets us new and higher tasks as well. The bourgeoisie's recognition of the revolution cannot be sincere, irrespective of the personal integrity of one bourgeois ideologist or another. The bourgeoisie cannot but bring selfishness and inconsistency, the spirit of chaffering and petty reactionary dodges even into this higher

* Restrain your laughter, friends!

stage of the movement. We must now formulate the immediate *concrete* tasks of the revolution in a *different* way, in the name of our programme, and in amplification of our programme. What was adequate yesterday is *inadequate today*. Yesterday, perhaps, the demand for the recognition of the revolution was adequate as an advanced democratic slogan. Today that is not enough. The revolution has forced even Mr. Struve to recognise it. The advanced class must now define exactly *the very content* of the urgent and pressing tasks of this revolution. While recognising the revolution, Messrs. the Struves again and again show their asses' ears and strike up the old tune about the possibility of a peaceful outcome, about *Nicholas* calling on the *Osvobozhdeniye* group to take power, etc., etc. The *Osvobozhdeniye* people recognise the revolution so as to emasculate and betray it the more safely for themselves. It is now our duty to show the proletariat and the whole people the inadequacy of the slogan of "revolution"; we must show how necessary it is to have a clear and unambiguous, consistent, and determined definition of *the very content* of the revolution. And this definition is provided by the one slogan that is capable of correctly expressing a "decisive victory" of the revolution, the slogan of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.[46]

Abuse of terms is a most common practice in politics. The name "socialist", for example, has often been appropriated by supporters of English bourgeois liberalism ("We are all socialists now,"* said Harcourt), by supporters of Bismarck, and by friends of Pope Leo XIII. The term "revolution" also fully lends itself to abuse, and, at a certain stage in the development of the movement, such abuse is inevitable. When Mr. Struve began to speak in the name of revolution we could not but recall Thiers. A few days before the February revolution this monstrous gnome, this most perfect embodiment of the bourgeoisie's political venality sensed that a storm was brewing among the people, and announced from the parliamentary tribune that he was *of the party of revolution*! (See Marx's *The Civil War in France*.[47]) The political significance of *Osvobozhdeniye*'s joining the

* These words are in English in the original.—*Ed*.

party of revolution is *exactly the same as* Thiers's. When the Russian Thiers begin to speak of their belonging to the party of revolution, that means that the slogan of revolution has become inadequate, is meaningless, and defines no tasks since the revolution has become a fact, and the most diverse elements are going over to its side.

Indeed, what is revolution from the Marxist point of view? The forcible demolition of the obsolete political superstructure, the contradiction between which and the new relations of production have caused its collapse at a certain moment. The contradiction between the autocracy and the entire structure of capitalist Russia and all the needs of her bourgeois-democratic development has now caused its collapse, all the more severe owing to the lengthy period in which this contradiction was artificially sustained. The superstructure is cracking at every joint, is yielding to pressure, and growing weaker. Through the representatives of the most diverse classes and groups, the people must now, by their own efforts, build themselves a new superstructure. At a certain stage of development, the uselessness of the old superstructure becomes obvious to all; the revolution is recognised by all. The task now is to define *which* classes must build the new superstructure, and *how* they are to build it. If this is not defined the slogan of revolution is empty and meaningless at the present time; for the feebleness of the autocracy makes "revolutionaries" even of the Grand Dukes and of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*![48] If this is not defined there can be no talk about the advanced democratic tasks of the advanced class. The slogan "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" provides that definition. This slogan defines the classes upon which the new "builders" of the new superstructure can and must rely, the character of the new superstructure (a "democratic" as distinct from a socialist dictatorship), and how it is to be built (dictatorship, i.e., the forcible suppression of resistance by force and the arming of the revolutionary classes of the people). Whoever now refuses to recognise this slogan of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, the slogan of a revolutionary army, of a revolutionary government, and of revolutionary peasant committees, either hopelessly fails to understand the tasks of the revolution, is unable to define the new and higher tasks

evoked by the present situation, or is deceiving the people, betraying the revolution, and misusing the slogan of "revolution".

Comrade Martynov and his friends are instances of the former, and Mr. Struve and the whole of the "Constitutional-Democratic" Zemstvo party—of the latter case.

Comrade Martynov was so sharp and shrewd that he charged us with having made the concepts of dictatorship and revolution "interchangeable" just at a time when the development of the revolution required that its tasks be defined by the slogan of dictatorship. Comrade Martynov has again been so unlucky as to be left behind, stranded at the stage before the last, *at the level reached by Osvobozhdeniye*; for recognition of "revolution" (in word) and refusal to recognise the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry (i.e., revolution in deed) today amounts to taking the political stand of *Osvobozhdeniye*, i.e., is to the interests of the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie. Through Mr. Struve the liberal bourgeoisie is now expressing itself in favour of revolution. Through the revolutionary Social-Democrats the class-conscious proletariat is demanding a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. And at this stage the new-*Iskra* wiseacre intervenes in the controversy and yells: "Don't dare make the ideas of dictatorship and revolution 'interchangeable'!" Well, is it not true that the false stand taken by the new-Iskrists dooms them to be constantly dragging along at the tail-end of *Osvobozhdeniye* trend?

We have shown that the *Osvobozhdeniye* people are ascending (not without prodding from the Social-Democrats) step by step in the matter of recognising democratism. At first, the issue in dispute between us was: Shipovism (rights and an authoritative Zemstvo) or constitutionalism? Then it was: limited suffrage or universal suffrage? Later: recognition of the revolution or a huckster's bargain with the autocracy? Finally, it is now: recognition of the revolution without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, or recognition of the demand for a dictatorship of these classes in the democratic revolution? It is possible and probable that the *Osvobozhdeniye* people (it makes no difference whether these are present ones, or their successors in the Left wing of the bourgeois democrats) will ascend another

step, i.e., recognise in due course (perhaps by the time Comrade Martynov ascends another step) the slogan of dictatorship as well. This will inevitably be the case if the Russian revolution continues to forge ahead, and achieves a decisive victory. What will the position of Social-Democracy then be? The complete victory of the present revolution will mark the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of a determined struggle for a socialist revolution. Satisfaction of the present-day demands of the peasantry, the utter rout of reaction and the achievement of a democratic republic will mark the utter limit of the revolutionism of the bourgeoisie, and even that of the petty bourgeoisie, and the beginning of the proletariat's real struggle for socialism. The more complete the democratic revolution, the sooner, the more widespread, the cleaner, and the more determined will the development of this new struggle be. The slogan of a "democratic" dictatorship expresses the historically limited nature of the present revolution and the necessity of a new struggle on the basis of the new order for the complete emancipation of the working class from all oppression and all exploitation. In other words, when the democratic bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie ascends another step, when not only the revolution but the complete victory of the revolution becomes an accomplished fact, we shall "change" (perhaps amid the horrified cries of new and future Martynovs) the slogan of the democratic dictatorship to the slogan of a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., of a full socialist revolution.

III. THE VULGAR BOURGEOIS AND THE MARXIST VIEWS ON DICTATORSHIP

In his notes to Marx's articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 1848, which he published, Mehring[49] tells us that one of the reproaches levelled at this newspaper by bourgeois publications was that it had allegedly demanded "the immediate introduction of a dictatorship as the sole means of achieving democracy" (Marx, *Nachlass*, Vol. III, p. 53). From the vulgar bourgeois standpoint the terms dictatorship and democracy are mutually exclusive. Failing to understand the theory of class struggle and accustomed to

seeing in the political arena the petty squabbling of the various bourgeois circles and coteries, the bourgeois understands by dictatorship the annulment of all liberties and guarantees of democracy, arbitrariness of every kind, and every sort of abuse of power in a dictator's personal interests. In fact, it is precisely this vulgar bourgeois view that is manifested in the writings of our Martynov, who winds up his "new campaign" in the new *Iskra* by attributing the partiality of *Vperyod* and *Proletary* for the slogan of dictatorship to Lenin's "passionate desire to try his luck" (*Iskra*, No. 103, p. 3, col. 2). In order to explain to Martynov the meaning of the term class dictatorship, as distinct from personal dictatorship, and the tasks of a democratic dictatorship, as distinct from those of a socialist dictatorship, it would not be amiss to dwell on the views of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

"After a revolution," wrote the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on September 14, 1848, "every provisional organisation of the state requires a dictatorship and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we have reproached Camphausen" (the head of the Ministry after March 18, 1848) "for not acting dictatorially, for not having immediately smashed up and eliminated the remnants of the old institutions. And while Herr Camphausen was lulling himself with constitutional illusions the defeated party (i.e., the party of reaction) strengthened its positions in the bureaucracy and in the army, and here and there even began to venture upon open struggle."[50]

These words, Mehring justly remarks, sum up in a few propositions all that was propounded in detail in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in long articles on the Camphausen Ministry. What do these words of Marx tell us? That a provisional revolutionary government *must* act dictatorially (a proposition which *Iskra* was totally unable to grasp since it was fighting shy of the slogan of dictatorship), and that the task of such a dictatorship is to destroy the remnants of the old institutions (which is precisely what was clearly stated in the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party on the struggle against counter-revolution and was omitted in the resolution of the Conference, as shown above). Thirdly, and lastly, it follows from these words that Marx castigated the bourgeois democrats

for entertaining "constitutional illusions" in a period of revolution and open civil war. The meaning of these words becomes particularly obvious from the article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of June 6, 1848. "A constituent national assembly," Marx wrote, "must first of all be an active, revolutionary-active assembly. The Frankfort Assembly, however, is busying itself with school exercises in parliamentarianism while allowing the government to act. Let us assume that this learned assembly succeeds, after mature consideration, in evolving the best possible agenda and the best constitution, but what is the use of the best possible agenda and of the best possible constitution, if the German governments have in the meantime placed the bayonet on the agenda?"[51]

That is the meaning of the slogan: dictatorship. We can judge from this what Marx's attitude would have been towards resolutions which call a "decision to organise a constituent assembly" a decisive victory, or which invite us to "remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition"!

Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to "place the bayonet on the agenda", as the Russian autocracy has systematically and unswervingly been doing everywhere ever since January 9. And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda, since insurrection has proved imperative and urgent—constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarianism become merely a screen for the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution, a screen to conceal the fact that the bourgeoisie is "recoiling" from the revolution. It is precisely the slogan of dictatorship that the genuinely revolutionary class must advance, in that case.

On the question of the tasks of this dictatorship Marx wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: "The National Assembly should have acted dictatorially against the reactionary attempts of the obsolete governments; and thus gain for itself the power of public opinion against which all bayonets and rifle butts would be shattered.... But this Assembly bores the German people instead of carrying them with it or being carried away by them."[52] In Marx's opinion, the

National Assembly should have "eliminated from the regime actually existing in Germany everything that contradicted the principle of the sovereignty of the people", and then it should have "established the revolutionary ground on which it stands in order to make the sovereignty of the people, won by the revolution, secure against all attacks".[53]

Consequently, in their content the tasks which Marx set a revolutionary government or dictatorship in 1848 amounted first and foremost to a *democratic* revolution: defence against counter-revolution and the actual elimination of everything that contradicted the sovereignty of the people. That is nothing else than a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship.

To proceed: which classes, in Marx's opinion, could and should have achieved this task (to fully exercise in deed the principle of the people's sovereignty and beat off the attacks of the counter-revolution)? Marx speaks of the "people". But we know that he always fought ruthlessly against petty-bourgeois illusions about the unity of the "people" and the absence of a class struggle within the people. In using the word "people" Marx did not thereby gloss over class distinctions, but united definite elements capable of bringing the revolution to completion.

After the victory of the Berlin proletariat on March 18, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote, the results of the revolution proved twofold: "On the one hand, the arming of the people, the right of association, the actual achievement of the sovereignty of the people; on the other hand, the retention of the monarchy and the Camphausen-Hansemann Ministry, i.e., the government of representatives of the big bourgeoisie. Thus, the revolution had two series of results, which had inevitably to diverge. The people had achieved victory; they had won liberties of a decisively democratic nature, but immediate power did not pass into their hands, but into the hands of the big bourgeoisie. In short, the revolution was not consummated. The people let representatives of the big bourgeoisie form a ministry, and these representatives of the big bourgeoisie at once showed what they were after by offering an alliance to the old Prussian nobility and bureaucracy. Arnim, Canitz, and Schwerin joined the ministry.

"*The upper bourgeoisie, ever anti-revolutionary, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reactionaries for fear of the people, that is to say, the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie.*" (Italics ours.)[54]

Thus, not only a "decision to organise a constituent assembly", but even its actual convocation is insufficient for a decisive victory of the revolution! Even after a partial victory in an armed struggle (the victory of the Berlin workers over the troops on March 18, 1848) an "incomplete" revolution, a revolution "that has not been carried to completion", is possible. On what, then, does its completion depend? It depends on whose hands immediate power passes into, into the hands of the Petrunkeviches and Rodichevs, that is to say, the Camphausens and the Hansemanns, or into the hands of the *people*, i.e., the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie. In the first instance, the bourgeoisie will possess power, and the proletariat—"freedom of criticism", freedom to "remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition". Immediately after the victory the bourgeoisie will conclude an alliance with the reactionaries (this would inevitably happen in Russia too, if, for example, the St. Petersburg workers gained only a partial victory in street fighting with the troops and left it to Messrs. Petrunkeviches and Co. to form a government). In the second instance, a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, i.e., the complete victory of the revolution, would be possible.

It now remains to define more precisely what Marx really meant by "democratic bourgeoisie" (*demokratische Bürgerschaft*), which, together with the workers, he called the people, in contradistinction to the big bourgeoisie.

A clear answer to this question is supplied by the following passage from an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of July 29, 1848: "...The German Revolution of 1848 is only a parody of the French Revolution of 1789.

"On August 4, 1789, three weeks after the storming of the Bastille, the French people in a single day prevailed over all feudal burdens.

"On July 11, 1848, four months after the March barricades, the feudal burdens prevailed over the German people. *Teste Gierke cum Hansemanno.**

"The French bourgeoisie of 1789 did not for a moment leave its allies, the peasants, in the lurch. It knew that its rule was grounded in the destruction of feudalism in the countryside, the creation of a free landowning (*grundbesitzenden*) peasant class.

"The German bourgeoisie of 1848 is, without the least compunction, betraying the peasants, who are its most natural allies, the flesh of its flesh, and without whom it is powerless against the aristocracy.

"The continuance of feudal rights, their sanction under the guise of (illusory) redemption—such is the result of the German Revolution of 1848. The mountain brought forth a mouse."[55]

This is a very instructive passage, which provides us with four important propositions: 1) The uncompleted German revolution differs from the completed French revolution in that the German bourgeoisie betrayed not only democracy in general, but also the peasantry in particular. 2) The creation of a free class of peasants is the foundation for the consummation of a democratic revolution. 3) The creation of such a class means the abolition of feudal services, the destruction of feudalism, but does not yet mean a socialist revolution. 4) The peasants are the "most natural" allies of the bourgeoisie, that is to say, of the democratic bourgeoisie, which without them is "powerless" against reaction.

With the proper allowances for concrete national peculiarities and with serfdom substituted for feudalism, all

* "Witnesses: Herr Gierke together with Herr Hansemann." Hansemann was a Minister who represented the party of the big bourgeoisie (Russian counterpart: Trubetskoi or Rodichev, and the like); Gierke was Minister of Agriculture in the Hansemann Cabinet, who drew up a plan, a "bold" plan for "abolishing feudal burdens", professedly "without compensation", but in fact for abolishing only the minor and unimportant burdens, while preserving or granting compensation for the more essential ones. Herr Gierke was something like the Russian Kablukovs, Manuilovs, Hertzensteins, and similar bourgeois liberal friends of the muzhik, who desire the "extension of peasant landownership" but do not wish to offend the landlords.

these propositions are fully applicable to the Russia of 1905. There is no doubt that by learning from the experience of Germany as elucidated by Marx, we can arrive at no other slogan for a decisive victory of the revolution than: a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. There is no doubt that the proletariat and the peasantry are the chief components of the "people" as contrasted by Marx in 1848 to the resisting reactionaries and the treacherous bourgeoisie. There is no doubt that in Russia, too, the liberal bourgeoisie and the gentlemen of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League are betraying and will betray the peasantry, i.e., will confine themselves to a pseudo-reform and take the side of the landlords in the decisive battle between them and the peasantry. In this struggle only the proletariat is capable of supporting the peasantry to the end. There is no doubt, finally, that in Russia, too, the success of the peasants' struggle, i.e., the transfer of the whole of the land to the peasantry, will signify a complete democratic revolution, and constitute the social basis of the revolution carried through to its completion, but this will by no means be a socialist revolution, or the "socialisation" that the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, talk about. The success of the peasant insurrection, the victory of the democratic revolution will merely clear the way for a genuine and decisive struggle for socialism, on the basis of a democratic republic. In this struggle the peasantry, as a landowning class, will play the same treacherous, unstable part as is now being played by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for democracy. To forget this is to forget socialism, to deceive oneself and others, regarding the real interests and tasks of the proletariat.

In order to leave no gaps in the presentation of the views held by Marx in 1848, it is necessary to note one essential difference between German Social-Democracy of that time (or the Communist Party of the proletariat, to use the language of that period) and present-day Russian Social-Democracy. Here is what Mehring says:

"The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared in the political arena as the 'organ of democracy'. There is no mistaking the trend running through all its articles. But in the direct sense it championed the interests of the bourgeois revolu-

tion against absolutism and feudalism more than the interests of the proletariat against those of the bourgeoisie. Very little is to be found in its columns about an independent working-class movement during the years of the revolution, although one should not forget that along with it there appeared, twice a week, under the editorship of Moll and Schapper, a special organ of the Cologne Workers' League.[56] At any rate, the present-day reader will be struck by the little attention the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* paid to the German working-class movement of its day, although Stephan Born, its most capable mind, was a pupil of Marx and Engels in Paris and Brussels, and in 1848 was their newspaper's Berlin correspondent. In his *Memoirs* Born says that Marx and Engels never expressed a single word in disapproval of his agitation among the workers. However, subsequent statements by Engels make it appear quite probable that they were at least dissatisfied with the methods of this agitation. Their dissatisfaction was justified inasmuch as Born was obliged to make many concessions to the as yet totally undeveloped class-consciousness of the proletariat in the greater part of Germany, concessions which do not stand the test of criticism from the viewpoint of the *Communist Manifesto*. Their dissatisfaction was unjustified inasmuch as Born managed nonetheless to maintain his agitation on a relatively high plane.... Without doubt, Marx and Engels were historically and politically right in thinking that the primary interest of the working class was to drive the bourgeois revolution as far forward as possible.... Nevertheless, remarkable proof of how the elementary instinct of the working-class movement is able to correct conceptions of the most brilliant thinkers is provided by the fact that in April 1849 they declared in favour of a specific workers' organisation and decided to participate in a workers' congress which was being prepared especially by the East Elbe (Eastern Prussia) proletariat."

Thus, it was only in April 1849, after a revolutionary newspaper had been appearing for almost a year (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began publication on June 1, 1848) that Marx and Engels declared in favour of a special workers' organisation! Until then they were merely running an "organ of democracy" unlinked by any organisational ties with

an independent workers' party. This fact, monstrous and improbable as it may appear from our present-day standpoint, clearly shows us the enormous difference between the German Social-Democratic Party of those days and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party of today. This fact shows how much less the proletarian features of the movement, the proletarian current within it, were in evidence in the German democratic revolution (because of the backwardness of Germany in 1848 both economically and politically—her disunity as a state). This should not be forgotten in appraising Marx's repeated declarations during this period and somewhat later about the need for organising an independent proletarian party. Marx arrived at this practical conclusion only as a result of the experience of the democratic revolution, almost a year later—so philistine, so petty-bourgeois was the whole atmosphere in Germany at the time. To us this conclusion is the well-known and solid gain of half a century's experience of international Social-Democracy—a gain on the basis of which we *began* to organise the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. In our case there can be no question, for instance, of revolutionary proletarian newspapers standing outside the Social-Democratic Party of the proletariat, or of their appearing even for a moment simply as "organs of democracy".

But the contrast which hardly began to reveal itself between Marx and Stephan Born exists in our case in a form which is the more developed by reason of the more powerful manifestation of the proletarian current in the democratic stream of our revolution. Speaking of the probable dissatisfaction of Marx and Engels with the agitation conducted by Stephan Born, Mehring expresses himself too mildly and too evasively. Here is what Engels wrote of Born in 1885 (in his preface to the *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, Zürich, 1885*):

The members of the Communist League[57] everywhere stood at the head of the extreme democratic movement, proving thereby that the League was an excellent school of revolutionary activity. "The compositor Stephan Born, who had worked in Brussels and Paris as an active member of

* *Revelations About the Cologne Communist Trial*, Zürich, 1885.—*Ed.*

the League, founded a Workers' Brotherhood [*Arbeiterverbrüderung*] in Berlin which became fairly widespread and existed until 1850. Born, a very talented young man, who, however, was too much in a hurry to become a political figure, 'fraternised' with the most miscellaneous ragtag and bob-tail [*Krethi und Plethi*] in order to get a crowd together, and was not at all the man who could bring unity into the conflicting tendencies, light into the chaos. Consequently, in the official publications of the association the views represented in the *Communist Manifesto* were mingled hodge-podge with guild recollections and guild aspirations, fragments of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, protectionism, etc.; in short, they wanted to please everybody [*allen alles sein*]. *In particular, strikes, trade unions, and producers' cooperatives were set going, and it was forgotten that above all it was a question of first conquering, by means of political victories, the field* in which alone such things could be realised on a lasting basis. [Italics mine.] When, afterwards, the victories of the reaction made the leaders of the Brotherhood realise the necessity of taking a direct part in the revolutionary struggle, they were naturally left in the lurch by the confused mass which they had grouped around themselves. Born took part in the Dresden uprising in May 1849, and had a lucky escape. But, in contrast to the great political movement of the proletariat, the Workers' Brotherhood proved to be a pure *Sonderbund* (separate league), which to a large extent existed only on paper and played such a subordinate role that the reaction did not find it necessary to suppress it until 1850, and its surviving branches until several years later. Born, whose real name was Buttermilch,*

* In translating Engels I made a mistake in the first edition by taking the word *Buttermilch* to be not a proper noun but a common noun. This mistake naturally afforded great delight to the Mensheviks. Koltsov wrote that I had "rendered Engels more profound" (reprinted in *Two Years*, a collection of articles) and Plekhanov even now recalls this mistake in *Tovarishch*[58]—in short, it afforded *an excellent pretext to slur over the question of the two tendencies in the working-class movement* of 1848 in Germany, the Born tendency (akin to our Economists) and the Marxist tendency. To take advantage of the mistake of an opponent, even if it concerns Born's name, is more than natural. But to use a correction to a translation to slur over the substance of the question of the two tactics is to dodge the real issue. (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—*Ed.*)

has not become a political figure but a petty Swiss professor, who no longer translates Marx into guild language, but the meek Renan into his own fulsome German."[59]

That is how Engels judged the two tactics of Social-Democracy in the democratic revolution!

Our new-Iskrists are also leaning towards Economism and with such unreasonable zeal as to earn the praises of the monarchist bourgeoisie for "seeing the light". They too gather a motley crowd around themselves, flattering the Economists, demagogically attracting the undeveloped masses by the slogans of "initiative", "democracy", "autonomy", etc., etc.; their workers' unions, too, often exist only on the pages of the Khlestakov-type[60] new *Iskra*. Their slogans and resolutions betray a similar failure to understand the tasks of the "great political movement of the proletariat".

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH TO THE ARTICLE "THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP"[61]

This article teaches us, first and foremost, that for representatives of the socialist proletariat to take part in a revolutionary government together with the petty bourgeoisie is fully permissible in principle, and, in certain conditions, even obligatory. It shows us further that the real task the Commune had to perform was primarily the achievement of the democratic and not the socialist dictatorship, the implementation of our "minimum programme". Finally, the article reminds us that when we study the lessons of the Paris Commune we should imitate not the mistakes it made (the failure to seize the Bank of France and to launch an offensive against Versailles, the lack of a clear programme, etc.), but its successful practical measures, which indicate the correct road. It is not the word "Commune" that we must adopt from the great fighters of 1871; we should not blindly repeat each of their slogans; what we must do is to single out those programmatic and practical slogans that bear upon the state of affairs in Russia and can be formulated in the words "a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry".

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TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU, BRUSSELS

Geneva, July 24, 1905

Dear Comrades,

We received your letter of June 28 several days ago, with some interesting documents (letters from Comrades Bebel and Plekhanov) enclosed, but being extremely busy we were unable to reply at once.

I. As regards Comrade Plekhanov's letter, we are obliged to make the following observations:

1) Comrade Plekhanov's assertion that since the Second Congress of our Party (August 1903) we have differed only on the question of organisation is not in full keeping with the facts. The "Minority" at the Second Congress (headed by Comrades Axelrod, Vera Zasulich, and Martov) actually split the Party immediately after the Congress by declaring a boycott of the central bodies elected by the Congress and by setting up a secret "Minority" organisation, which was dissolved only in the autumn of 1904. Comrade Plekhanov himself, who sided with us at the Second Congress of the Party and at the Congress of the League of Russian Social-Democracy Abroad (October 1903), evidently held a somewhat different opinion concerning our differences when he publicly stated in *Iskra*, No. 52 (November 1903) that we must make skilful concessions to the "revisionists" (Plekhanov's expression) in order to avoid a split in the Party.

2) The assertion that the Third Congress of the Party was convened "quite arbitrarily" does not correspond to the facts either. According to Party Rules, the Council is obliged to call a congress if so demanded by half of the committees. As you know from the resolutions of the Third Congress, which have been translated into French, the Council ignored the Party Rules. The Party committees and the "Bureau of

Majority Committees"[62] which they elected were morally and formally obliged to convene the Congress, even against the will of the Council, which did nothing to convene it.

3) You know from the selfsame resolutions of the Third Congress that it was not "something like half of the duly authorised organisations" that were represented at the Congress, but a considerable majority of the biggest committees. 4) It is true that there are comrades in our Party who are referred to in jest as the "Marsh". Its members were continually changing sides during the controversies within our Party. The first of these turncoats was Plekhanov, who went over from the Majority to the Minority in November 1903, only to leave the Minority on May 29 of this year, when he resigned from *Iskra*'s Editorial Board. We do not approve of changing sides like that, but think we cannot be blamed if after much vacillation members of the "Marsh" are inclined to follow us. 5) In his letter to the Bureau (June 16, 1905) Comrade Plekhanov most inappropriately forgot to mention his letter of May 29, 1905, published in *Iskra* (No. 101), a complete and exact translation of which we have already forwarded to you. 6) When he says that the other section in the Party is grouped around *Iskra*, the Party's former Central Organ, Comrade Plekhanov again forgot to add that the "Minority" Conference (May 1905) annulled the Rules drawn up at the Second Congress, and failed to set up a new Central Organ. We think that the International Socialist Bureau should have a complete translation of all resolutions of that conference. If *Iskra* refuses to send them to the Bureau we are prepared to do so ourselves. 7) Comrade Plekhanov states that only the two remaining members of the Central Committee (the others had been arrested) declared themselves in favour of convening the Third Congress.

Comrade Plekhanov's letter is dated June 16, 1905. The next day, June 17, No. 4 of *Proletary*, the Central Organ of the Party, which had been set up by the Third Congress, published the following statement: "After reading the Central Committee's Open Letter to Comrade Plekhanov, Chairman of the Party Council, and being in full agreement with the Central Committee, we consider it necessary—for reasons which comrades acquainted with the state of affairs in the Party will understand—publicly to declare

our solidarity with the Central Committee." Signed (pseudonyms): Ma, Bem, Vladimir, Innokenty, Andrei, Voron. We may inform you in confidence that these pseudonyms belong to the arrested members of the Central Committee.[63] Consequently, as soon as the members of the Central Committee learned of the conflict between the Central Committee and Comrade Plekhanov (and, therefore, the Council as well) regarding the convocation of the Congress, most of them at once declared in favour of the Central Committee and against Comrade Plekhanov. We earnestly request the International Secretariat to inform us whether Comrade Plekhanov deemed it necessary to acquaint the Bureau with this important statement by the arrested members of the Central Committee, which completely refutes the assertions contained in Comrade Plekhanov's letter of June 16. 8) Comrade Plekhanov is mistaken in saying that both groups asked him to go on representing the Party in the International Bureau. To date the Central Committee of our Party has not made any such request. As we informed you a few days ago, this question has not yet been finally decided, although it stands on the order of the day. 9) Comrade Plekhanov thinks that it is not difficult for him to be impartial in the question of our differences. After what has been set forth above, however, we believe that he finds it quite difficult, and at the present moment, at any rate, next to impossible.[64]

II. I pass on to Comrade Bebel's proposal on the subject of our affairs.

Here I must make the following observations: 1) I am only one of the members of the Central Committee and the responsible editor of *Proletary*, the Party's Central Organ. I can act for the whole of the Central Committee only in regard to our affairs abroad and certain other matters specially entrusted to me. In any case, all my decisions may be annulled by a general meeting of the Central Committee. Therefore, I cannot decide on the question of the Bureau's intervention in the affairs of our Party. However, I immediately forwarded your letter, as well as the letters of Comrades Bebel and Plekhanov, to Russia, to all the members of the Central Committee. 2) In order to speed up the Central Committee's reply it would be very useful to obtain certain necessary explanations from the Bureau: a) should the term

"intervention" be taken to mean only conciliatory mediation, and advice having merely moral, and not binding, force; b) or does the Bureau have in view a binding ruling by a court of arbitration; c) does the Bureau's Executive Committee propose to submit our differences to the general meeting of the International Socialist Bureau for final decision, without right of appeal? 3) On my part I consider it my duty to inform the Bureau that shortly before the Third Congress Comrade Bebel made a similar proposal to me and to those who share my views offering his services or the services of the entire Executive Committee of the German Party (*Parteivorstand*), as arbitrator in the dispute between the Majority and the Minority in our Party.

I replied that the Party Congress would take place soon and that I personally could not decide for the Party or in its name.

The Bureau of Majority Committees rejected Bebel's offer. The Third Congress passed no decision on this offer, and thereby tacitly endorsed the reply given by the Bureau of Majority Committees. 4) Since the International Bureau considers it proper to obtain its information from "certain German newspapers", I am compelled to state that nearly all German socialist papers, especially *Die Neue Zeit* and *Leipziger Volkszeitung*,[65] are entirely on the side of the "Minority", and present our affairs in a very one-sided and inaccurate way. Kautsky, for instance, also calls himself impartial, and yet, in actual fact, he went so far as to refuse to publish in the *Neue Zeit* a refutation of an article by Rosa Luxemburg, in which she defended disruption in the Party.[66] In *Leipziger Volkszeitung* Kautsky even urged that the German pamphlet with the translation of the resolutions of the Third Congress should not be circulated!! After this it is easy to understand why many comrades in Russia are inclined to regard the German Social-Democratic Party as partial and extremely prejudiced in the question of the split in the ranks of Russian Social-Democracy.

Accept, dear comrades, our fraternal greeting.

Vl. Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

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REVOLUTION TEACHES

Differences within or between political parties are usually resolved not only by polemics over principles, but also by the course of political developments. In particular, differences on a party's tactics, i.e., its political conduct, are often resolved by those with incorrect opinions going over in fact to the correct path of struggle, under the pressure of the course of developments that simply brush aside erroneous opinions, making them pointless and devoid of any interest. This, of course, does not mean that fundamental differences on questions of tactics do not call for explanations of principles, explanations which alone can keep the Party equal to its theoretical convictions. No. This means only that decisions made with regard to tactics must be *verified* as often as possible in the light of new political events. Such verification is necessary from the standpoint of both theory and practice: from the standpoint of theory in order to ascertain in fact whether the decisions taken have been correct, and what amendments to these decisions subsequent political events make necessary; from the standpoint of practice, in order to learn how to use the decisions as a proper guide, to learn to consider them as directives for practical application.

A revolutionary period, more than any other, provides material for such verification, thanks to the tremendous speed of political development and the sharpness of political clashes. In a revolutionary period the old "superstructure" falls apart, and, in full view of everyone, a new one is created by the independent action of the most diverse social forces, which reveal their true nature in practice.

Thus, the Russian revolution, too, provides us almost weekly with an amazing wealth of political material for verifying previously-made tactical decisions, and for drawing most instructive lessons with regard to our entire practical activities. Take the Odessa events. An attempt at insurrection has failed. A bitter reverse, a severe defeat. But what a world of difference there is between this set-back in the struggle and the set-backs in the efforts made by the Shipovs, Trubetskois, Petrunkeviches, Struves, and all such bourgeois flunkeys of the tsar, to strike a deal! Engels once said that defeated armies learn their lessons well. These splendid words apply in far greater measure to revolutionary armies, whose replacements come from the progressive classes. Until the old, corrupt superstructure, whose putrefaction infects the whole people, is swept away, each new defeat will produce ever new armies of fighters. Of course, there also exists mankind's far wider collective experience, which has left its impress upon the history of international democracy and of international Social-Democracy, and has been systematised by the foremost representatives of revolutionary thought. Our Party draws on that experience for material to be used in its everyday propaganda and agitation. But while society is based on the oppression and exploitation of millions of working people, only the few can learn directly from that experience. The masses have to learn mostly from their own experience, paying dearly for every lesson. The lesson of January 9 was a hard one, but it revolutionised the temper of the entire proletariat of the whole of Russia. The lesson of the Odessa uprising is a hard one, but, with sentiments already revolutionised, it will now teach the revolutionary proletariat not only how to fight but also how to win. Regarding the Odessa events we say: the revolutionary army has been defeated—long live the revolutionary army!

We have already stated in No. 7 of our paper that the Odessa uprising has shed new light on our slogans calling for a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government.* In the preceding number we spoke about the military lessons

* "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 560-68.—*Ed.*

of the uprising (Comrade V.S.'s article). In this issue we dwell once more on some of its political lessons (the article "Urban Revolution"). We must now deal with the verification of our recent tactical decisions in the double aspect of theoretical correctness and practical expediency we have spoken of above.

Insurrection and a revolutionary government are the most vital political questions of the present time. These are questions that Social-Democrats have most of all discussed and argued about among themselves. It was to these questions that the main resolutions of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and of the Conference of the break-away section of the Party were devoted. It may now be asked: in what light do these differences appear *after* the Odessa uprising? Anyone who will now go to the trouble of re-reading, on the one hand, the statements and articles on this uprising, and, on the other, the four resolutions on issues of insurrection and of a provisional government adopted by the Party Congress and by the new-Iskrists' Conference will at once notice how, under the influence of events, the latter have *in actual fact* begun to side with their opponents, i.e., to act not according to their own resolutions, but according to those of the Third Congress. There is no better critic of an erroneous doctrine than the course of revolutionary events.

Under the influence of these events *Iskra*'s Editorial Board has issued a leaflet entitled "The First Victory of the Revolution", addressed to "Russian citizens, workers, and peasants". Here is the most important passage in the leaflet:

"The time has come to act boldly and to support the soldiers' bold rebellion with all our might. It is boldness that will now win the day!

"Therefore, call open meetings of the people and bring them tidings of the collapse of tsarism's military prop! Wherever possible seize municipal institutions and make them the bulwark of the people's revolutionary government! Oust the tsarist officials and appoint general elections to bodies of revolutionary government, to which you will entrust the provisional administration of public affairs pending the final victory over the tsar's government and the establishment of a new political regime. Seize the branches of the State Bank and the arsenals and arm the people! Establish contacts between the cities, between town and countryside, and let armed citizens hasten to each other's assistance wherever aid is needed! Take the prisons and free the champions of our cause imprisoned there—they will swell your ranks! Proclaim everywhere the overthrow of the tsarist

monarchy and its replacement by a free democratic republic! Arise, citizens! The hour of liberation has struck! Long live the revolution! Long live the democratic republic! Long live the revolutionary army! Down with the autocracy!"

Thus, we have before us a determined, open, and clear call for an armed uprising of the whole people. We also have here an equally determined call—though, regrettably, inexplicit and incompletely worded—to form a provisional revolutionary government. Let us first consider the question of an uprising.

Is there any difference in principle between the way this question was handled by the Third Congress and by the Conference? Undoubtedly there is. We have already dealt with this in *Proletary*, No. 6 ("A Third Step Back"*) and we shall now refer, furthermore, to the instructive testimony of *Osvobozhdeniye*. In No. 72 of the magazine we read that the "Majority" is lapsing into "abstract revolutionism, rebelliousness, an eagerness to stir up insurrection among the popular masses by any and every means, and to immediately seize power on their behalf". "On the contrary, the Minority, while steadfastly adhering to the dogma of Marxism, at the same time preserves the realistic elements of the Marxist world outlook." This opinion of liberals who have gone through the preparatory school of Marxism and through Bernsteinism is extremely valuable. The liberal bourgeois have always reproached the revolutionary wing of Social-Democracy with "abstract revolutionism and rebelliousness" and have always praised the opportunist wing for its "realism" in stating the question. *Iskra* itself has had to admit (see No. 73, note referring to Mr. Struve's approval of the "realism" of Comrade Akimov's pamphlet) that, when spoken by the *Osvobozhdeniye* League members, "realist" means "*opportunist*". The *Osvobozhdeniye* League members know only pedestrian realism; the revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism, which emphasises the urgent tasks of the advanced class, and discovers in the existing state of things those elements that will lead to its overthrow, are absolutely alien to them. Therefore, *Osvobozhdeniye*'s characterisation of the two trends in Social-Democracy once

* First published in 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 544-54.—*Ed*.

more confirms a fact proved by our literature, namely, that the "Majority" is the revolutionary wing of Russian Social-Democracy, and the "Minority" its opportunist wing.

Osvobozhdeniye definitely admits that, compared with the Congress, "the Conference of the Minority regards insurrection in a quite different way". Indeed, the Conference resolution in the first place defeats its own purpose by now denying the possibility of a planned uprising (Clause 1), now admitting it (par. d), and, in the second place, confines itself to a mere enumeration of the *general* conditions for "preparing an uprising" such as: a) extending agitation; b) strengthening the ties with the mass movement; c) promoting a revolutionary consciousness; d) establishing connections between the various localities; e) winning over non-proletarian groups to support the proletariat. The Congress resolution, on the contrary, outspokenly proclaims positive slogans, recognises that the movement *has already made* insurrection imperative, and calls for the organisation of the proletariat for the immediate struggle, for the adoption of the most energetic measures to arm it, for the explanation through propaganda and agitation "not only of the political significance" of the uprising (in essence, the resolution of the Conference confines itself to this), but also its practical and organisational aspect.

For a clearer understanding of the difference between the two solutions of the problem let us recall the evolution of Social-Democratic views on insurrection since the very inception of the mass working-class movement. The first stage: 1897. In his *Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* Lenin states that "to decide at the present time the question of what methods the Social-Democracy will resort to for the direct overthrow of the autocracy, whether it will choose an uprising, or a widespread political strike, or some other form of attack, would be akin to generals calling a council of war before they have mustered an army" (p. 18).* Here, as we see, there is not the slightest reference to preparations for an uprising; what is spoken of is merely the mustering of an army, i.e., propaganda, agitation, and organisation in general.

* First published in pamphlet form in Geneva, 1898. See present edition, Vol. 2, p. 342.—*Ed.*

The second stage: 1902. In Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* we read:

"...Picture to yourselves a popular uprising. Probably everyone will now (February 1902) agree that we must think of this and prepare for it. But *how*? Surely the Central Committee cannot appoint agents to all localities for the purpose of preparing the uprising! Even if we had a Central Committee it could achieve absolutely nothing by such appointments under present-day Russian conditions. But a network of agents that would form in the course of establishing and distributing the common newspaper would not have to "sit about and wait" for the call for an uprising, but could carry on the regular activity that would guarantee the highest probability of success in the event of an uprising. Such activity would strengthen our contacts with the broadest strata of the working masses and with all social strata that are discontented with the autocracy, which is of such importance for an uprising. Precisely such activity would serve to cultivate the ability to estimate correctly the general political situation and, consequently, the ability to select the proper moment for an uprising. Precisely such activity would train *all* local organisations to respond simultaneously to the same political questions, incidents, and events that agitate the whole of Russia and to react to such 'incidents' in the most vigorous, uniform, and expedient manner possible; for an uprising is in essence the most vigorous, most uniform, and most expedient 'answer' of the entire people to the government. Lastly, it is precisely such activity that would train all revolutionary organisations throughout Russia to maintain the most continuous, and at the same time the most secret, contacts with one another, thus creating *real* Party unity; for without such contacts it will be impossible collectively to discuss the plan for the uprising and to take the necessary preparatory measures on its eve, measures that must be kept in the strictest secrecy" (pp. 136-37*).

What points does this reasoning bring out with regard to the question of an uprising? 1) The absurdity of the idea of "preparing" an uprising by appointing special agents

* First published in *Iskra*, 1902. See present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 515-16.—*Ed.*

who would "sit around and wait" for the call. 2) The necessity of contacts *established in the course of work done in common* between people and organisations engaged in the regular work. 3) The necessity of strengthening the ties between the proletarian (workers) and the non-proletarian (all the discontented) sections of the population in the course of such work. 4) The necessity of jointly cultivating the ability to appraise correctly the political situation and to "react" to political events in the most expedient manner. 5) The need for actual unification of all local revolutionary organisations.

Consequently, the slogan of *preparations for an uprising* is already plainly advanced, but as yet there is no direct call to rise, no recognition that the movement "has already led up to" the necessity for an uprising, that it is necessary to arm immediately, to organise ourselves in combat squads, etc. Before us is an analysis of those very conditions for preparing an uprising which are *repeated almost literally* in the Conference resolution (in 1905!!).

The third stage: 1905. A further step forward is made in the newspaper *Vperyod* and later on in the resolution of the Third Congress. *Besides* general political preparations for an uprising, a *direct slogan* is issued, namely, that we should immediately organise and arm for an uprising, and that special (combat) squads should be formed, as the movement "has already led to the necessity of an armed uprising" (Clause 2 of the Congress resolution).

This piece of historical information leads us to three indubitable conclusions: 1) The assertion of the liberal bourgeoisie, the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, that we are lapsing into "*abstract* revolutionism and rebelliousness" is a downright lie. We have always raised, and are now raising, this question not in an "abstract" way, but on a *concrete basis*, answering it differently in 1897, in 1902, and in 1905. The accusation of rebelliousness is an opportunist phrase of the liberal bourgeois gentry, who are preparing to betray the interests of the revolution and to play it false at a time of decisive conflict with the autocracy. 2) The Conference of the new-Iskrists stopped short at the second stage in the evolution of the question of insurrection. In 1905 it merely reiterated what had been enough in 1902.

It *lagged* some three years *behind* revolutionary developments. 3) Under the influence of the lessons of life, namely, the Odessa uprising, the new-Iskrists have in fact acknowledged the necessity of acting according to the Congress resolution and not according to their own, i.e., they have recognised that the task of an insurrection is an urgent one, that a direct call must be made forthwith for the immediate organisation of an uprising and for the arming of the people.

The revolution has dislodged a backward Social-Democratic doctrine at one stroke. Another obstacle to practical unity in work in common with the new-Iskrists has been removed, which, of course, does not yet mean that differences on principles have been entirely eliminated. We cannot be content to have our tactical slogans limp behind events and to their being adapted to events after their occurrence. We must have slogans that lead us forward, light up the path before us, and raise us above the immediate tasks of the moment. To wage a consistent and sustained struggle the party of the proletariat cannot determine its tactics from occasion to occasion. In its tactical decisions it must combine fidelity to the principles of Marxism with due regard for the progressive tasks of the revolutionary class.

Take another urgent political question, that of a provisional revolutionary government. Here we see, perhaps, even more clearly that in its leaflet the *Iskra* Editorial Board has in fact abandoned the slogans of the Conference and has accepted the tactical slogans of the Third Congress. The absurd theory of "not setting ourselves the aim of seizing" (for a democratic revolution) "or sharing power in a provisional government" has gone by the board, for the leaflet makes a direct appeal for the "seizure of municipal institutions" and the organisation of a "provisional administration of public affairs". The absurd slogan of "remaining a party of extreme revolutionary opposition" (absurd in a period of revolution, although quite appropriate in a period of parliamentary struggle alone) has in fact been shelved, for the Odessa events have forced *Iskra* to realise that during an insurrection it is ridiculous to confine oneself to this slogan, that it is necessary to call energetically for an uprising, for its vigorous prosecution and for the

use of revolutionary power. The absurd slogan of "revolutionary communes" has also been discarded, for the events in Odessa have forced *Iskra* to realise that this slogan merely serves to confuse the democratic revolution with the socialist. To confuse these two very different things would be sheer adventurism, testifying to complete obscurity in theoretical thinking, and capable of hampering implementation of essential practical measures facilitating the working-class struggle for socialism in a democratic republic.

Call to mind the polemic between the new *Iskra* and *Vperyod*, the former's tactics of action "only from below", as opposed to the *Vperyod* tactics of action "both from below and from above", and you will see that *Iskra* has accepted our solution of the question by now itself calling for action from above. Remember *Iskra*'s apprehensions that we might discredit ourselves by assuming responsibility for the treasury, finances, etc.—and you will see that, though our arguments failed to convince *Iskra*, the events did convince it of the correctness of those arguments, for in the leaflet quoted above *Iskra* clearly recommends "seizure of branches of the State Bank". The absurd theory that a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, their joint participation in a provisional revolutionary government constitutes "treason to the proletariat" or "vulgar Jaurèsism (Millerandism)" has simply been forgotten by the new-Iskrists, who are themselves now calling upon the workers and peasants to seize municipal institutions, branches of the State Bank and arsenals "to arm the whole people" (apparently, this time meaning to arm with *weapons* and not merely with a "burning desire to arm themselves"), to proclaim the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy, etc.—in a word, to act wholly in accordance with the programme provided in the resolution of the Third Congress, to act precisely as is indicated by the slogan calling for a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship and a provisional revolutionary government.

True, *Iskra* mentions neither of these slogans in its leaflet. It enumerates and describes actions whose sum is characteristic of a provisional revolutionary government, but avoids mentioning the term. That is to be regretted. In

actual fact it accepts this slogan, but the absence of a clear term can only create vacillation and uncertainty, and sow confusion in fighters' minds. Fear of the *words* "revolutionary government" and "revolutionary power" is a purely anarchist fear, and unworthy of a Marxist. To "seize" institutions and banks, "appoint elections", establish "provisional administration", and "proclaim the overthrow of the monarchy"—for all this the first and absolutely necessary step is the proclamation of a provisional revolutionary government to unite all the military and political activities of the revolutionary people and direct these activities towards a single aim. Unless there is such unity, unless the provisional government is universally recognised by the revolutionary people, unless it assumes all power, any "seizure" of institutions and any "proclamation" of a republic will remain merely an outburst of senseless rebelliousness. Unless it is concentrated by the revolutionary government the people's revolutionary energy will merely dissipate after the first success of the uprising squander itself on trifles, and lose its national scope. It will be unable to cope with the task of keeping what has been seized, or of giving effect to what has been proclaimed.

We repeat: Social-Democrats who do not recognise the decisions of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. have been in actual fact forced by the course of events to act in full accordance with the slogans proclaimed by the Congress and to throw the Conference's slogans by the board. Revolution teaches. It is our duty to make the most of the lessons it provides, frame our tactical slogans in conformity with our conduct and our immediate aims, give the masses a proper understanding of those immediate aims, and start most extensively organising the workers everywhere to fight in an uprising, create a revolutionary army, and form a provisional revolutionary government!

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WRATHFUL IMPOTENCE

No. 104 of *Iskra* carries a retort to our *feuilleton* "A Third Step Back"* (*Proletary*, No. 6), which spoke quite calmly of the new-*Iskra* group having made use of a printing-press, supplies, and funds in the name of the Party, but having refused to return Party property. The state *Iskra* has been reduced to by its irritation over this statement is to be seen in the language it has been using, which is reminiscent of the Bund's inimitable brand of vituperation. *Iskra* has courteously applied to us such terms as "filthy swab", "slanderous cowards", and so on and so forth. All this reminds one of the way Engels once characterised the polemic waged by a certain variety of *émigrés*: "Each word is like a chamber-pot, and not an empty one at that" (*Jedes Wort—ein Nachttopf und kein leerer*).[67] We have, of course, not forgotten the French saying, "Abuse is the argument of those who are wrong". We shall ask the unbiased reader calmly to pass judgement on the cause of all this fuss. The new-Iskrists have made no reply to a letter from the Central Committee asking them, after the Third Congress, to return Party property. They do not recognise the Third Congress or the Central Committee's turn towards the Bolsheviks. That is all so. However, the only conclusion to be drawn from such non-recognition is that, as the new-Iskrists see it, they should return not all Party property, but only part of it. This is so obvious that in its retort *Iskra* itself now speaks of "the possibility of dividing up all Party property". If that is the case, our dear oppo-

* See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 544-54.—*Ed.*

nents, why could you not have replied to the Central Committee's letter in that vein? Otherwise, it is beyond doubt that, however energetic the expressions you have used, the Majority has rendered a full account of all its affairs by publishing the minutes of the Third Congress, while you have rendered no account to anybody concerning the use of Party property, have published no minutes at all, but have only used bad language. Consider in a moment of calm the impression such behaviour must produce on all thinking people.

Further, the Central Committee's turn towards the Congress is displeasing to *Iskra*. That is natural. But this turn is not the first to have taken place. A year ago, in August 1904, the Central Committee sided with the Minority. A year ago we stated in print and publicly that we did not recognise the legality of the Central Committee's actions. It may be asked: How did we then behave with respect to Party property? *We handed over the printing-press*, *stores*, *and funds to the Mensheviks*. *Iskra* may hurl as much abuse as it likes, but facts are facts. We rendered due account and turned the property over to our opponents wishing to fight in the Party spirit and to get a congress called. Our opponents have been steering clear of a congress and have rendered no account to anybody (except their own adherents, and even to them in private, for no minutes of the "Conference" were kept, in the first place, and in the second, nothing is known either of its agenda or of the scope of its powers, i.e., the degree in which its decisions are binding upon the Mensheviks themselves).

The struggle within our Party has ended in a split; it is now merely a struggle between two parties, one of which is in the throes of organisation-as-process. Today, looking back at the history of the struggle prior to the split, anybody (of course of those who *study* the history of their Party using the documents, and do not merely give ear to old wives' tales, in the way practised by many who come here from Russia)—anybody can clearly see the general nature of the struggle. The Majority, which has been accused of "formalism", bureaucratism, and so on, has surrendered *all* its formal privileges and bureaucratic institutions to its opponents—first the Central Organ's Editorial Board, then the

Party Council, and finally the Central Committee. The Congress is the only thing it has refused to give up. The outcome has been that the Bolsheviks have restored the Party (or rather, as the new-Iskrists naturally think, have created their own Party), founding *all* their Party institutions wholly on the voluntary consent of Party workers—first the Bureau of Majority Committees, then *Vperyod*, and, finally, the Third Party Congress. Our opponents, on the contrary, are holding on to their formal privileges and bureaucratic institutions given to them out of commiseration. Consider the following fact: have not Lenin and Plekhanov made them the gift of the Central Organ's Editorial Board? When it calls itself the Central Organ of the Party, *Proletary* bases its claim on the Third Congress decisions which are not recognised by the Mensheviks, but have been clearly, precisely, and definitely recognised by the Party Majority whose composition is known to all. For its part, *Iskra*, which styles itself "Central Organ of the Party", bases that claim on the decisions of the Second Congress, which today are recognised neither by the Bolsheviks (we have replaced them by the decisions of the Third Congress), *nor by the Mensheviks*!! That is the gist of the whole matter! After all, it was the Menshevik Conference that revoked the Rules of the Second Congress. It is the new-*Iskra* group *that is now clinging to a heading* rejected by its own adherents!

Even Plekhanov himself, who could never see eye to eye with the new-Iskrists in matters of principle, but has made countless personal concessions to them, launched more than his share of attacks against the Bolsheviks, for which the new-Iskrists have been bowing and scraping to him—even Plekhanov has declared that the Conference has dealt a death blow at the central institutions, and has preferred to wash his hands of the matter. As for the new-*Iskra* people, they go on calling themselves the "Central Organ", and rail against those who tell them that their Party stand is not merely wrong but downright indecent. The abusive language that has provided the occasion for this writing is the psychologically inevitable consequence of a dim realisation of that indecency. We shall remind the reader that even Mr. Struve, who has often voiced sympathy *in principle* with

Trotsky, Starover, Akimov, and Martynov, and with the new-*Iskra* trends in general and the new-*Iskra* Conference in particular—even Mr. Struve was in his time obliged to acknowledge that their stand is not quite a correct one, or rather quite an incorrect one (see *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 57).

We are well aware that the mass of Social-Democrats, especially the workers, are most dissatisfied with the split (but then, who can be pleased with it?), and are ready to look for a solution "*wherever possible*". We fully understand this frame of mind and have every respect for it, but we would warn all and sundry that a frame of mind is not enough. The formula "wherever possible" is worthless, for it lacks the chief thing—an understanding of the *means* of putting an end to the split. Bitter words, attempts to create a "third something", neither Bolshevik nor Menshevik, will not help matters, but will only introduce greater confusion. The example provided over the last two years by so powerful a personality as Plekhanov is a practical illustration of this. Let bitter words be resorted to by German Social-Democrats, who, like Karl Kautsky, have, in the main, learnt of the split in the Party from biased sources. Their ignorance may be pardoned, though their claims to judge things they know nothing of are, of course, unpardonable. Russian Social-Democrats must at last learn to despise those whose only recourse is to bitter words, who chop and change, hold forth on the subject of "peace", but reveal their impotence when it comes to doing something real for the cause of peace. The real path to peace and unity in the Party does not lie through hasty agreements, which will lead to new conflicts and to new and worse confusion, but through thorough and *factual ascertainment* of the tactical and organisational tendencies of both sides. In this respect we are most satisfied with the new-*Iskra* Conference, which has revealed the irreparable disintegration of the new-*Iskra* trend. Their tail-ism in questions of tactics has been smashed by the revolution, and their "organisation-as-process" has become a laughing-stock. They have been left, on the one hand, by Plekhanov, who has evidently been "enlightened" by the Conference not only with regard to its organisational significance but also with regard to adherence to principle on the part of the new-

Iskrists. On the other hand, they have been abandoned by Akimov, who has called the promises or "principles" of the St. Petersburg Mensheviks "*a hollow phrase*" (*Posledniye Izvestia*,[68] No. 235). The Party's Third Congress has rallied the ranks of one of the sides. The other side has been smashed by the Conference itself. It remains for us only to advise the "conciliators" to study the history of the split, examine the causes of the failure of Plekhanov's conciliation, and refrain from putting new wine into old bottles.

Proletary, No. 9,
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Published according to
the text in *Proletary*

ORIGINAL VARIANT OF THE PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *WORKERS ON THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY*[69]

COVER: *The Voice of the Workers and the Split in the Party*

Published by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.
Contents:

I. Preface by the Editorial Board of *Proletary*.
II. Letter from an Odessa Worker.
III. Reply to a Letter from a Worker. By *Abramov*.
IV. Open Letter from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Organising Committee.

PREFACE

In No. 8 of *Proletary* we mentioned the forthcoming publication of a letter from an Odessa worker, who, in our opinion, has expressed the temper of a fairly large number of workers. In reply to this letter we are publishing, in the first place, an article by Comrade Abramov of the *Proletary* staff "Reply to a Letter from a Worker", and in the second place, "An Open Letter to the Organising Committee" from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.,[70] which was recently released in Russia and featured in No. 10 of *Proletary*.

As for us, we would emphasise only one thing—unification is essential. "Worker" is quite right in insisting on this. However, insistence is not sufficient; what is needed is the ability to bring about unification, the strength to achieve unification. It is not hard to stand aside and form a third

party or neutral group. That will not bring unification closer, but will only defer it; it will not simplify the present confused state of affairs, but will only make it more confused. The decisions made at the Conference of the Minority or new-Iskrists give no direct or clear answer to the question of *precisely how* unification can and should be achieved. The decisions of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. provide that answer in the shape of the Party Rules, which fully guarantee the Minority's rights. It would be ridiculous to consider that answer infallible or ideal. But anyone who would not merely talk of unification but really work for its achievement through effective measures and proposals should not limit himself to reproaches and reproofs, should not increase the split by forming a third party, but should set about preparing his answer to the question of the conditions and forms of unification. That is a far more difficult matter than the preaching of peace and love, but then it is far more useful.

Editorial Board of "Proletary"

Written in July 1905

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Published according to the manuscript

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *WORKERS ON THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY*

When, in *Proletary* (No. 8), we promised to publish in full a letter signed "A Worker, One of Many", we had no idea who he was. We do know that the ideas expressed by him are really shared by many workers, and this was sufficient reason for us to decide to publish his letter. Now we learn from *Iskra*, No. 105 that the author of the letter "formerly considered himself one of the Minority", that "he had for a long time past been a bitter enemy of the so-called Majority". So much the better. So much more valuable to us is this former Menshevik's admission that well-meant intentions as to "proletarian initiative" were just so many "fine words"; so much more precious is his outright condemnation of the intellectual's "Manilovism".[71] This is an indubitable sign that the Mensheviks' demagogy, their indiscriminate promises of boons of every description—autonomy, initiative, democracy, etc.—are, as should have been expected, beginning to weary class-conscious workers and evoke their legitimate distrust and criticism.

Another highly characteristic fact, and one which we are sure will turn many more Menshevik workers into "former Mensheviks", is that *Iskra* has seen in this letter from "Worker" a "fist from below"! This is a fact that is very much worth considering.

What has a "fist" to do with it anyway? Does this "dreadful word", which the Mensheviks have worked almost to death, denote certain definite organisational concepts, or does it simply express the intellectual's annoyance at, or outburst against, any strong organisation which would hold intellectual caprices in check?

What does the author of the letter want? He wants the split to be closed. Does *Iskra* sympathise with this aim? Yes, it states so plainly. Does it consider that this can be achieved right now? Yes, it does, for it declares: "Differences (in tactics) are not so great as to justify a split."

That being the case, why does *Iskra* again bring up the tactical differences in its reply to "Worker", mentioning even the "Plan of the Zemstvo Campaign" which was buried in the *Iskra* bulletins published "for Party members only" and in Plekhanov's "confidential" pamphlet? What is the point of this? "Worker" does not deny the necessity of polemics and disputes, nor do the Bolsheviks deny it! And the Party Rules adopted at the Third Congress clearly establish the right of every committee to publish literature. After all, the question revolves around what should be done for tactical disagreements not to lead to a split, i.e., to a break in the organisational ties. Why then does *Iskra evade* this clearly presented question, by dragging in irrelevant arguments about tactical differences? Is it not, perhaps, because "Worker" would rule out any irrelevant chatter that they speak of his "fist"?

A mere desire to put an end to the split is not sufficient to end it. It is necessary to know *how* to do it. Putting an end to the split means merging in a *single* organisation. And whoever really wants to bring the split speedily to an end must not confine himself to complaints, reproaches, recriminations, exclamations, and declamations about the split (as is done by "Worker" and also by Plekhanov, for instance, since he has found himself in the Marsh)—he must immediately start *developing* the type of that common and united organisation.

The weak point in the letter from "Worker" is that the author merely *bewails* the split, but makes no definite proposals for *specific* organisational measures to close it. Instead of remedying this defect, *Iskra aggravates* it by yelling in "panic": "A fist?", at the mere *idea* voiced by "Worker" concerning obligatory recognition of common organisational rules!! The split is not justified by the differences, says "Worker". That is true, *Iskra* agrees. This, "Worker" continues, means that it is now necessary to spin a rope so strong (fie, for shame! What grossly mechanical terms I am using!

What a "fistic" idea! But bear up a moment, comrades of *Iskra*, don't fall into a swoon at the idea of "nooses" and other such horrors!) that it would firmly bind both sections and keep them tied together *despite* tactical differences.

In reply to this *Iskra* has another fit of hysterics, and screams: "A fist!"

We, on our part, say in reply: You are right, Comrade Worker! You reason in a business-like way. A new, strong rope is needed. But go further, take the next step: begin to consider *what sort* of rope this should be, *what exactly this common* organisation, which is to be *obligatory* (help! the "fist" again!) upon both sections, should be like.

Comrade Worker did not go far *enough* in specifying his *organisational* proposals (because the question of closing the split is an exclusively organisational question, *provided both sides* acknowledge that tactical differences do not justify a split!); *Iskra*, however, finds that he went too far, so far, indeed, that it has again raised the cry about a fist!!

Once more we ask our readers: In point of fact, what is the real meaning of this notorious "fist", which, one might say, is scaring the new *Iskra* out of its wits? Does this fist express any definite organisational ideas, or is it merely the intellectual's blind and ridiculous fear of *any kind* of "ties" imposed by any organisation that is *obligatory* upon all members of the Party?

We leave it to the class-conscious workers to decide this question for themselves, and shall proceed.

The real difficulty in a merger, assuming both sides sincerely desire it, is the following. In the first place, organisational standards, Party Rules absolutely binding on all, should be laid down; secondly, all parallel, competing local and central Party organisations and institutions should be merged.

So far *only* the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. has attempted to solve the first of these problems, by establishing rules providing constitutional guarantees for the rights of any minority. The Third Congress has, so to say, provided a place in the Party for every minority that accepts the Party programme, tactics, and discipline of organisation. The Bolsheviks have taken care to provide the Mensheviks as well with a definite place in a united Party. We cannot say

the same of the Mensheviks: their rules provide for no constitutional guarantees whatever of the rights of any minority in the Party.

It goes without saying that no Bolshevik regards the Rules adopted by the Third Congress as ideal or infallible. Whoever thinks the Rules have to be changed should come forward with a draft of clear-cut amendments—this would be a *practical step* towards closing the split; it would be something more than mere complaints and recriminations.

We may, perhaps, be asked, why we have not ourselves started doing this with regard to the Rules adopted by the "Conference". Our answer is that we have started to do so: see *Proletary*, No. 6, "A Third Step Back".* We are prepared to repeat the *fundamental principles of organisation*, recognition of which is, in our opinion, necessary for a merger: 1) Submission of the minority to the majority (not to be confused with the "Minority" and the "Majority" in quotation marks! Here we deal with the principle of Party organisation in general, not with the fusion of the "Minority" with the "Majority", which we shall speak of later. It is possible, speaking in the abstract, to visualise the merger between an equal number of both "Mensheviks" and "Bolsheviks", but even such a merger is *impossible* unless the submission of the minority to the majority is recognised *in principle and as obligatory*). 2) The congress, i.e., an assembly of elected delegates from all duly authorised organisations must be the Party's supreme organ, moreover, any decision by these elected delegates must be final (this is the principle of democratic representation, as opposed to the principle of consultative conferences whose decisions are submitted to the organisations for endorsement, i.e., a plebiscite). 3) Elections to the Party's central body (or bodies) must be by direct vote and must be held at a congress. Elections outside a congress, two-stage elections, etc., are impermissible. 4) All Party publications, both local and central, must be completely subordinate to both the Party Congress and the relevant central or local organisation of the Party. Existence of Party publications organisationally unconnected with the Party is impermissible. 5) There must be an

* See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 544-54.—*Ed.*

absolutely clear definition of what membership of the Party implies. 6) In like manner, the rights of any Party minority must also be clearly defined in the Party Rules.

Such, in our opinion, are the absolutely indispensable organisational principles, without recognition of which no merger is possible. We should like to hear the opinion of "A Worker, One of Many" in the matter, and, in general, of all in favour of fusion.

We may be asked: What about the question of the committees' attitude towards provincial organisations? What about the elective principle? Our reply is that no fundamental principles of organisation are involved in this matter, once the absolute application of the elective principle is not suggested. That is something the Mensheviks have not suggested. In conditions of political liberty the elective principle will be necessary, but, for the present, even the Rules adopted by the "Conference" have not introduced it for the committees. One definition or another of the rights and powers of the provincial organisations is not a question of principle (assuming, of course, that what is said is actually carried out, that there is no indulgence in demagogy and merely "fine words"). The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. tried to give an exact definition of what is meant by committees and provincial organisations, a definition of the relations between them. Any proposals for certain changes, amendments, or deletions would be quite calmly discussed by any Bolshevik. So far as I am aware, there are no "intransigents" in our midst on any point of the question, and the minutes of the Third Congress will bear out this assertion.

The next and probably no less difficult question is how to merge all parallel organisations. In conditions of political liberty this would be easy, since we would have Party organisations with a certain number of definitely known members. With a secret organisation it is different. Establishment of membership is all the more difficult, the more lightly membership is sometimes understood, and, the more often recourse is made to demagogy, to fictitious enrolment in the Party of people who are not class-conscious. We think that the comrades working on the spot and well acquainted with the state of affairs should have the final say on how these difficulties are to be overcome. The temporary

absence of members of organisations, who are "on holiday" in prison, are in exile, or abroad, is another impediment that should be taken into account. Then there is, of course, the considerable difficulty of merging the central bodies. Without a single guiding centre, without a single central press organ, real unity of the Party is impossible. In this respect the question stands as follows: either the class-conscious workers, ignoring all plaints about fists, will succeed in forcing the actual minority in the Party to advocate their views, without disorganising the work, in the various bodies of the local committees, at conferences, congresses, meetings, etc.; or the class-conscious Social-Democratic workers will not be able to cope with this task at present (generally speaking, they will undoubtedly and inevitably manage to cope with it: this is vouched for by the entire labour movement of Russia)—and in that event only agreements, and not fusion, will be possible between rival centres and rival organs.

In conclusion, we shall repeat: it is not by means of complaints and accusations, not by forming new, third parties or groups, circles, etc. (similar to the one Plekhanov has now founded with his new Party publishing organisation[72] outside the Party), that Comrade Worker and those who share his views must strive to achieve their aims. The formation of a third party or new groups will only complicate and confuse matters. Preparation of concrete terms of fusion must be started: when all Party groups and organisations, all class-conscious workers, set about this, they will undoubtedly be able to work out reasonable terms, and not only work them out, but force the Party leaders (disregarding all plaints about fists) to submit to these terms.

In addition to Comrade Worker's letter we are publishing an Open Letter from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Organising Committee, as a first step towards a practical solution of the problem of a possible closing of the split.

Editorial Board of "Proletary"

July 1905

First published in 1905 in a pamphlet issued by the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party

Published according to the text of the pamphlet

WHILE THE PROLETARIAT IS DOING THE FIGHTING THE BOURGEOISIE IS STEALING TOWARDS POWER

In war-time the diplomats stand idle, but when hostilities are over they are very much in the picture, casting up the results, making out the bills, and acting the honest broker.

Something of the kind is under way in the Russian revolution as well. During the armed clashes between the people and the forces of autocracy, the liberal bourgeois lie low; they are against violence either from above or from below, and are opposed both to the authorities' acts of despotism and to mob anarchy. It is only when the fighting is over that they appear on the scene, their political decisions clearly reflecting the change in the political situation brought about by the fighting. After January 9 the liberal bourgeoisie turned "pink"; it has now begun to go "red" following the Odessa events, which (in connection with events in the Caucasus, Poland, etc.) point to a steep rise in the people's insurrection against the autocracy during six months of revolution.

Highly instructive in this respect are three recent liberal congresses. The most conservative of them was that of the merchants and manufacturers, who are most trusted by the autocracy and are undisturbed by the police. They criticise and condemn the Bulygin scheme and demand a constitution, but, as far as we can judge from the incomplete information available, they do not even raise the question of boycotting the Bulygin elections. The most radical of the three was a delegate Congress of the Union of Unions[73]

held in secret within a stone's throw of St. Petersburg, but on non-Russian soil—in Finland. Congress members are said to have taken the precaution of concealing their papers, police searches at the border yielding no results. By a majority vote (though there seems to have been a sizable minority) this Congress approved a thorough and determined boycott of the Bulygin elections and called for a widespread campaign for universal suffrage.

In the middle stood the most "influential", fanfared, and vociferous of the three, the Zemstvo and Municipal Congress, which enjoyed almost legal status. The police drew up a protocol just as a matter of form, their demand that the Congress break up merely evoking smiles. But newspapers that began to report the Congress were either suspended (*Slovo*)[74] or cautioned (*Russkiye Vedomosti*). According to Mr. Pyotr Dolgorukov's concluding address as reported in *The Times*, the Congress was attended by 216 delegates. Reports on its proceedings were cabled to all parts of the world by foreign correspondents. No opinion whatever was expressed on the main political issue—a boycott of the Bulygin "constitution". According to British newspapers, the majority stood for a boycott, but the Organising Committee was against it. A compromise was reached, leaving the question open pending publication of the Bulygin scheme, after which a new congress was to be convened by telegraph. Naturally, the Bulygin scheme was strongly condemned by the Congress, which adopted the *Osvobozhdeniye* draft constitution (providing for a monarchy and a two-chamber system), rejected an appeal to the tsar, and decided to "appeal to the people".

We are not yet in possession of the latter appeal. According to the foreign press, it amounts to a survey, couched in moderate terms, of events since the November Zemstvo Congress, as well as a list of facts revealing the government's unconscionable procrastination, its broken promises, and cynical flouting of the demands of public opinion. Besides an appeal to the people, an almost unanimous resolution was passed calling for resistance to the government's unjust and arbitrary acts. "In view of the arbitrary acts of the Administration and the constant violation of the rights of the public," the resolution declares, "the Congress deems it incumbent upon all to defend the natural rights of man by

peaceful means, including resistance to the acts of the authorities violating these rights, although such acts may be based on the letter of the law." (We quote from *The Times*.)

So our liberal bourgeoisie has beyond doubt taken a step to the left. The revolution marches on—the bourgeois democrats hobble along in the rear. The true nature of this democracy, as *bourgeois* democracy, representing the propertied classes' interests and inconsistently and self-interestedly defending the cause of freedom, is being revealed ever more clearly, even though bourgeois democracy is going "red" and sometimes attempts to use "almost revolutionary" language.

Indeed, postponement of a decision on the boycott of the Bulygin constitution can denote nothing but a desire to go on haggling with the autocracy, a lack of self-confidence within the majority which seemed to emerge in favour of a boycott, and a tacit admission that, while asking for nothing short of a constitution, the landowners and the merchants would, probably, agree to something less. Even if a congress of liberal bourgeois does not venture to break at once with the autocracy and the Bulygin farce, what can be expected of that congress of all and sundry bourgeois which is to be styled the Bulygin "Duma" and will be elected (if ever elected it will be!) under every kind of pressure from the autocratic government?

That is exactly how the autocratic government looks upon this act of the liberals, which it considers merely an episode in the bourgeoisie's chaffering. On the one hand, the autocracy, in view of the liberals' discontent, is "adding to" its promises—the Bulygin scheme, according to reports in the foreign press, is to include a number of new "liberal" changes. On the other hand, the autocracy is replying to Zemstvo discontent with a new threat: characteristic in this respect is a *Times* report, which says that Bulygin and Goremykin propose, as a measure against Zemstvo "radicalism", to stir up the peasants against "the quality" by promising them extra land in the name of the tsar, and holding a "people's" plebiscite (with the aid of the Rural Superintendents[75]), on the question of whether or not the elections should be held on a social-estate basis. This report is, of course, just a rumour set afloat, probably with a definite purpose,

but there can be no doubt that the government is not afraid to resort to the grossest, most brutal, and most unbridled demagogy; nor is it afraid of an uprising by "masses on the rampage" and the dregs of society, while the liberals are afraid of the people rising up against their oppressors, against the heroes of plunder, looting, and bashi-bazouk atrocities. The government has long been shedding blood in a way and on a scale that have no precedent, yet the liberals respond by saying they want to prevent bloodshed! After a reply of this kind, is not any hired thug entitled to despise them as bourgeois hagglers? After this, is it not ridiculous to adopt a resolution calling for an appeal to the people and recognising "peaceful resistance" to violence and arbitrary acts? The government is distributing arms right and left, and bribing all comers to beat up and massacre Jews, "democrats", Armenians, Poles, and so on. But our "democrats" still think that campaigning for "peaceful resistance" is a "revolutionary" step!

In No. 73 of *Osvobozhdeniye*, which we have just received, Mr. Struve is ireful against Mr. Suvorin[76] for the latter's condescendingly patting Mr. Ivan Petrunkevich on the back and suggesting that such liberals should be mollified with posts in ministries and government departments. Mr. Struve is indignant, for it is precisely Mr. Petrunkevich and his Zemstvo supporters ("who, before history and the nation, have committed themselves to a programme"—What kind of programme? Where did they commit themselves?) that he has designated for ministerial posts in some future Cabinet to be formed by the Constitutional-Democratic Party. We, however, hold that the way in which the Petrunkeviches behaved both at their reception by the tsar and at the Zemstvo Congress of July 6 (19) has given even the Suvorins good reason to despise such "democrats". "Every sincere and thinking liberal in Russia demands a revolution," Mr. Struve writes. For our part we shall add that if in July 1905 this "demand for a revolution" is voiced in a resolution on peaceable methods of resistance then the Suvorins have every right to despise and sneer at such a "demand" and at such "revolutionaries".

Mr. Struve will, probably, retort that events which have until now swung our liberals to the left will in due course

carry them farther still. Here is what he has written in the selfsame No. 73:

"Conditions for the army's physical intervention in the political struggle will actually be provided only when the autocratic monarchy clashes with a nation organised through popular representation. The army will then have to choose between the government and the nation, and the choice will not be difficult or mistaken."

This peaceful idyll looks very much like putting revolution off until the Greek calends.[77] Who is to organise the nation in a popular representation? The autocracy? But the latter consents to organise only the Bulygin Duma, which you yourselves are protesting against and refuse to recognise as popular representation! Or, perhaps, the "nation" will itself organise representation of the people? If so, why is it that the liberals are dead set against a provisional revolutionary government, which can rely only on a revolutionary army? Why is it that, while at their congress they spoke in the name of the people, the liberals are taking no step that would signify the nation being organised in a popular representation? If, gentlemen, you really represent the people and not the bourgeoisie which betrays the interests of the people in the revolution, why don't you appeal to the army? Why don't you announce a break with the autocratic monarchy? Why do you shut your eyes to the inevitability of a decisive struggle between the army of revolution and the army of tsarism?

The reason is that you are afraid of the revolutionary people; you address them in trite words, while in actual fact you reckon and haggle with the autocracy. Additional proof of that is provided by the talks held by Mr. Golovin, Chairman of the Zemstvo Congress's Organising Committee, with Kozlov, Governor General of Moscow. Mr. Golovin assured Kozlov that rumours of any intent to turn the Congress into a constituent assembly were absurd. What does that mean? It means in effect that a representative of organised bourgeois democracy gave his pledge to a representative of the autocracy that bourgeois democracy has no intention of breaking with the autocracy! Only political tyros will fail to realise that an undertaking not to declare the Congress a constituent assembly was tantamount to promising to refrain

from all genuinely revolutionary measures: Kozlov, of course, shied not at the words "constituent assembly" but at *acts* that could exacerbate the conflict and lead to the people and the army beginning a determined struggle against tsarism. Is it not political hypocrisy for you to call yourselves revolutionaries, talk of appealing to the people and placing no more reliance in the tsar, while in actual fact you reassure the tsar's servants as to your intentions?

Oh, those florid liberal phrases! How many were uttered at the Congress by Mr. Petrunkevich, leader of the "Constitutional-Democratic" Party! Let us see what commitments to "history and the nation" he has assumed. The source is *The Times*.

Mr. de Roberti spoke in favour of petitioning the tsar. This was opposed by Petrunkevich, Novosiltsev, Shakhovskoi, and Rodichev. A ballot produced only six votes for a petition. Mr. Petrunkevich had said that "when they went to Peterhof on June 6 (19), they still hoped the tsar would understand the terrible dangers of the situation and do something to avert them. All hope in that direction must be abandoned. There remained only one issue. Till now they had hoped for reform from above, but henceforth their only hope was in the people. (*Loud applause*.) They must tell them the truth in plain and homely words. The inability and impotence of the government had promoted revolution. That was a fact which they all had to recognise. Their duty was to use every effort to prevent the accompaniment of bloodshed. Many of them had devoted long years to the service of their countrymen; they must go boldly to the people, no longer to the tsar." On the following day Mr. Petrunkevich continued: "We must break out of the narrow confines of our activities and go to the peasant. Till now we hoped for reforms from above, but, while we waited, time was doing its work. Expedited by the government revolution has overtaken us. Yesterday two of our members were so much frightened by the word revolution that they left the Congress, but we must face the situation manfully. We cannot wait with folded arms. The objection has been raised that any appeal to the nation by the Zemstvos and Municipal Councils will amount to agitation that stirs up unrest. But does calm reign in the villages? No, unrest already exists there, and of the worst kind.

We cannot keep the storm in check, but we must at least try to avert too much turmoil. We must tell the people that it is useless to destroy factories and estates. We cannot regard such destruction as mere vandalism: it is the peasants' blind and ignorant way of remedying an evil which they instinctively feel but are unable to understand. The authorities may reply with the knout. It is nevertheless our duty to go to the people. We should have done that earlier. The Zemstvos have been in existence for forty years without coming into close and intimate contact with the peasants. Let us lose no time in rectifying this error. We must tell the peasant that we stand with him."

Excellent, Mr. Petrunkevich! You stand with the peasants, with the people; you recognise the revolution as a fact, and have abandoned all hope in the tsar.... Good luck to you, gentlemen! Only ... only, what exactly do you mean? You say you are not with the tsar, but with the people, *so therefore* you promise Governor General Kozlov that the Congress will not act as a constituent assembly, i.e., as a body that is genuinely and actually representative of the people. You recognise the revolution, *so therefore* you reply with peaceful methods of resistance to the atrocities, killings, and pillage perpetrated by the government's servants. You go to the peasant and stand with the peasant, *so therefore* you confine yourselves to a most vague programme, whose only promise is that the peasants may *buy back* land, given the landlords' consent. You are not with the tsar, but with the people, *so therefore* you accept a draft constitution which, in the first place, provides for a monarchy and the tsar's control of the army and the bureaucracy, and, in the second place, guarantees in advance the political supremacy of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie through an upper chamber.*

The liberal bourgeoisie is turning to the people. That is true. It has been forced to do so, for without the people it is powerless to fight the autocracy. But it is also afraid of the revolutionary people; it does not turn to the latter as a representative of their interests, or as a new and ardent

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* See the leaflet "Three Constitutions" published by our newspaper. (See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 557-58.—*Ed.*)

comrade-in-arms, but as a chafferer, a stockjobber, who dashes from one belligerent to the other. Today it is with the tsar and implores him on behalf of the "people" to grant a monarchist constitution, at the same time cravenly renouncing the people, "unrest", "sedition", and revolution. On the morrow it threatens the tsar at its congress, threatens him with a monarchist constitution, and with peaceable resistance to his bayonets. And yet, gentlemen, you are surprised that the tsar's servants have taken the measure of your craven, petty, double-dealing souls. You are afraid to remain without a tsar, but the tsar is not afraid to remain without you. You are afraid of a decisive struggle; the tsar is not afraid of that, but wants it; he is himself provoking and commencing the struggle; he wants a test of strength before he yields. It is quite natural for the tsar to despise you. It is quite natural for his contempt to be conveyed to you by his lackeys, the Suvorins, who patronisingly pat your Mr. Petrunkevich on the back. You deserve this contempt, for you are not fighting on the people's side, but are only stealing towards power behind the backs of the revolutionary people.

On occasions foreign correspondents and bourgeois publicists grasp the gist of the matter very aptly, although their rendering is somewhat peculiar. M. Gaston Leroux has undertaken to present the Zemstvo views in *Matin*[78]: "There is disorder above and disorder below; we alone are people of order," he writes. That, indeed, is what the Zemstvos think. Translated into plain Russian that means: Both above and below, there are people ready to do the fighting, but as for us, we are honest brokers—we are stealing towards power. We are waiting in the hope that our March 18 will also come round, that the people will at least once defeat the government in street fighting, and that, like the German liberal bourgeoisie, we shall get an opportunity to take over power, following the first victory of the people. Then, after becoming a force against the autocracy, we shall turn against the revolutionary people and strike a deal with the tsar, against the people. Our draft constitution is a ready-made programme of such a deal.

Quite a skilful calculation! One has sometimes to say of the revolutionary people that which the Romans said of

Hannibal: "You know how to win victories, but you don't know how to profit by them." A victorious rising will not yet be a victory of the people unless it leads to a revolutionary upheaval, to the complete overthrow of the autocracy, to the ousting of the inconsistent and selfish bourgeoisie, and to a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Le Temps, organ of the French conservative bourgeoisie, has straightforwardly advised the Zemstvos to put a speedy end to the conflict by *coming to terms* with the tsar (editorial of July 24, New Style). Reforms, it says, are impossible without a union of moral force and material force. Only the government has material force. The Zemstvos are a moral force.

This is an excellent rendering of bourgeois views—and excellent confirmation of our analysis of Zemstvo policy. The bourgeois has forgotten a petty detail, the people, the scores of millions of workers and peasants, whose labour creates all the bourgeoisie's wealth, and who are fighting for the liberty they need as they do light or air. The bourgeois has been entitled to forget them, inasmuch as they have not yet proved their "material force" by defeating the government. No major historical issue has ever been decided otherwise than by "material force", and the tsarist autocracy, we repeat, is itself starting the struggle by challenging the people to a test of strength.

The French bourgeoisie is advising the Russian bourgeoisie to come speedily to terms with the tsar. It is afraid, albeit vicariously, of a decisive struggle. If the people are victorious it remains to be seen whether they will allow the Petrunkeviches to take power, although the latter are stealing towards it. It cannot be gauged in advance how decisive the victory will be and what consequences it will have—and this fully accounts for the bourgeoisie's timidity.

All over Russia the proletariat is preparing for the decisive struggle. It is marshalling its forces; it learns and gains strength after each new clash; past encounters have all ended in failure, but have invariably led to fresh and stronger attacks. The proletariat is marching to victory and rousing the peasantry to follow its leadership. Relying on the peasantry it will paralyse the instability and

treachery of the bourgeoisie, brush aside bourgeois bidders for power, crush the autocracy by force, and eradicate from Russian life all traces of the accursed system of serf-ownership. When that time comes we shall win for the people not a monarchist constitution, which secures political privileges for the bourgeoisie—no, we shall win for Russia a republic, with full liberty for all oppressed nationalities, for the peasants and the workers. We shall then use all the revolutionary energy of the proletariat for the boldest and most far-reaching struggle for socialism, for the complete emancipation of all toilers from exploitation of any kind.

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THE BOYCOTT OF THE BULYGIN DUMA, AND INSURRECTION

At present the political situation in Russia is as follows: the Bulygin Duma may soon be convened—a consultative assembly of representatives of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie, elected under the supervision and with the assistance of the autocratic government's servants on the basis of an electoral system so indirect, so blatantly based on property and social-estate qualifications, that it is sheer mockery of the idea of popular representation. What should our attitude towards this Duma be? The liberal democrats give two replies to this question. The Left wing, represented by the "Union of Unions"—mostly representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia—is in favour of boycotting this Duma, of abstaining from participation in the elections, and of taking advantage of the opportunity for increased agitation for a democratic constitution on the basis of universal suffrage. The Right wing, as represented by the Zemstvo and Municipal Congress of July, or, to be more correct, by a certain section of that Congress, is opposed to a boycott and favours participation in the elections and getting as many of its candidates as possible elected to the Duma. True, the Congress has not yet passed any resolution on this question and has postponed the matter until the next Congress which is to be convened by telegraph following promulgation of the Bulygin "constitution". However, the opinion of liberal democracy's Right wing has already taken shape.

Revolutionary democracy, i.e., in the main, the proletariat, and Social-Democracy, the vehicle of its conscious expression, is, by and large, fully in favour of insurrection.

This difference in tactics has been correctly appraised by *Osvobozhdeniye*, organ of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie. Its latest issue (No. 74), on the one hand roundly condemns "open advocacy of insurrection" as "insane and criminal"; on the other hand it criticises the idea of a boycott as "fruitless for practical purposes" and expresses the conviction that not only the Zemstvo section of the Constitutional-"Democratic" (read: Monarchist) Party but the Union of Unions, too, will "pass their state examination", i.e., abandon the idea of a boycott.

The question arises: what attitude should the party of the class-conscious proletariat take towards the idea of a boycott, and what tactical slogan should it bring into the foreground for the masses of the people? For a reply to this question we must first of all call to mind the essence and radical significance of the Bulygin "constitution". It is, in fact, tsarism's deal with the landlords and big bourgeoisie, who, in return for innocent, pseudo-constitutional sops that are quite innocuous to the autocracy, are to be gradually drawn away from the revolution, i.e., from the fighting people, and reconciled with the autocracy. The possibility of such a deal cannot be doubted, since all our Constitutional-"Democratic" Party is eager to preserve the monarchy and the upper chamber (i.e., in advance to secure for the moneyed "upper ten thousand" political privileges and political domination in the country's system of state). Moreover, such a deal is sooner or later inevitable in one form or another, at least with a section of the bourgeoisie, for it is prescribed by the very class position of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist system. The only question is when and how this deal will take place. The task confronting the party of the proletariat is to delay conclusion of this deal for as long as possible, to split up the bourgeoisie as much as possible, to derive from the bourgeoisie's temporary appeals to the people the greatest possible advantage for the revolution, and meanwhile to prepare the forces of the revolutionary people (the proletariat and the peasantry) for the forcible overthrow of the autocracy and for the alienation, the neutralisation of the treacherous bourgeoisie.

In fact, the gist of the bourgeoisie's political position is, as we have frequently pointed out, that it stands between

the tsar and the people, and would play the part of the "honest broker" and steal into power behind the back of the militant people. That is why the bourgeoisie appeals to the tsar one day, and to the people the next, making "serious" and "business-like" proposals for a political deal to the former, and addressing empty phrases about liberty (Mr. I. Petrunkevich's speeches at the July Congress) to the latter. It is to our advantage that the bourgeoisie should appeal to the people, for by doing so it provides material that will help to rouse and enlighten politically those huge backward masses of people to reach whom through Social-Democratic agitation would be sheer utopianism for the time being. Let the bourgeoisie stir up those that are most backward; let it break the soil here and there; we shall untiringly sow the seeds of Social-Democracy in that soil. Everywhere in the West, in its struggle against autocracy the bourgeoisie was compelled to rouse the people's political consciousness, while at the same time striving to sow the seeds of bourgeois theories among the working class. It is for us to take advantage of the bourgeoisie's work of destroying the autocracy and systematically enlighten the working class concerning its socialist aims and the irreconcilable antagonism between its interests and those of the bourgeoisie.

Hence it is clear that our tactics at present should first of all consist in support for the idea of a boycott. The very question of a boycott lies within the bounds of bourgeois democracy. The working class is not directly interested in it, but it is definitely interested in supporting that section of bourgeois democracy which is more revolutionary; it is interested in extending and intensifying political agitation. A boycott of the Duma means a more vigorous appeal to the people by the bourgeoisie, a development of its agitation, a greater number of opportunities for our agitation, and a more intense political crisis, which is the source of the revolutionary movement. The participation of the liberal bourgeoisie in the Duma means a slackening in its agitation at the present time, its appealing more to the tsar than to the people, and the approach of a counter-revolutionary deal between the tsar and the bourgeoisie.

Even if it is not prevented from meeting, the Bulygin Duma must of necessity give rise to political conflicts that

the proletariat should not fail to take advantage of—but that is a matter for the future. It would be ridiculous to renounce utilising this bourgeois-bureaucratic Duma for purposes of agitation and struggle, but at the moment that is not the point. At present the Left wing of bourgeois democracy itself has raised the issue of waging a direct and immediate struggle against the Duma by means of a boycott, and we must exert all our efforts to support this more determined onslaught. We must take the bourgeois democrats, the *Osvobozhdeniye* people, at their word, give the widest publicity to their "Petrunkevich-like" phrases about an appeal to the people, expose them to the people, and show that the first and least real test of these phrases was the question of whether we should boycott the Duma (i.e., turn in protest to the people) or accept the Duma (i.e., abstain from protesting, go once more to the tsar, and accept this travesty of popular representation).

Secondly, we must exert every effort to make the boycott of real use in extending and intensifying agitation, so that it shall not be reduced to mere passive abstention from voting. If we are not mistaken this idea is already fairly widespread among the comrades working in Russia, who express it in the words: an *active* boycott. As distinct from passive abstention, an active boycott should imply increasing agitation tenfold, organising meetings everywhere, taking advantage of election meetings, even if we have to force our way into them, holding demonstrations, political strikes, and so on and so forth. It goes without saying that to further agitation and struggle in this connection, temporary agreements with various groups of revolutionary bourgeois democrats, generally permitted by a number of our Party resolutions, are especially expedient. But here we must, on the one hand, steadfastly preserve the class individuality of the party of the proletariat, and must not for a single moment abandon our Social-Democratic criticism of our bourgeois allies; on the other hand, we should be failing in our duty as the party of the advanced class if in our agitation we failed to produce an advanced revolutionary slogan at the present stage of the democratic revolution.

That is our third direct and immediate political task. As we have already said, "an active boycott" means agitation,

recruiting, organising revolutionary forces on a larger scale, with redoubled energy, and bringing redoubled pressure to bear. Such work, however, is unthinkable without a clear, precise, and immediate slogan. Only an armed uprising can be that slogan. The government's convocation of a crudely faked "popular" representative body provides excellent opportunities for agitation for a truly popular representative body, for making the broadest masses of the people understand that at present (after the tsar's frauds and his mockery of the people) only a provisional revolutionary government can convene a truly representative body, and that to establish such a government the victory of an insurrection and the actual overthrow of tsarist rule are necessary. It would be hard to imagine a better time for widespread agitation for an uprising and in order to conduct that agitation full clarity regarding the programme of a provisional revolutionary government is also necessary. This programme should consist of the *six* points which we have indicated previously (see *Proletary*, No. 7, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government"*): 1) convocation of a popular constituent assembly; 2) arming of the people; 3) political freedom—the immediate repeal of all laws that contradict it; 4) complete cultural and political freedom for all oppressed and disfranchised nationalities—the Russian people cannot win liberty for themselves without fighting for the liberty of the other nationalities; 5) an eight-hour working day; 6) the establishment of peasant committees for the support and implementation of all democratic reforms, among them agrarian reforms, up to and including the confiscation of the landlords' land.

To sum up: the most energetic support for the idea of a boycott; exposure of the Right wing of bourgeois democracy, which rejects the boycott, as traitors; making the boycott an active one, i.e., building up a most widespread agitation; advocating an insurrection and calling for the immediate organisation of combat squads and contingents of a revolutionary army for the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government; spreading and popularising the fundamental and absolutely

* See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 566-67.—*Ed.*

obligatory programme of this provisional revolutionary government, a programme which is to serve as the banner of the uprising and as a model for all future repetitions of the Odessa events.

Such should be the tactics of the party of the class-conscious proletariat. In order to make this tactics perfectly clear and to achieve unity we must also deal with *Iskra*'s tactics. It is set forth in No. 106 of that paper in an article entitled "Defence or Attack". We shall not take up the minor and partial differences, which will dissolve at the first attempts to take action; we shall deal only with the fundamental difference. While quite correctly condemning a passive boycott, the *Iskra* contraposes to it the idea of the immediate "organisation of revolutionary self-government bodies", as a "possible prologue to an uprising". In *Iskra*'s opinion we must "seize the right to carry on agitation in the election campaign by establishing workers' agitation committees". These committees "must set themselves the aim of organising popular elections of revolutionary deputies by going outside the 'legal' limits which will be established by Ministerial Bills", we must "cover the country with a network of revolutionary self-government bodies".

Such a slogan is absolutely useless. Viewed in the light of the political tasks in general it is a jumble, while in the light of the immediate political situation it brings grist to the mill of the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend. The organisation of revolutionary self-government, the election of their own deputies by the people is not the *prologue* to an uprising, but its *epilogue*. To attempt to bring about this organisation now, before an uprising and apart from an uprising, means setting oneself absurd aims and causing confusion in the minds of the revolutionary proletariat. It is first of all necessary to win the victory in an uprising (if only in a single city) and to establish a provisional revolutionary government, so that the latter, as the organ of the uprising and the recognised leader of the revolutionary people, should be able to get down to the organisation of revolutionary self-government. To obscure the slogan of insurrection or relegate it into the background by proposing a slogan demanding the organisation of a revolutionary self-government is something like giving advice that the fly should first be caught and

then stuck on the fly-paper. If during the celebrated Odessa events our Odessa comrades had been advised to organise not a revolutionary army, but the election of deputies by the people of Odessa as a prologue to an uprising, those comrades would undoubtedly have laughed such advice to scorn. *Iskra* is repeating the mistake made by the Economists, who wished to see in the "struggle for rights" a prologue to the struggle against the autocracy. *Iskra* is reverting to the misadventure of the unfortunate "plan of the Zemstvo campaign", which obscured the slogan of insurrection with the theory of a "higher type of demonstration".

This is not the place to dwell on the origin of *Iskra*'s tactical blunder. We shall refer the interested reader to N. Lenin's pamphlet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. It is more important here to point out how the slogan of the new *Iskra* lapses into that of *Osvobozhdeniye*. In actual practice attempts to organise popular elections of deputies before the uprising is victorious would only play into the hands of the *Osvobozhdeniye* people with the result that the Social-Democrats would be trailing behind them. Until replaced by a provisional revolutionary government the autocracy will not permit the workers and the people to conduct any elections that can in any way be called popular (and Social-Democrats will not agree to a travesty of "popular" elections under the autocracy); but the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, Zemstvo members and the municipal councillors will conduct elections and blatantly pass them off as "popular", and as an expression of "revolutionary self-government". The line now taken by the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie consists in trying to avert an uprising, compel the autocracy to recognise the Zemstvo elections as popular elections without the people's victory over tsarism and convert the Zemstvo and municipal self-government bodies into organs of "revolutionary" (in the Petrunkevich sense) "self-government", without a real revolution. An excellent expression of this line is to be found in No. 74 of *Osvobozhdeniye*. It would be hard to imagine anything more disgusting than this ideologist of the cowardly bourgeoisie, who asserts that advocacy of insurrection "demoralises" both the army and the people! And this is said at

a time when even the blind can see that it is only through an uprising that the ordinary Russian citizen and soldier can save himself from utter demoralisation and vindicate his right to citizenship! The bourgeois Manilov pictures to himself an Arcadian idyll in which the mere pressure of "public opinion" alone "will compel the government to make concession after concession, until finally it can go no further and will have to hand over the power to a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections, and a secret ballot, as is demanded by society ..." (! with an upper chamber?). "There is nothing at all improbable in this peaceful [!!] transition of power from the present government to a national constituent assembly, which will organise state and governmental power on a new basis." And this masterly philosophy of the cringing bourgeoisie is rounded off with the advice that the army, particularly the officers, should be won over; that a people's militia be established "without official authorisation", and that local self-government bodies (read: of landlords and capitalists) should be set up as "elements of a future provisional government".

There is method in *this* muddle. What the bourgeoisie wants is to be given power "peacefully", *without a popular uprising*, which may prove victorious, win a republic and genuine liberty, arm the proletariat, and rouse millions of peasants. To obscure the slogan of insurrection, to abandon it and make others follow suit, to advise the immediate establishment, by way of a "prologue", of popular self-government (to which only the Trubetskois, Petrunkeviches, Fyodorovs, and the like will be admitted)—that is what the bourgeoisie needs in order to betray the revolution and strike a bargain with the tsar (a monarchy with an upper chamber) *against* the "mob". Liberal Manilovism, therefore, voices the innermost thoughts of the money-bags, their most profound interests.

Iskra's Social-Democratic Manilovism expressed merely the thoughtlessness of a section of the Social-Democrats, their departure from the proletariat's only revolutionary tactics, viz., ruthless exposure of the bourgeois-opportunist illusions that peaceful concessions from tsarism are possible, that popular self-government can be instituted without

the autocracy being overthrown, and that election of deputies by the people is possible as a prologue to an uprising. No, we must clearly and resolutely show the necessity of an insurrection in the present state of affairs; we must issue a direct call for an uprising (without, of course, fixing the date beforehand) and call for the immediate organisation of a revolutionary army. Only the boldest and most widespread organisation of such an army can be the prologue to an uprising. Only an uprising can actually guarantee the victory of the revolution; of course, those who know the local conditions will always caution against attempts at a premature uprising. The real organisation of real people's self-government can take place only as the epilogue of a victorious uprising.

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NOTE ON A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE OF R.S.D.L.P. ORGANISATIONS ABROAD[79]

From the Editors. The measure in which the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. is working energetically for unity is to be seen in its Open Letter to the Organising Committee, which is published in the present issue. We would only like to remind the reader that for unification a common ground of organisation is needed. The only such ground we are aware of to date is the Rules of the R.S.D.L.P., which were adopted at the Party's Third Congress, and fully guarantee the legitimate rights of a minority.

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NOTE ON M. N. POKROVSKY'S ARTICLE "THE PROFESSIONAL INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS"

It seems to us that the differences between the author of the article entitled "The *Osvobozhdeniye* People at Work" and Comrade "*Uchitel*"[80] are not as great as the latter thinks. Anybody of long standing in the revolutionary movement becomes accustomed to the political struggle between various trends, acquires definite views of his own, and is, naturally, inclined to presuppose equally definite views in others, whom he classes as members of this or that "party" because of some opinion—or lack of opinion—of theirs on a particular question. It stands to reason that an agitator at public meetings would do well to take into account not only the "political", but also the "pedagogical" point of view, place himself in the position of his audience, explain more than "decry", etc. Extremes are bad everywhere, but if the choice lay with us, we would prefer narrow and intolerant concision to mild and limp diffuseness. It is only flabby and weak-kneed characters who will be frightened away from us by fear of "tyranny". Anyone who has the least "go" in him will soon see for himself, and be shown by events, that clear-cut and sharply expressed political opinions concerning a "mythical *Osvobozhdeniye* member" are fully justified and that he himself considered this typical *Osvobozhdeniye* member "mythical" only because of lack of political experience. Comrade "*Uchitel*", whose suggestions are very helpful in view of his knowledge of the environment, himself speaks of the rapidity with which "bitter truths are assimilated".

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REPLY FROM THE *PROLETARY* EDITORIAL BOARD TO QUESTIONS PUT BY COMRADE "WORKER"[81]

From the Editors. We reply to the comrade's questions: 1) yes, it will both lead and govern, pending convocation of a popular constituent assembly; 2) in circumstances in which this participation will ensure the possibility of "a relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts, and also of defence of the independent interests of the working class" (from the resolution of the Third Congress); 3) the Third Congress resolution on insurrection speaks clearly of the necessity "to explain to the proletariat by means of propaganda and agitation *not only* the political significance *but* the practical-organisational aspect of the impending armed uprising". This means that the political consciousness of the masses must be developed, and the political significance of the uprising must be made clear to them. That, however, is not enough. The masses must be called upon to begin an armed struggle and at once to arm and organise in contingents of the revolutionary army. Further, we must tell the author of the letter that an explanation of the resolutions of the Congress and the Conference regarding a provisional revolutionary government is given in a pamphlet by N. Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. Finally, we can say with reference to the split that the author's indignation is perfectly justified. We advise him to work for general recognition of single rules for Party organisations, and to do that regardless of all intellectualist plaints of both the fist from above and the fist from below, work towards that end not secretly, not through intrigues, or by founding new groups or a new party, but openly, directly, within the framework of any R.S.D.L.P. organisation.

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"ONENESS OF THE TSAR AND THE PEOPLE, AND OF THE PEOPLE AND THE TSAR"

In *Proletary*, No. 12, which appeared on August 3 (16), we spoke of the possibility of the Bulygin Duma being convened in the near future, and analysed the tactics of Social-Democracy towards it.* The Bulygin scheme has now become law and the Manifesto of August 6 (19) has proclaimed that a "State Duma" will be called "no later than mid-January 1906".

It is on the anniversary of January 9, when the St. Petersburg workers placed the seal of their blood on the beginning of the revolution in Russia and showed their determination to fight desperately for its victory—it is on the anniversary of that great day that the tsar proposes to convene this grossly faked, police-sifted assembly of landowners, capitalists, and a negligible number of rich peasants who cringe to the authorities. The tsar intends to consult this assembly as one consisting of representatives of the "people". But the entire working class, all the millions of toilers and those who are not householders are completely barred from the elections of the "people's representatives". We shall wait and see whether the tsar is right in banking thus on the impotence of the working class....

Until the revolutionary proletariat has armed itself and defeated the autocratic government nothing more could have been expected than this sop to the big bourgeoisie, one that costs the tsar nothing and commits him to nothing. Even this sop would, probably, not have been given at this time, if the ominous question of war or peace had not loomed large. Without consulting the landlords and capitalists, the autocratic government does not venture either to impose on the people the burden of the senseless continuation of

* See pp. 179-87 of this volume.—*Ed.*

the war, or to work out measures to shift the entire burden of paying for the war from the shoulders of the rich to the shoulders of the workers and peasants.

As for the provisions of the State Duma Act, they fully confirm our worst expectations. It is not known as yet whether this Duma will actually be convened. Such doles can easily be taken away again, and the autocratic monarchs of every country have made and broken similar promises by the score. It is not yet known to what extent this future Duma, if it meets at all and is not wrecked, will be able to become the centre of really far-reaching political agitation among the masses of the people, against the autocracy. But there can be no doubt that the very provisions of the new State Duma Act furnish us with a wealth of material with which to conduct agitation, explain the nature of the autocracy, disclose its class basis, reveal the irreconcilability of its interests with those of the people, and spread and popularise our revolutionary-democratic demands. It may be stated without exaggeration that the Manifesto and Act of August 6 (19) ought now to become a *vademecum* to every political agitator, every class-conscious worker, for it faithfully reflects all the infamy, viciousness, Asiatic barbarity, violence, and exploitation that pervade the whole social and political system of Russia. Practically every sentence in the Manifesto and the Act provides excellent basis for the most comprehensive and convincing political commentaries, which will stimulate democratic thought and revolutionary consciousness.

As the Russian saying runs: "Leave it alone and it won't stink." When one reads the Manifesto and the State Duma Act one feels as though a mass of sewage that has been accumulating since time immemorial were being stirred up under one's very nose.

Centuries of oppression of the working people, the ignorance and downtrodden state of the people, and the stagnation in economic life and all fields of culture have enabled the autocracy to maintain its position. This formed the background for the untrammelled development and hypocritical dissemination of the doctrine of "the indissoluble oneness of the tsar and the people and the oneness of the people and the tsar", the doctrine that the tsar's autocratic

power stands above all social estates and classes of the nation, above the division of the people into rich and poor, and expresses the general interests of the entire nation. What we now have before us is a *practical* attempt to display this "oneness" in the most diffident and embryonic fashion, through simple *consultation* with the "elected representatives of the whole of Russia". And what do we see? We at once see that "the oneness of the tsar and the people" is possible only through the medium of an army of bureaucrats and policemen who see to it that the muzzle put on the people is kept firmly in place. This "oneness" requires that the people should not dare to open their mouths. By "people" is meant only the landlords and capitalists, who are allowed to take part in the two-stage elections (voting first for electors, by rural districts or city wards, and these electors in their turn elect the members of the State Duma). Peasant *householders* are classed among the people only after having been sifted through *four-stage* elections, under the supervision and with the assistance and instruction of the Marshals of the Nobility,[82] the Rural Superintendents, and police officials. First the householders elect members of the volost assembly; then the volost assemblies elect delegates from the volosts, two from each assembly; then these volost delegates elect the gubernia electors. Finally, the gubernia electors of the peasants, together with the gubernia electors of the landlords and (urban) capitalists elect the members of the State Duma! Almost everywhere the peasants constitute a minority of the gubernia electors. They are guaranteed the election of only one member of the State Duma from each gubernia, who has to be a peasant, i.e., 51 seats out of 412 (in the 51 gubernias of European Russia).

The entire urban working class, *all the village poor*, *agricultural labourers*, *and peasants who are not householders*, *take no part whatever in any elections.*

The oneness of the tsar and the people is in effect the oneness of the tsar and the landlords and capitalists, with a handful of rich peasants thrown in, and with all elections placed under the strictest police control. Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of association, without which elections are a mere farce, are not even mentioned.

The State Duma has no rights whatever, for none of its

decisions are binding, being merely of an advisory nature. All its decisions are submitted for consideration and approval to the Council of State, i.e., again to the bureaucrats. It is only a flimsy annexe to the bureaucratic and police edifice. The public are not admitted to sittings of the State Duma. Reports on the proceedings of the State Duma may be published in the press only when its sittings are not held *in camera*; any session may be closed, however, by an official order, which means that the Minister has merely to qualify the matter under consideration as a state secret.

The new State Duma is the same old Russian police station, only on a larger scale. The rich landlord and capitalist manufacturer (on rare occasions, a rich peasant) are admitted for "consultation" to the "open" sittings of the police station (or the Rural Superintendent, or factory inspector, etc.); they always have the right to submit their opinion for the "gracious attention" of the Emperor ... I mean the police inspector. As for "the common people", the city workers and the rural poor, it goes without saying that they are never admitted to any kind of "consultation" whatever.

The only difference is that there are many police stations and everything in them is kept out of sight, whereas there is only one State Duma, and it has now become necessary to publish the rules governing its election and the extent of its rights. Publication of this is, we repeat, in itself an excellent exposure of the utter viciousness of the tsarist autocracy.

From the standpoint of the people's interests the State Duma is the most barefaced mockery of "popular representation". And, as if to emphasise this mockery we have, on top of this, such facts as Mr. Durnovo's speech, the arrest of Mr. Milyukov and Co., the scandalous statement made by Mr. Sharapov. In his speech Mr. Durnovo, the new Governor General of Moscow, who is being rapturously hailed by the reactionary press, blurted out the real plans of the government, which, besides the August 6 Manifesto and the State Duma Act, issued an ukase on the same day, revoking the "ukase to the Senate" of February 18, 1905. The ukase of February 18 permitted private individuals to work out projects and propositions designed to improve organisation of the state. Zemstvo members and representatives of the

intelligentsia appealed to this ukase whenever they held meetings, conferences, and congresses tolerated by the police. Now this ukase has been revoked, and all "projects and propositions designed to improve organisation of the state" must be "submitted" to the autocratic government "according to the procedure provided for in establishing the State Duma"! This means the end of agitation, the end of meetings, and congresses. There is a State Duma; and there is nothing more to discuss. This is just what Mr. Durnovo stated when he declared that they would no longer tolerate Zemstvo congresses of any kind.

The liberals of our "Constitutional-Democratic" (read: Monarchist) Party find themselves duped again. They counted on a constitution, and now they are forbidden to carry on any agitation for a constitution on the occasion of the "granting" of an institution which makes a mockery of constitution!

Mr. Sharapov has blurted out still more. In his government-subsidised paper (*Russkoye Dyelo*) he suggests nothing less than the stationing of *Cossacks* in the palace where the Duma is to sit ... to provide against the contingency of "unseemly" behaviour on the part of the Duma. The oneness of the tsar and the people requires that the latter's representatives should speak and act as the tsar wishes. Otherwise the Cossacks will disperse the Duma. Otherwise the members of the Duma may be arrested, even without the assistance of the Cossacks, before they ever get into the Duma. The Manifesto on the oneness of the tsar with the people appeared on Saturday, August 6. On Sunday, August 7, Mr. Milyukov, one of the leaders of the *moderate* wing of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League or the "Constitutional-Democratic" (read: Monarchist) Party, was arrested near St. Petersburg, together with some ten of his political colleagues. They are to be prosecuted for membership of the Union of Unions. In all probability they will soon be released, but it will be an easy matter to shut the doors of the Duma against them: all that is needed is to announce that they are "under court investigation"...!

The Russian people are getting their first little lessons in constitutionalism. All these laws on the elections of popular representatives are not worth a brass farthing until the sovereignty of the people has *actually been won* and

there is complete freedom of speech, the press, assembly, and association, until citizens are armed and are able to safeguard the inviolability of the person. We have said above that the State Duma is a mockery of popular representation. That is undoubtedly so from the standpoint of the theory of the *sovereignty of the people*. But this theory is recognised neither by the autocratic government nor by the monarchist-liberal bourgeoisie (the *Osvobozhdeniye* League or the Constitutional-Monarchist Party). In present-day Russia we have before us *three* political theories, of whose significance we shall yet speak on more than one occasion. These are: 1) The theory of the tsar's *consultation* with the people (or "the oneness of the tsar and the people, and of the people and the tsar", as it is put in the Manifesto of August 6). 2) The theory of an *agreement* between the tsar and the people (the programme of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League and the Zemstvo Congress). 3) The theory of the *sovereignty of the people* (the programme of Social-Democracy, as well as of revolutionary democracy in general).

From the standpoint of the *consultation* theory it is quite natural that the tsar should consult only those he wishes to, and only by the methods he wishes. The State Duma is a splendid object lesson showing whom the tsar wants to consult and how. From the standpoint of the theory of an *agreement*, the tsar is not subject to the will of the people; he must only take it into account. But how he is to take it into account and to what extent, cannot be gathered from the *Osvobozhdeniye* theory of "agreement", and whilst power is in the tsar's hands the *Osvobozhdeniye* bourgeoisie is inevitably condemned to the wretched position of a cadger, or a go-between, who would use the people's victories against the people. From the angle of the *sovereignty of the people* full freedom of agitation and election should first be secured in practice, and then a really popular constituent assembly convened, i.e., an assembly elected by universal and equal suffrage, direct elections, and secret ballot, and endowed with complete power—full, integral, and indivisible power—an assembly which will actually express the sovereignty of the people.

This brings us to our slogan of agitation (the slogan of the R.S.D.L.P.) on the State Duma. Who can really guar-

antee freedom of elections and full power to a constituent assembly? Only the armed people, organised in a *revolutionary army*, which has won over to its side all decent and honest elements in the tsar's army, has overcome the tsar's forces and substituted a *provisional revolutionary government* for the tsar's autocratic government. The setting up of the State Duma, which, on the one hand, "lures" the people with the idea of a representative form of government, and, on the other hand, is the crudest counterfeit of popular representation, will prove an inexhaustible source of the most widespread revolutionary agitation among the masses, will serve as an excellent occasion for meetings, demonstrations, political strikes, etc. The slogan for all this agitation will be: insurrection, the immediate formation of combat squads and contingents of a revolutionary army, the overthrow of tsarist rule, and the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government which is to convene a popular constituent assembly. The timing of the uprising will depend, of course, on local conditions. We can only state that, generally speaking, it is now in the interests of the revolutionary proletariat to put off somewhat the timing of an uprising: the workers are being armed gradually, the troops are becoming more and more unreliable, the war crisis is reaching its climax (war or an onerous peace), and in such conditions premature attempts at insurrection may cause enormous harm.

In conclusion, it remains for us to draw a comparison between the tactical slogan briefly outlined above, and other slogans. As we have already stated in *Proletary*, No. 12, our slogan coincides with what the majority of the comrades working in Russia understand by the term "active boycott". The tactics of *Iskra*, which in its No. 106 recommended the immediate setting up of revolutionary self-government bodies and election by the people of their own representatives as a possible prologue to an uprising, is absolutely erroneous. So long as the forces for an armed uprising and its victory are still lacking, it is ridiculous even to speak of revolutionary people's self-government. That is not the prologue to an uprising, but its epilogue. Such erroneous tactics would merely play into the hands of the *Osvobozhdeniye* bourgeoisie, in the first place by obscuring or shelving the

slogan of an uprising, and replacing it with the slogan of the organisation of revolutionary self-government. In the second place, it would make it easier for the liberal bourgeois to represent *their* (Zemstvo and municipal) elections as popular elections, since there can be no popular elections so long as the tsar retains power, and the liberals may yet succeed in carrying out Zemstvo and municipal elections despite Mr. Durnovo's threats.

The proletariat has been barred from the Duma elections. Actually, the proletariat has no need to boycott the Duma, since by its very institution this tsarist Duma is itself boycotting the proletariat. It is to the proletariat's advantage, however, to support that section of the bourgeois democrats which is inclined to prefer revolutionary action to haggling, and which favours boycotting the Duma and more intensive agitation among the people for a protest against this Duma. The proletariat must not pass over in silence this first betrayal or inconsistency on the part of the bourgeois democrats, which is expressed in the fact that their representatives talk of boycotting the Duma (at the July Zemstvo Congress the first voting even showed a *majority* in favour of a boycott), utter pompous phrases about appealing to the people and not to the tsar (Mr. I. Petrunkevich at that same Congress), whereas in reality they are prepared to overlook this new flouting of the people's demands, without making a protest in the real sense of the word or giving it wide publicity, and to abandon the idea of a boycott and enter the Duma. The proletariat cannot but refute the false phrases that are now so much in vogue in articles published in the legal liberal press (see, for instance, *Rus* of August 7), which has entered the fray against the idea of a boycott. The gentlemen of the liberal press are corrupting the people with their assurances that the peaceful path, a "peaceful clash of opinions" is possible (why is it that Milyukov could not struggle "peacefully" against Sharapov, gentlemen, why?). The gentlemen of the liberal press are deceiving the people when they declare that the Zemstvos "can to a certain extent [!] paralyse [!!] the pressure which will, undoubtedly, be brought to bear on the peasant electors by the Rural Superintendents and by the local authorities in general". (*Rus*, *loc. cit.*) The liberal journalists are wholly

distorting the role of the State Duma in the Russian revolution, when they compare it with the Prussian Chamber of the period of the budget conflict with Bismarck (1863). Actually, if one is to make a comparison at all, one must take as an example not a constitutional period but a period of struggle for a constitution, a period of incipient revolution. To do otherwise means to skip directly from a period when the bourgeoisie is revolutionary into a period when the bourgeoisie has made its peace with reaction. (cf. *Proletary*, No. 5 on the comparison drawn between our Messrs. Petrunkeviches and Mr. Andrássy, "once a revolutionary" and subsequently a Minister.*) The State Duma brings to mind the Prussian "United Landtag" (Diet) established on February 3, *1847*, one year before the revolution. The Prussian liberals of those days were also preparing —although they never actually got round to it—to boycott this consultative chamber of landlords, and were asking the people: "*Annehmen oder ablehnen?*" ("Accept or Decline?"—the title of a pamphlet by Heinrich Simon, a bourgeois liberal, which was published in 1847.) The Prussian United Landtag met (the first session was opened on April 11, 1847, and closed on June 26, 1847) and gave rise to a series of clashes between the constitutionalists and the autocratic government; nevertheless it remained a lifeless institution, until *the revolutionary people*, *headed by the proletariat of Berlin*, defeated the royal army in the *uprising of March 18*, *1848*. Then the State Duma ... I mean the United Landtag—went up in smoke. An assembly of people's representatives was then convened (unfortunately not by a revolutionary government but by the king, whom the heroic workers of Berlin had "not finished off") on the basis of universal suffrage with relative freedom to carry on agitation.

Let the bourgeois betrayers of the revolution enter this still-born State Duma. The proletariat of Russia will intensify its agitation and its preparations for our Russian March 18, 1848 (or better still, August 10, 1792).

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* See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 526-30.—*Ed.*

THE BLACK HUNDREDS AND THE ORGANISATION OF AN UPRISING

The events in Nizhni-Novgorod and Balashov have attracted general attention. In the previous issue we published a detailed account of the Nizhni-Novgorod massacre; in this issue we are giving an account of the massacre in Balashov. The misdeeds of the Black Hundreds are on the increase, and Social-Democrats would do well to turn their attention to this phenomenon and its significance in the general course of revolutionary development. As a supplement to the correspondence from Samara, the following leaflet, issued by the Borisoglebsk group of the R.S.D.L.P., is of interest:

"Workers and inhabitants of the town of Borisoglebsk! The Balashov and Nizhni-Novgorod events, in which the police have proved their ability to organise a massacre of all who hold dissenting views, have shown you the gravity of the situation the revolution is confronting us with. The time for words and platonic criticism has passed. By force of circumstances, the government drives us from words to deeds. It sees that the revolutionary movement has advanced beyond the point where it could be fought against, as has been the case hitherto, by the police and the gendarmerie alone. It realises that in the struggle against the 'internal foe' the regular armed forces of the Ministry of the Interior will not be sufficient. The entire population of the Russian Empire has become an 'internal foe' and 'rebellious', and the government is obliged to enlist volunteers for the regular army. But in this wholesale enlistment into 'government service' of tramps, rowdies, hawkers, and similar disreputable characters, who recognise no bureaucratic restrictions whatever, our government has at the same time been forced to change its time-honoured methods of influencing the masses and the time-honoured secret methods of the immediate struggle against the revolution. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Hitherto our government confined itself to waging a struggle against the printed word. It now itself publishes proclamations in the *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, *Russkoye Dyelo*, *Grazhdanin*, *Dyen*, and other official organs. Hitherto our government only

hunted down agitators. It now itself sends out prelates, generals, Sharapovs, Gringmuts, and other agitators of its own to conduct agitation among the people. Hitherto our government only throttled all organisation. It now itself organises unions of the Russian people, leagues of patriots, and unions of monarchists. Hitherto our government trembled at the mere thought of an uprising. It now itself organises uprisings of the Black Hundreds, and hopes to provoke a civil war. Terrified at the prospect of the impending revolution the government has seized on such of the latter's weapons as organisation, propaganda, and agitation. With the aid of these double-edged weapons and with the help of the Black Hundreds, the government is beginning to stage scenes of popular indignation, of counter-revolution. After a 'try-out' in the marginal provinces it is now beginning a tour of the heart of Russia. We have recently witnessed such scenes in Nizhni-Novgorod and in Balashov, and it cannot be said that the autocracy met with no success there. 'Revolutionary' methods of struggle proved efficacious, many enemies of the autocracy were murdered or manhandled and the population was terrorised by this legalised terrorism on the part of our government.

"There can be no doubt that the experiment will be further extended. The laurels won by some of the Black Hundreds will give the others no rest until they too will have put their strength to the test. Where there is revolution there is counter-revolution too, and, therefore, Borisoglebsk must also be prepared to experience the organising skill of the eminent representatives of the Black-Hundred trend. We have reason to expect also in Borisoglebsk pogroms against the Jews, against the workers, and against the intellectuals; therefore, in preparation for proper resistance to the 'illegal measures' which the government has adopted to suppress the revolutionary movement, the Borisoglebsk group is starting a subscription for the organisation of armed self-defence, and invites all those whose sympathies do not lie with the government and the Black Hundreds to help in the organisation of self-defence groups with money and arms."

In fact, civil war is being forced on the population by the government itself. It is a fact that "tramps, rowdies, and hawkers" are being taken into government service. Under these circumstances bourgeois talk by the *Osvobozhdeniye* League about the crime and folly of advocating insurrection, about the harmfulness of organising self-defence (*Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 74) is now not merely inordinate political platitudinarianism, or justification of the autocracy and (in actual fact) servility to *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*. But, in addition to this, it is impotent peevishness on the part of the *Osvobozhdeniye* dodderers whom the revolutionary movement has relentlessly consigned to the scrap heap or some old curiosity shop—the place most suitable for them. Theoretical discussions on

the necessity of an uprising may and should be held, and the tactical resolutions on this question should be the outcome of careful thought and deliberation; meanwhile it should not be forgotten that spontaneous events take their own authoritative course regardless of all philosophising. It should not be forgotten that all the tremendous contradictions that have been piling up in Russian life for centuries are now developing with irresistible force bringing the masses to the fore and relegating outworn and dead teachings about peaceful progress to the rubbish heap. Opportunists of all sorts like to tell us: learn from life. Unfortunately, what they mean by life is only the standing water of peaceful periods, of times of stagnation, when life makes scarcely any progress whatever. These blind people always *lag behind* the lessons of *revolutionary* life. Their dead doctrines always fall behind the stormy torrent of revolution, which expresses the most far-reaching demands of life, those involving the most vital interests of the masses.

See, for instance, how ridiculous, in face of these lessons given by life, are the plaints being made by a certain section of Social-Democracy about the danger of a conspiratorial view of the uprising, about a narrow "Jacobin" approach to the question of its necessity, about exaggerating the importance and role of material forces in the impending political events. These plaints started on the eve of an insurrection becoming a most real and vital necessity to the people, just when the masses, who stand farthest from all "conspiracies", began to be drawn into an insurrection because of the misdeeds of the Black Hundreds. *A bad doctrine is splendidly rectified by a good revolution.* In the new *Iskra* one can read feeble witticisms (or are they sneers?) of a purely Burenin type[83] about the publication of a special military pamphlet discussing the military questions of the revolution and even going into the question of day and night attacks, about thought having to be given to the matter of headquarters for the uprising, and of about having members of the organisation "on duty" to get timely information of any pogrom, of any "enemy" action, and to give proper and timely orders to our fighting forces, to the organised revolutionary proletariat. And at the same time, as if in derision of the lifeless doctrine of the Mensheviks abroad, we see the actions of the

Mensheviks in Russia. We read that in Ekaterinoslav (see *Proletary*, No. 13) an agreement was concluded between the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, and the Bund,[84] in anticipation of violence (a pogrom by the Black Hundreds was expected! Is there a city or village in Russia today that is not expecting something of that kind?). "Joint collection of money for the purchase of arms, a joint plan of action, etc." What kind of plan this was is evidenced by the fact that at the Bryansk Works, for instance, the Social-Democrats, at a meeting of five hundred workers, called for the organisation of resistance. "Then in the evening the organised workers of the Bryansk Works were quartered in various houses; patrols were stationed, a headquarters was appointed, etc.—in short, we were in complete fighting trim" (incidentally, they let each other know the "location of the headquarters of each organisation" of the three mentioned above).

It is at their own comrades, who are engaged in practical work, that the new-*Iskra* journalists are sneering.

However much you may turn up your noses, gentlemen at the question of night attacks and similar purely tactical military questions, however much you may pull wry faces about the "plan" of assigning secretaries of organisations, or their members in general, to stand on duty to provide for any military exigency—life goes its own way, revolution teaches, taking in hand and shaking up the most inveterate pedants. During civil war military questions must *of necessity* be studied down to the last detail, and the interest the workers show in these questions is a most legitimate and healthy phenomenon. Headquarters (or members of the organisations on duty) must *of necessity* be organised. The stationing of patrols and the billeting of squads are all purely military functions; they are all initial operations of a *revolutionary army* and constitute the organisation of an insurrection, the organisation of *revolutionary rule*, which matures and becomes stronger through these small preparations, through these minor clashes, testing its own strength, learning to fight, training itself for victory—a victory that will come the sooner and the more probably, the more profound the general political crisis becomes, the stronger the discontent, disaffection, and vacillation within the ranks of the tsarist army.

Social-Democratic comrades all over Russia must and will follow on an ever wider scale the example set by the comrades of Ekaterinoslav and Borisoglebsk. The appeal for aid in money and arms is most timely. There are ever increasing numbers of people to whom all "plans" and even revolutionary ideas of any sort are quite alien, but who nevertheless *see* and *feel* the necessity for an armed struggle when they witness the atrocities perpetrated by the police, the Cossacks, and the Black Hundreds against unarmed citizens. There is no choice, all other ways are blocked. One cannot help being agitated by what is taking place in Russia at the present time; one cannot help thinking of war and of revolution, and whoever is agitated, whoever thinks, whoever takes an interest, is *obliged* to join one armed camp or the other. You may be beaten up, maimed, or murdered no matter in what supremely peaceful and scrupulously lawful way you behave. Revolution does not recognise neutrals. The struggle has already flared up. It is a life-and-death struggle between the old Russia, the Russia of slavery, serfdom, and autocracy, and the new, young, people's Russia, the Russia of the toiling masses, who are reaching out towards light and freedom, in order afterwards to start once again a struggle for the complete emancipation of mankind from all oppression and all exploitation.

May the day of the insurrection of the people come soon!

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EDITORIAL EPILOGUE TO THE ARTICLE "THE THIRD CONGRESS ON TRIAL BEFORE THE CAUCASIAN MENSHEVIKS"

In reproducing this article from the organ of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P. (*Borba Proletariata*,[85] No. 1 in Russian; No. 6 has appeared in the Armenian language, and No. 9 in Georgian) we shall for our part add that the Caucasian Mensheviks were practically the first to come out in the press not merely with groundless abuse against the Congress (in the new-*Iskra* spirit), but with an attempt to question the representation of absolutely definite Party committees. In its organ the Caucasian Union has calmly and with close reasoning refuted the Mensheviks' arguments and splendidly proved the complete validity of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., even if the five mandates disputed by the Mensheviks were considered non-valid.

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ARE THE ZEMSTVO "LIBERALS" ALREADY TURNING BACK?

We have just read a message from the St. Petersburg correspondent of the liberal bourgeois *Frankfurter Zeitung* dated August 8 (21) to the effect that the Congress of Zemstvo and municipal leaders, which by decision of the July Congress was to have met immediately after publication of the Bulygin scheme and was already fixed for the end of August, *will not take place*. What would you think the reason is? It is because on August 6 the tsar withdrew his ukase to the Senate, dated February 18, 1905! The correspondent goes on to say: "This absolutely inexplicable [??—*Editorial Board of* "*Proletary*"] cowardice on the part of the Zemstvo representatives has aroused general amazement in political quarters here, since at a moment like the present nobody was inclined to expect such flabbiness in the Zemstvos. That is why the news I have sent has not yet been given full credence, and people are cautious in their attitude towards it." We long ago foretold that the government would not find it hard to win the liberal bourgeois over to its side and make them "recoil from the revolution".

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THE WORKING CLASS AND REVOLUTION

1. The democratic and the socialist revolution.
2. The bourgeois nature of the democratic revolution. ("Bourgeois and socialist revolution.")
3. The tasks of Social-Democracy as an independent class party of the proletariat.
4. The role of the peasantry in the democratic revolution.
5. Insurrection and the revolutionary army.
6. The revolutionary government. Its tasks.
7. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

1. α) The aims of the working class. β) *S o c i a l - D e m o c r a c y*. Our programme. γ) The *m a x i m u m* and δ) the *m i n i m u m* programme. {A description of it (compare 6 points*)}
ε) The democratic and the bourgeois revolution.

2. T h e b o u r g e o i s a n d t h e s o c i a l i s t r e v o l u t i o n. Why is the democratic revolution bourgeois in nature? α) Commodity and capitalist production. β) The economic essence. γ) The Constitutional-Democratic Party, its programme, and its class essence. *A c l a s s p a r t y*. Zemstvo congresses. Unions of intellectuals. The legal press. δ) Bourgeois advice to the proletariat: the trade union struggle, etc.

3. Conclusions from the above. **An independent class party**. Organisation—trade union and *Party*, agitational, and *military*. Marxism: "a doctrine".

4. The peasantry's special interests. Remnants of serf-ownership. Why is the role of the peasantry in the democratic revolution of particular importance? The

* See p. 183 of this volume.—*Ed*.

"general redistribution" and its significance. The peasants are the workers' natural allies. The **peasantry's petty-bourgeois nature**.

5. The uprising. Moral and material force.
   Arming of the people. *M i l i t a r y* organisation (military problems, etc.). The revolutionary army. (Example: Nizhni-Novgorod and Ekaterinoslav) ((bombs, arms)).
6. The revolutionary government, the *o r g a n* of uprising. The significance of a revolutionary government and revolutionary *p o w e r*. Participation in a revolutionary government. The programme of a revolutionary government: 6 *p o i n t s*. *G e t E u r o p e m o v i n g*.
7. What is dictatorship? Dictatorship of a *c l a s s* and dictatorship of an individual. Democratic dictatorship. Classes.

Written in August 1905

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Published according to the manuscript

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION OF THE PAMPHLET *THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS*

The third edition of this pamphlet appears at a moment in the development of the revolution in Russia which differs considerably from 1897, when it was written, and from 1902, when its second edition appeared. It need hardly be said that the pamphlet gives only a general outline of the tasks of Social-Democracy as a whole, and not a concrete exposition of the present-day tasks that stem from the present state of the working-class and revolutionary movements, and also from the state of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. The present-day tasks of our Party are dealt with in my pamphlet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (Geneva, 1905). A comparison of the two pamphlets will enable the reader to judge whether the author's views on the general tasks of Social-Democracy and the special tasks of the given moment have been developing with consistency. That such a comparison is not useless is shown, incidentally, by the recent crude sally made by Mr. Struve, leader of our liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, who in *Osvobozhdeniye* accuses revolutionary Social-Democracy (as represented by the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) of presenting the question of an insurrection in a manner befitting seditionists and revolutionaries in the abstract. We have already stated in *Proletary* (No. 9, "Revolution Teaches") that a simple comparison of *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* (1897), *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), and *Proletary* (1905) will refute the accusation of the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry, and will

show the connection between the development of Social-Democratic views on an insurrection and the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The *Osvobozhdeniye* accusation is merely a crude opportunist sally on the part of the supporters of a liberal monarchy, who are trying to cover up their betrayal of the revolution, their betrayal of the people's interests, and their desire to strike a bargain with the tsarist government.

N. Lenin

August 1905

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Published according to the text of the pamphlet

NOTE ON P. NIKOLAYEV'S PAMPHLET *THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA*[86]

This pamphlet was written before August 6. The State Duma has now been set up. The working class and all the poor have no right at all to elect Duma members. The rich landlords and the merchants elect Duma members through gubernia electors. The peasants elect even gubernia electors not directly, but through uyezd delegates elected at volost meetings. Freedom of election, of the press, and of assembly is non-existent. The police retain full power. The Duma makes decisions that are not binding on the government, but are merely advisory, i.e., the Duma has no power at all.

First published in the autumn of 1905

Published according to the manuscript

IN THE WAKE OF THE MONARCHIST BOURGEOISIE, OR IN THE VAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY?

Social-Democracy's tactics towards the State Duma still heads all the questions of the revolutionary struggle on the agenda of the day. The differences which have arisen between the opportunist (*Iskra*) and the revolutionary (*Proletary*) wings of the R.S.D.L.P. on the score of these tactics must be analysed most painstakingly not for the sake of captious polemising (which sometimes degenerates into a squabble), but for the purpose of thoroughly elucidating the question and assisting the comrades on the spot to work out the most exact, definite, and uniform slogans possible.

First of all, a few words on the origin of these differences. Even before the State Duma Act had been promulgated, we set forth in *Proletary*, No. 12 the fundamentals of our tactics and of our differences with *Iskra*. We demanded: 1) support for the idea of a boycott, in the sense of increased agitation and an appeal to the people, in the sense of the proletariat's support for the Left wing of bourgeois democracy, and constant exposure of the treachery of its Right wing; 2) an active boycott at all costs, and not "passive abstention", i.e., "increasing agitation tenfold", going so far as "to force our way into election meetings", and, finally, 3) "a clear, precise, and immediate agitational slogan", namely, for an armed uprising, a revolutionary army, and a provisional revolutionary government. We categorically rejected the slogan of *Iskra* (No. 106) for "organisation of a revolutionary self-government", as confusing and as playing into the hands of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, i.e.,

the monarchist bourgeoisie. At the same time, anticipating, as it were, that *Iskra* would once more "beget" more differences we immediately added that we agreed with *Iskra*'s condemnation of the idea of a passive boycott.

So if *Iskra*, No. 108, now drops sundry hints about a theory of "non-interference", "absenteeism", "abstention", "folded arms", and the like, we must first of all brush aside "objections" of this sort, since this is not polemising, but merely an attempt to "get under the opponent's skin". By such methods of "polemising", culminating in the aspersion that some of the leaders would like to get into a provisional government themselves, the new *Iskra* has long evoked a very definite attitude towards itself among the widest circles of Social-Democrats.

Thus, the essence of the differences is that *Iskra* does not accept our slogan of agitation, which we consider the main slogan (for an armed uprising, a revolutionary army, and a provisional revolutionary government). *Proletary*, on the other hand, considers it absolutely impermissible "to obscure or relegate into the background the slogan of insurrection by bringing forward the slogan of revolutionary self-government" (*Proletary*, No. 12). All the other points of disagreement are relatively less important. On the contrary, what is especially important is that (as has been the case on more than one occasion) in No. 108 *Iskra* begins to back out, to twist and turn; to the slogan of revolutionary self-government it adds the slogan of "active militant action by the masses of the people" (wherein this differs from an armed uprising God only knows). *Iskra* goes even so far as to say that the "organisation of a revolutionary self-government is the only means of really 'organising' an uprising of the whole people". *Iskra*, No. 108, is dated August 13 (26); and on August 24 (N. S.) the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* carried an article by Comrade Martov setting forth *Iskra*'s "plan" wholly in the spirit of No. 106, and not in the spirit of the "amendments" in No. 108. We are giving below* a translation of the most important parts of this invaluable article by Comrade Martov, as a specimen of "Social-Democratic Manilovism".

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* See pp. 224-26 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Let us try to unravel this tangle.

To make matters clear it is necessary first of all to realise what forces are at present "making history" for the Russian Revolution, and just how they are doing it. The autocracy has adopted the theory of "consultation" between the tsar and the people. Desirous of consulting with a police-screened handful of persons elected by the landowners and shopkeepers, the autocracy is beginning with desperate ferocity to suppress the revolution. Broader circles of the monarchist bourgeoisie are in favour of the theory of compromise between the tsar and the people (the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, or the Constitutional-"Democratic" Party). By this theory the bourgeoisie is showing its treachery to the revolution, its readiness first to support it and then to unite with the reactionaries against it. The Revolutionary proletariat, inasmuch as it is led by Social-Democracy, demands the *sovereignty of the people*, i.e., the complete destruction of the forces of reaction, and, above all, the actual overthrow of the tsarist government and its replacement by a provisional revolutionary government. The proletariat strives (often without being aware of it, but unswervingly and energetically) to win over the peasantry, and with the latter's assistance to carry forward the revolution to complete victory, despite the bourgeoisie's instability and treachery.

The State Duma is undoubtedly a concession to the revolution, but a concession made (and this is still more indubitable) so as to suppress the Revolution and withhold a constitution. The bourgeois "compromisers" want to achieve a constitution so as to suppress the revolution; this desire of the liberal bourgeoisie, which is an inevitable result of its class position, has been most clearly expressed by Mr. Vinogradov (in *Russkiye Vedomosti*).

The question now arises: under such circumstances, what is the significance of the decision to boycott the Duma, passed by the Union of Unions (see *Proletary*, No. 14), i.e., by the most comprehensive organisation of the bourgeois intelligentsia? By and large, the bourgeois intelligentsia also wants "a compromise". That is why, as *Proletary* has repeatedly pointed out, it too vacillates between reaction and revolution, between haggling and fighting, between a deal with the tsar and an uprising against him. Nor can

it be otherwise, in view of the class position of the bourgeois intelligentsia. However, it would be a mistake to forget that this intelligentsia is more capable of expressing the essential interests of the bourgeois class as a whole, in their broadest implications, as distinct from the temporary and narrow interests of the bourgeoisie's "upper crust". The intelligentsia is more capable of expressing the interests of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. With all its vacillations, it is therefore more capable of waging a revolutionary struggle against the autocracy, and, *provided it draws closer to the people*, it could become an important force in this struggle. Powerless by itself, it could nevertheless give quite considerable sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry just what they lack—knowledge, programme, guidance, and organisation.

Thus, the essence of the "boycott" idea, as it first arose in the Union of Unions, is that the *big bourgeoisie's first step towards consultation, towards compromise with the tsar* has inevitably led to the *petty-bourgeois intelligentsia's first step towards drawing close to the revolutionary people.* The landlords and capitalists have swung to the right, while the bourgeois intelligentsia, representing the petty bourgeoisie, has swung to the left. The former are going to the tsar, although they have by no means given up their intention of threatening him again and again with the might of the people. The bourgeois intelligentsia is considering whether it should not rather go to the people, without as yet finally breaking with the theory of "compromise", and without *fully* taking the revolutionary path.

Such is the essence of the boycott idea, which, as we have pointed out in *Proletary*, No. 12, arose among the bourgeois democrats. Only very short-sighted and superficial people could discern in this idea non-interference, absenteeism, abstention, and so on. The bourgeois intelligentsia need not *abstain*, since the high property qualification actually *keeps it out* of the State Duma. In its resolution on the boycott the bourgeois intelligentsia makes "the mobilisation of all the democratic elements of the country" its most important point. The bourgeois intelligentsia is the most active, resolute, and militant element of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, the Constitutional-"Democratic" Party. To accuse

this intelligentsia of abstention, etc., because of its boycott idea, or even to refuse to support its idea *and to develop it* means to display short-sightedness and thus play into the hands of the monarchist big bourgeoisie, whose organ, *Osvobozhdeniye*, has good reason to combat the idea of a boycott.

Besides the general and basic considerations, the correctness of the view just outlined is supported by the valuable admissions of Mr. *S.S.*[87] in *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 75. It is highly significant that Mr. *S.S.* describes advocates of the boycott idea as the "radical" group, and opponents of that idea as the "moderate" group. He accuses the former of a "Narodnaya Volya attitude", of repeating the mistakes of the "active revolutionary groups" (an accusation doing honour to those it is levelled against by *Osvobozhdeniye*); about the latter he states flatly that they stand "between two fires", between the autocracy and the "social [*sic*!] revolution", poor Mr. S. S. being so terrified that he has very nearly mistaken the democratic republic for a social revolution! But the most valuable admission by Mr. S. S. is the following: for the radicals—he says, comparing the Congress of the Union of Unions with the Zemstvo Congress—"everything undoubtedly centred [mark this!] around the demand to amend the electoral system, *whereas for the more moderate group the main interest lay in extending the rights of the Duma*".

This sums up matters in a nutshell! Mr. S. S. has blurted out the innermost "thoughts" of the landlords and capitalists, which we have laid bare hundreds of times. Their "main interest" lies not in getting the people to take part in the elections (they are afraid of that), but in extending the rights of the Duma, i.e., in converting the assembly of the big bourgeoisie from a consultative into a legislative body. That is the crux of the matter. The big bourgeoisie will never be satisfied with a "consultative" Duma. Hence, the inevitability of constitutional conflicts in the State Duma. But the big bourgeoisie can never become a true and dependable supporter of people's sovereignty. It will always be taking the constitution (for itself) with one hand, and taking away the rights of the people, or opposing the extension of popular rights, with the other. The big bourgeoisie cannot

but strive for a constitution that secures privileges for the big bourgeoisie. The radical intelligentsia cannot but strive to express the interests of the broader strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Once it got the bird in the hand the Right wing of bourgeois democracy immediately began to see reason, and, as we have seen, is already renouncing "illegal" congresses. The Left wing saw itself without even a bird in the hand; it saw that the landlords and capitalists, having taken advantage of the services of the "third element"[88] (agitation, propaganda, organisation of the press, etc.), are now prepared to betray it, directing their efforts in the State Duma not towards securing the people's rights but towards securing their own rights, which militate against those of the people. And now sensing incipient treachery the bourgeois intelligentsia brands the State Duma as an "audacious challenge" made by the government to all the peoples of Russia, declares a boycott, and counsels "the mobilisation of the democratic elements".

Under such conditions the Social-Democrats would be playing the part of political simpletons if they were to attack the idea of a boycott. The revolutionary proletariat's unerring class instinct has prompted most of the comrades in Russia to adopt the idea of an *active* boycott. This means supporting the Left wing and *drawing it closer to us*, means endeavouring to single out the elements of *revolutionary democracy*, so as to strike at the autocracy together with them. The radical intelligentsia has held out a finger to us—we must catch it by the hand! If the boycott is not mere bragging, if mobilisation is more than a word, if indignation at the audacious challenge is not just mummery, then you must break with the "compromisers", come over to the theory of the sovereignty of the people, and adopt, adopt *in deed*, the only consistent and integral slogans of revolutionary democracy—an armed uprising, a revolutionary army, and a provisional revolutionary government. To make all those who indeed accept these slogans join us, and to pillory all who remain on the side of the "compromisers"—such is the only correct tactics of the revolutionary proletariat.

Our new-Iskrists have failed to see both the class origin and the real political significance of the boycott idea, and

have opened fire ... into the air. Comrade Cherevanin writes in No. 108: "As is evident from the bulletins of the Don Committee and the St. Petersburg group, both these organisations [N. B.: *Menshevik* organisations. Note by the *Proletary* Editorial Board] have declared for the boycott. They consider participation in elections to such a Duma a disgrace, treason to the cause of the revolution, and they condemn in advance those liberals who will take part in the elections. *Thus, the very possibility of making the State Duma a weapon of the democratic revolution is precluded, and agitation directed towards that end is evidently rejected.*" The words we have italicised reveal the mistake indicated just now. Those who rant against "non-intervention" are only *obscuring* the really important question of the *methods* of intervention. There are two methods of intervention, two types of slogans. The first method is: "increasing agitation tenfold, organising meetings everywhere, taking advantage of election meetings, even if we have to force our way into them, holding demonstrations, political strikes, and so on and so forth". (*Proletary*, No. 12.) We have already explained the slogans of *this* campaign of agitation. The other method is: to demand "a revolutionary pledge to enter the State Duma for the purpose of bringing about its transformation into a revolutionary assembly which will depose the autocracy and convene a constituent assembly" (Comrade Cherevanin in *Iskra*, No. 108), or "to bring pressure to bear on the electors so that only resolute advocates of democratic and free representation should be elected to the Duma" (Comrade Martov in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*).

It is just this difference in methods that reflects the difference in the "two tactics" of Social-Democracy. The opportunist wing of Social-Democracy is always inclined to "bring pressure to bear" on bourgeois democracy by *demanding pledges* from it. The revolutionary wing of Social-Democracy "brings pressure to bear" on bourgeois democracy and impels it to the left *by condemning it for its shifts to the right*, by spreading among the masses the slogan of a determined revolution. The theory of "demanding pledges", this famous Starover *litmus-test* theory, is sheer naïveté and can only serve to sow confusion among the proletariat and corrupt it. Whom will Comrade Cherevanin hold responsible for the

carrying out of the "pledges" he has received? Perhaps God Almighty? Can it be that Comrade Cherevanin does not know that under the pressure of material class interests *all* pledges will go by the board? Is it not childishness on the part of the selfsame Comrade Cherevanin to think that the bourgeois deputies to the State Duma can be bound to the revolutionary proletariat by means of "binding instructions"? And if Comrade Martov were to begin *actually* to carry out his plan he would have to *announce* to the working class that certain members of the given assembly of landlords are "resolute advocates of free and democratic representation!" To make such announcements would mean sowing the greatest political corruption!

And now note another thing: all these "revolutionary pledges" on the part of the Petrunkeviches, Rodichevs, and *tutti quanti*, all these "binding instructions", all these pledges "resolutely to support democratic and free representation" (could anyone have picked a more general, vague, and nebulous phrase?) would be demanded and given *in the name of Social-Democracy and behind the proletariat's back*. After all, this cannot be done openly, for even in free countries, where agitation is carried on openly, political figures are bound not so much by private deals as by *party* programmes; in our case we *do not and shall not have* definite and established parties at the elections to the State Duma! Just see, comrades of the new *Iskra*, what a mess you have again managed to get into: you keep repeating "the masses", "to the masses", "with the masses", "the initiative of the masses", but in fact your "plan" boils down to secret deals obliging Mr. Petrunkevich to be not a traitor to the revolution but its "resolute" advocate!

The new-Iskrists have themselves reduced their position to absurdity. No one, anywhere in Russia, even among their followers, would dream of concluding deals on the basis of those absurd "revolutionary pledges". No. This is not the way to intervene. You must intervene by ruthlessly *branding* the theory of compromise and the bourgeois compromisers, all those Petrunkeviches, etc. Expose their bourgeois betrayal of the revolution and unite the revolutionary forces *for an uprising* against the autocracy (*and, to be on the safe side, against the Duma as well*)—that is the only

reliable method of really "bringing pressure to bear" on the Duma, of really paving the way for the victory of the revolution. It is only with such a slogan that we should intervene in the election campaign, not for electioneering purposes, deals, or pledges, but in order to preach insurrection. And it is only the real strength of the armed people that will enable us to take advantage of possible and probable future conflicts within the State Duma, or between the State Duma and the tsar, in the interests of the revolution (and not of a strictly bourgeois constitution). Less confidence in the State Duma, gentlemen, and more confidence in the forces of the proletariat which is now arming itself!

We have now come to the slogan of the organisation of revolutionary self-government bodies. Let us examine it more closely.

In the first place it is wrong from a purely theoretical standpoint to give pre-eminence to the slogan of revolutionary self-government instead of the slogan of the people's sovereignty. The former bears on the administration, the second on the organisation of the state. The former is, therefore, compatible with the treacherous bourgeois theory of "compromise" (a self-governing people headed by the tsar, "who reigns but does not govern"); the latter is wholly incompatible with it. The first is acceptable to the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, the second is not.

In the second place, it is utterly absurd to identify the organisation of revolutionary self-government with the organisation of a people's uprising. An uprising is civil war, and war requires an army, whereas self-government does not in itself require an army. There are countries with a system of self-government, but without an army. And revolutionary self-government does not require a revolutionary army where a revolution takes place in the Norwegian fashion: the king was "sacked" and a plebiscite held. But when the people are oppressed by a despotic government which relies on an army and starts civil war, then to identify revolutionary self-government with a revolutionary army, to advocate the former and to maintain silence about the latter, is almost indecent and signifies either betrayal of the revolution or the utmost stupidity.

Thirdly, history also confirms the truth (incidentally, a self-evident truth) that only the complete and decisive victory of an uprising can make it fully possible to establish genuine self-government. Would the municipal revolution in France in July 1789 have been possible if on July 14 the people of Paris, who had risen in arms, had not defeated the royal troops, taken the Bastille, and completely smashed the resistance of the autocracy? Or will the new-Iskrists, perhaps, cite in this connection the example of the city of Montpellier, where the municipal revolution, the establishment of revolutionary local self-government took place peacefully, and a vote of thanks to the intendant was even passed for the kindness with which he had assisted in his own deposition? Does the new *Iskra* perhaps expect that during our Duma election campaign we shall thank the governors for having eliminated themselves *before the capture* of the Russian Bastilles? Is it not significant that in the France of 1789 the period of the municipal revolution took place when the *emigration of reactionaries* was under way, while in our country the slogan of revolutionary self-government *instead of* the slogan of an uprising is being advanced at a time when the *emigration of revolutionaries* is still going on? When a certain Russian high official was asked why an amnesty was not granted on August 6 he replied: "Why should we set free 10,000 people whom it took us considerable trouble to arrest and who tomorrow would start a desperate struggle against us?" This dignitary reasoned intelligently, whereas those who speak about "revolutionary self-government" before the release of these 10,000 reason unintelligently.

Fourthly, present-day Russian life plainly shows the inadequacy of the slogan of "revolutionary self-government" and the need for a direct and definite slogan of insurrection. Consider what took place in Smolensk on August 2 (Old Style). The Municipal Council declared the billeting of the Cossacks contrary to law, stopped all payments to them, organised a city militia to protect the population, and appealed to the soldiers to refrain from violence against citizens. We should like to know whether our good new-Iskrists find this adequate. Should not this militia be regarded as a *revolutionary army*, as an organ of attack as well

as of defence?—and of attack not only against the Smolensk Cossack detachment, but against the autocratic government in general? Should not this idea of proclaiming a revolutionary army and its tasks be popularised? Can the administration of the city of Smolensk by genuine government *of the people* be considered secure until a revolutionary army has won a decisive victory over the tsarist army?

Fifthly, the facts prove incontrovertibly that the slogan of revolutionary self-government instead of the slogan of insurrection, or as implying (?) the slogan of insurrection, is not only "acceptable" to the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, but has actually been accepted by it. Take *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 74. You will find there a sweeping condemnation of the "senseless and criminal advocacy of insurrection" and at the same time a plea for city militias and the establishment of local self-government bodies as elements of a future provisional government (cf. *Proletary*, No. 12).

No matter how one approaches the question, it will invariably turn out that the new slogan of the new *Iskra* is an *Osvobozhdeniye* slogan. The Social-Democrats who either relegate to the background or reject a slogan calling for an armed uprising, a revolutionary army, and a provisional government in favour of one demanding the organisation of revolutionary self-government are trailing along in the wake of the monarchist bourgeoisie, instead of marching in the van of the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry.

We are accused of stubbornly "hammering away" at the same slogans. We think such an accusation a compliment. For it is plainly our task to hammer away persistently at vital political slogans, while spreading the general truths of the Social-Democratic programme. We succeeded in giving the widest publicity to the "quartet" formula so repugnant to the liberals (universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and a secret ballot). We acquainted the masses of the working people with the "sextet" of political liberties (freedom of speech, conscience, the press, assembly, association, and the right to strike). We must now repeat millions and billions of times the "trio" of immediate revolutionary tasks (an armed uprising, a revolutionary army, and a provisional revolutionary government). The popular forces which will accomplish these tasks are shooting up

spontaneously, not only with every day but with every hour that passes. Attempted uprisings are becoming more frequent, their organisation is growing, and arming is proceeding apace. From the ranks of the workers and peasants clad in rustic coats, city suits, and uniforms nameless heroes are emerging, people fused with the mass and ever more deeply imbued with a noble obsession to liberate the people. It is our business to see to it that all these rivulets merge into a mighty torrent, that the light of a class-conscious, direct, clear, and precise revolutionary programme of our immediate tasks be thrown on the spontaneous movement, multiplying its strength tenfold.

To sum up. Our tactics with regard to the State Duma may be formulated in five points: 1) intensified agitation in connection with the State Duma Act and the elections to the Duma, the organisation of meetings, utilisation of the election campaign, demonstrations, etc., etc.; 2) the centring of this entire agitational campaign on slogans calling for an insurrection, a revolutionary army, and a provisional revolutionary government; popularisation of the programme of this provisional government; 3) gaining the adherence for the promotion of this agitation and of the armed struggle of all revolutionary democratic elements, and of such elements only, i.e., only those who accept the above-mentioned slogans in deed; 4) support of the boycott idea, which arose among the Left-wing bourgeois democrats, with the purpose of making it an active boycott in the sense of the most widespread agitation as described above; winning over the Left-wing representatives of bourgeois democracy to the revolutionary-democratic programme and to activities which will draw them closer to the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry; 5) ruthless exposure of the bourgeois theory of "compromise" and the bourgeois "compromisers", and their denunciation to the broadest masses of workers and peasants; making public and explaining every treacherous and irresolute step they take, both before and after they enter the Duma; warning the working class against these bourgeois betrayers of the revolution.

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A MOST LUCID EXPOSITION OF A MOST CONFUSED PLAN

In a leading article* we pointed out what a muddle the new-*Iskra*'s new plan for a "Duma campaign" is. Here is a most lucid exposition of it given by Martov himself in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*[89] (of August 24, New Style). (The italics everywhere are Martov's own.)

"The plan is as follows," says Comrade Martov, referring to its "endorsement by many organisations in Russia". "Working-class organisations are to assume the initiative in establishing *people's agitation committees*, to be elected by all elements of the population that are not satisfied with the tsar's reform. The task of such committees consists first of all in developing agitation for genuine popular representation throughout the country. These committees are to be set up formally for the purpose of enabling the mass of the population to take part in the forthcoming elections. Since by virtue of the electoral law they are barred from *direct* participation in the elections, the citizens may take part indirectly by communicating their opinions and demands to the more exclusive bodies of privileged voters. The committees bring pressure to bear on the electoral body with the object of getting *only resolute advocates of democratic and free representation* elected to the Duma. At the same time the committees strive to set up, apart from the 'legal' representative body, an *illegal representative* body which would *be able* at the right moment *to come forward* as the country's *provisional organ of the people's will*. The committees call on the population to *elect* their representatives *by universal suffrage*; *at a given moment* these representatives should *gather in some one city and proclaim themselves a constituent assembly*. Such is, so to say, the ideal objective of this campaign. Whether matters will get so far as this or not, a movement along these lines will serve to organise revolutionary self-government, which will smash the shackles of tsarist legality, and lay the foundation for the future triumph of the revolution. Little by little the rudiments of

* See pp. 212-23 of this volume.—*Ed.*

such revolutionary self-government are arising all over Russia, as, for instance, has already happened at the present time *in two Caucasian gubernias* where the official authorities are being boycotted by the entire population, and the latter is being governed by its own elected authorities. (In parentheses: *the peasants of Guria* demand *that these authorities be endorsed by our Committee*.)

"The abolition of the autocracy, which does not wish to inaugurate a constitutional era voluntarily, must proceed by way of setting up such publicly functioning self-government bodies everywhere. It goes without saying that opportunities for this are engendered by the increasing disorganisation of the government apparatus and the growth of an effective power (*wirkenden Kraft*) among the people."

We recommend this peerless plan to the comrades as *the ideal objective of the monarchist* (*Osvobozhdeniye*) *bourgeoisie*, as the *ideal objective of liquidating the Russian proletarian-peasant revolution by the liberal landlords*.

As we have pointed out hundreds of times, the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, i.e., the monarchist bourgeoisie, wants just such a "liquidation" as would bring about the transfer of power to the bourgeoisie without a popular uprising, or, at any rate, without the complete victory of an uprising of the people. Manilovist plans for "elections" while the autocracy remains in power *play entirely into the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie*, which alone is capable of producing anything at all resembling such elections.

We shall dwell on the details of this ridiculous plan only briefly. Is it not naïve to forget that self-government in the Caucasus (not in two gubernias, but in a few volosts) rests on *an armed uprising*? Is it not puerile to imagine that what is possible in a few mountain villages in a remote frontier district is possible in the heart of Russia without the people's victory over the autocracy? Is not this plan of multi-stage "elections" *while power remains in the hands of the autocratic government*, *a bit of superb pedantry*? "The dissatisfied elements of the population" (?) elect people's agitation committees (without a programme, without clear slogans). The committees set up an "illegal representative body" (in all probability, simply replacing the illegal organisation of the *Socialist* Labour Party by an *Osvobozhdeniye* organisation!). It is obvious that the substitution of the obscure term, "*organ of the people's will*", for the clear revolutionary term, "a provisional government as the organ of the uprising", is

simply playing into the hands of the Zemstvo-bourgeois party. *Universal* elections to a constituent assembly on the initiative of "illegal" committees, while Trepov[90] and Co. are left in power is an idea which is altogether infantile.

In disputes it is sometimes useful to have a "devil's advocate"—one who defends an absurd view which is rejected by everyone. *Iskra* has now assumed this role. Its plan is most helpful for educational purposes in refuting absurdities at meetings of study circles, extemporaneous meetings, mass meetings, etc.; it is very helpful for the purpose of bringing out more distinctly the contrast between the slogans of the revolutionary proletariat and those of the monarchist liberal bourgeoisie.

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KEEPING INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY INFORMED OF OUR PARTY AFFAIRS

Keeping international Social-Democracy informed of our Party affairs is one of the most important duties of all Social-Democrats living abroad. We remind the comrades of this and appeal for the most energetic agitation in defence of the stand taken by the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. This agitation must be conducted indefatigably, on any pretext, on any suitable occasion, and in positively all study circles of workers abroad, as well as with individual members of foreign Social-Democratic parties. This agitation must be conducted in ways that are worthy of conscious Social-Democrats and members of a workers' party. It must be based on the principle of *full* information concerning the *documentary* aspect of the matter. Priority should be given to the circulation of the Third Congress resolutions published *in the French language* (the supplement to the newspaper *Le Socialiste* of June 25, 1905. Address of *Le Socialiste*, central organ of the French socialists: *Rue de la Corderie 16*, *Paris*) as well as *in the German language* (the pamphlet *Bericht über den 3. Parteitag*; publisher's address: *Birk et Co.*, *Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt*, *München*, *Vittelsbacherplatz 2. Preis 20 pf.*). Both the French and the German translations are also available from the Party office.

In addition to this basic material, the most important documents and articles from our literature should also be translated. In doing so we must constantly expose the indecency of the Khlestakov-like new *Iskra*. The latter has not published, either in French or in German, the full text of its Conference resolutions (which reveals its usurping

arrogation of the title of Central Organ). *Iskra* has published in the European Social-Democratic press such "statistics" about organised labour that evoke nothing but laughter (suffice it to say that the new *Iskra* has not yet made so bold as to make these "statistics" public in Russian, for fear of disgracing itself, but we have printed these statistics in full in No. 9 of *Proletary*).[91] *Iskra* is now circulating among all colonies abroad a letter over the Editorial Board's signature containing the same brand of amusing Khlestakovian claims regarding the Minority's forces, claims which have been shamefacedly withheld from Russian readers of our Social-Democratic newspapers. Publicity-mongers should be fought against to the utmost, but that struggle should be conducted in a dignified way, so as to get the public *fully informed*, and make matters as clear as possible, without the least boasting and literary bombast, without falling into gossip and private allusions which cannot stand the light of publicity.

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NOTE TO THE ARTICLE "RUSSIA'S FINANCES AND THE REVOLUTION"

From the Editorial Board. Rudolf Martin's book *The Future of Russia and Japan*, which recently appeared in Berlin, is splendid confirmation of the conclusions drawn by the author of this article. We have as yet had no opportunity to examine this book, and shall, therefore, merely take note of its main arguments as reported in the foreign press. The author's approach to the matter is one of pure scholarship and devoid of any political sympathies. A statistician by profession, he has made a thorough study of Russia's financial standing and arrives at the conclusion that a declaration of insolvency is inevitable, whether the war goes on or whether peace is concluded. Russian agriculture is in a state of complete decline, a capital of 50 thousand million rubles being required to put it on its feet again. Over the next ten years the budget deficit will amount to at least 300 million rubles annually. Russia's national debt, estimated by the author at approximately eight thousand million rubles today, will reach 12 thousand million rubles in five years' time. There is nothing with which to pay the interest on the loans because nobody will now give Russia any money. The parallel between the Russia of 1905 and the France of Louis XVI is simply amazing. Rudolf Martin strongly advises Germany to get all Russian loans off her hands at the earliest opportunity (in America, if possible)—loans in which 1,500 million rubles' worth of German money has been invested. The European bourgeoisie is hurrying to escape, foreseeing the inevitability of a Russian collapse.

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The tremendous importance of the peasant movement in the democratic revolution Russia is now passing through has been repeatedly explained in the entire Social-Democratic press. As is well known, the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. passed a special resolution on this question in order to define more exactly and to co-ordinate the activities of the whole party of the class-conscious proletariat with regard to the peasant movement of today. Although the resolution was drawn up in advance (the first draft was published in *Vperyod*, No. 11, March 10 [23], 1905*), and although it was carefully gone over at the Party Congress, which took pains to formulate the views already established throughout the Russian Social-Democratic movement—the resolution has nevertheless perplexed a number of comrades working in Russia. The Saratov Committee has unanimously declared this resolution unacceptable (see *Proletary*, No. 10).[92] It is to be regretted that an explanation of this verdict, as requested by us at the time, has not yet been forthcoming. We only know that the Saratov Committee has declared also unacceptable the agrarian resolution passed by the new-*Iskra* Conference—consequently they are dissatisfied by what is common to both resolutions, not by what distinguishes them.

New material on this question is provided by a letter we have received from a Moscow comrade (issued in the form of a hectographed leaflet). We print this letter in full:

* "The Proletariat and the Peasantry", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 235-36.—*Ed.*

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND TO THE COMRADES WORKING IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS

Comrades,

The regional organisation of the Moscow Committee has taken up work among the peasants. The lack of experience in organising such work, the special conditions prevailing in the rural districts of Central Russia, and also the lack of clarity in the directives contained in the resolutions of the Third Congress on this question, and the almost complete absence of material in the periodical and other press on work among the peasantry, compel us to appeal to the Central Committee to send us detailed directives, covering both the theoretical aspect and the practical questions involved, while we ask comrades who are doing similar work to acquaint us with the practical knowledge your experience has given you.

We consider it necessary to inform you about the misgivings that have arisen among us after reading the resolution of the Third Congress "on the attitude towards the peasant movement", and about the organisational plan which we are already beginning to apply in our work in the rural districts.

"§ a) To carry on propaganda among the mass of the people, explaining that Social-Democracy aims at giving the most energetic support to all revolutionary measures taken by the peasantry and likely to improve their condition, measures including confiscation of land belonging to the landlords, the state, the church, the monasteries, and the imperial family" (from the resolution of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.).

First of all, this paragraph does not clarify how Party organisations will, or should, carry on their propaganda. Propaganda requires, first and foremost, an organisation standing very close to those who are to be propagandised. Whether this organisation should consist of committees of the rural proletariat, or whether other organisational forms of oral and printed propaganda are possible—this question remains unanswered.

The same applies to the promise to give energetic support. To give support, and energetic support at that, is also possible only if local organisations exist. To us the question of "energetic support" seems in general very vague. Can Social-Democracy support the expropriation of landlords' estates that are farmed most intensively with the use of machinery, cultivating high-grade crops, etc.? The transfer of such estates to petty-bourgeois proprietors, however important improvement of their condition may be, would be a step back from the standpoint of the capitalist development of the given estate. In our opinion we as Social-Democrats should have made a reservation on this matter of "support": "provided the expropriation of this land and its transfer to peasant (petty-bourgeois) ownership results in a higher form of economic development on these estates."

Further:

"§ d) To strive for the independent organisation of the rural proletariat, for its fusion with the urban proletariat under the banner of

the Social-Democratic Party, and for the inclusion of its representatives in the peasant committees."

Doubts arise with regard to the latter part of this paragraph. The fact is that bourgeois-democratic organisations such as the Peasant Union, and reactionary-utopian organisations such as the Socialist-Revolutionaries organise under their banner both bourgeois and proletarian elements of the peasantry. By bringing into such "peasant" committees our representatives from rural proletarian organisations we shall be contradicting ourselves, our stand regarding a bloc, etc.

Here, too, we believe, amendments, and very serious ones, are needed.

These are a few general remarks on the resolutions of the Third Congress. These should be analysed as soon and in as great detail as possible.

As regards the plan for a "rural" organisation in our Regional Organisation, we must say that we have to work under conditions which are not even mentioned in the resolutions of the Third Congress. First of all, it should be noted that the territory we cover—Moscow Gubernia and the adjoining uyezds of neighbouring gubernias—is mainly an industrial area with a relatively low level of handicraft industry and with a very small section of the population engaged *exclusively* in agriculture. Huge textile mills, each employing 10,000 to 15,000 workers, alternate with small factories, employing 500 to 1,000 workers and scattered in out-of-the-way hamlets and villages. One would think that in such conditions Social-Democracy would find here a most favourable field for its activities, but facts have proved that so superficial an assumption does not hold water. Although some of the factories have been in existence for 40 or 50 years, the overwhelming majority of our "proletariat" have not yet become divorced from the land. The "village" has such a strong hold over them, that none of the psychological and other characteristics acquired by a "pure" proletarian in the course of collective work develops among our proletarians. The farming carried on by our "proletarians" is of a peculiarly linsey-woolsey type. A weaver employed in a mill hires a labourer to till his patch of land. His wife (if she is not working at the mill), his children, and the aged and invalid members of the family work on this same piece of land, and he himself will work on it when he becomes old or maimed, or is discharged for violent or suspicious behaviour. Such "proletarians" can hardly be called proletarians. Their economic status is that of paupers; their ideology is that of petty bourgeois. They are ignorant and conservative. It is from such that Black-Hundred elements are recruited. However, even among these people class-consciousness has begun to awaken of late. Through the agency of "pure" proletarians we are endeavouring to rouse these ignorant masses from their age-old slumber, and not without success. Our contacts are increasing in number, and in places our foothold is becoming firmer, the paupers are coming under our influence, beginning to adopt our ideology, both in the factory and in the village. And we believe that it will not be unorthodox to form organisations in an environment that is not "purely" proletarian. We have no other environment, and were we to insist on orthodoxy

and organise only the rural "proletariat", we would have to disband our organisation and those in the neighbouring districts. We know we shall have difficulties in struggling against the urge to expropriate the arable and other land neglected by the landlords, or those lands which the holy fathers in cowl and cassock have not been able to farm properly. We know that bourgeois democracy, from the "democratic"-monarchist faction (such a faction exists in Ruza Uyezd) down to the "Peasant" Union, will fight us for influence among the "paupers", but we shall arm the latter to oppose the former. We shall make use of all Social-Democratic forces in the region, both intellectual and proletarian, to set up and consolidate our Social-Democratic committees of "paupers". And we shall do this in accordance with the following plan. In each uyezd town, or big industrial centre we shall set up uyezd committees of groups coming under the Regional Organisation. In addition to setting up factory committees in its district the uyezd committee will also set up "peasant" committees. For reasons of secrecy these committees should not have many people on them and should be made up of the most revolutionary and capable pauperised peasants. Wherever there are both factories and peasants, workers and peasants should be organised in a single subgroup committee.

In the first place, such committees should have a clear and exact idea of local conditions: A) Agrarian relationships: 1) peasant allotments, leases, form of tenure (communal, by households, etc.); 2) the neighbouring land: a) to whom it belongs; b) the amount of land; c) what relation the peasants have to this land; d) on what terms the land is held: 1) labour rent, 2) excessive rent for "cut-off lands", etc.; e) indebtedness to kulaks, landlords, etc. B) Imposts, taxes, the rate of assessment of peasant and landlord lands respectively. C) Migratory labour and handicraft industries, passports, whether there is winter hiring,[93] etc. D) Local factories and plants: the working conditions there; 1) wages, 2) working hours, 3) the attitude of the management, 4) housing conditions, etc. E) The administration: the Rural Superintendents, the volost headman, the clerk, the volost judges, constables, the priest. F) The Zemstvo: councillors representing the peasants, Zemstvo employees: the teacher, the doctor, libraries, schools, tea-rooms. G) Volost assemblies: their composition and procedure. H) Organisations: the Peasant Union, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Social-Democrats.

After familiarising itself with all these data the Peasant Social-Democratic Committee is obliged to get such decisions passed by the assemblies as may be necessitated by any abnormal state of affairs. This committee should simultaneously carry on among the masses intense propaganda and agitation for the ideas of Social-Democracy, organise study circles, impromptu meetings, mass meetings, distribute leaflets and other literature, collect funds for the Party, and keep in touch with the Regional Organisation through the uyezd group.

I we succeed in setting up a number of such committees the success of Social-Democracy will be assured.

Regional Organiser

It goes without saying that we shall not undertake the task of working out the detailed practical directives to which the comrade refers: this is a matter for the comrades on the spot and for the central body in Russia which is guiding the practical work. We propose to take the opportunity presented by our Moscow comrade's interesting letter to explain the resolution of the Third Congress and the urgent tasks of the Party in general. It is obvious from the letter that the misunderstandings caused by the resolution of the Third Congress are only partly due to doubts in the field of theory. Another source is the *new* question, which has not arisen before, about the relations between the "revolutionary peasant committees" and the "*Social-Democratic Committees*" which are working among the peasants. The very posing of this question testifies to the big step forward made in Social-Democratic work among the peasants. Questions of—relatively speaking—detail are now being brought into the foreground by the practical requirements of "rural" agitation, which is striking root and assuming stable and permanent forms. And the author of the letter keeps forgetting that when he blames the Congress resolution for lack of clarity, he is in fact seeking an answer to a question which the Congress of the Party did not raise and could not have raised.

For instance, the author is not quite right when he says that both propagation of our ideas and support for the peasant movement are possible "only" if local organisations exist. Of course such organisations are desirable, and as the work increases they will become necessary; but such work is possible and necessary even where no such organisations exist. In all our activities, even when carried on exclusively among the urban proletariat, we must never lose sight of the peasant question and must disseminate the declaration made by the *entire party of the class-conscious proletariat* in the person of the Third Congress, namely, that we support a peasant uprising. The peasants must learn this—from literature, from the workers, from special organisations, etc. The peasants must learn that in giving this support the Social-Democratic proletariat will *not stop short* of any form of confiscation of the land (i.e., expropriation without compensation to the owners).

A question of theory has in this connection been raised by the author of the letter, whether the expropriation of the big estates and their transfer to "peasant, petty-bourgeois ownership" should not be specifically qualified. But by proposing such a reservation the author has arbitrarily limited the purport of the resolution of the Third Congress. There is *not a word* in the resolution about the Social-Democratic Party undertaking to support transfer of the confiscated land to petty-bourgeois proprietors. The resolution states: we support ... "up to and including confiscation", i.e., including expropriation without compensation; however, the resolution does not in any way decide to whom the expropriated land is to be given. It was not by chance that the question was left open: it is obvious from the articles in *Vperyod* (Nos. 11, 12, 15*) that it was deemed unwise to decide this question in advance. It was stated there, for instance, that under a democratic republic Social-Democracy cannot pledge itself and have its hands tied with regard to nationalisation of the land.

Indeed, it is the revolutionary-democratic aspect of the peasant uprisings and a particular organisation of the rural proletariat in a class party that *at present* form the crux of the matter for us, as distinct from the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionaries. It is not schemes of a "general redistribution" or nationalisation that is the kernel of the question; the essential thing is that the peasantry see the need for, and accomplish, the *revolutionary* demolition of the old order. That is why the Socialist-Revolutionaries are pressing for "socialisation", etc., while we are pressing for *revolutionary peasant committees*: without the latter, we say, all reforms amount to nothing. With them and supported by them the *victory of the peasant uprising* is possible.

We must help the peasant uprising in every way, up to and including confiscation of the land, *but certainly not including all sorts of petty-bourgeois schemes*. We support the peasant movement to the extent that it is revolutionary-democratic. We are making ready (doing so now, at once)

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* "The Proletariat and the Peasantry", 1905; "On Our Agrarian Programme", 1905; "The Agrarian Programme of the Liberals", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 231-36, 246-51, 315-22.—*Ed.*

to fight it when, and to the extent that, it becomes reactionary and anti-proletarian. The essence of Marxism lies in that double task, which only those who do not understand Marxism can vulgarise or compress into a single and simple task.

Let us take a concrete instance. Let us assume that the peasant uprising has been victorious. The revolutionary peasant committees and the provisional revolutionary government (relying, in part, on these very committees) can proceed to any confiscation of big property. We are in favour of confiscation, as we have already declared. But to whom shall we recommend giving the confiscated land. On this question we have not committed ourselves nor shall we ever do so by declarations like those rashly proposed by the author of the letter. The latter has forgotten that the same resolution of the Third Congress speaks of "*purging the revolutionary-democratic content of the peasant movement of all reactionary admixtures*"—that is one point—and, secondly, of the need "*in all cases and under all circumstances for the independent organisation of the rural proletariat*". These are our directives. There will always be reactionary admixtures in the peasant movement, and we declare war on them in advance. Class antagonism between the rural proletariat and the peasant bourgeoisie is unavoidable, and we disclose it in advance, explain it, *and prepare for the struggle on the basis of that antagonism*. One of the immediate causes of such a struggle may very likely be provided by the question: to whom shall the confiscated land be given, and how? We do not gloss over that question, nor do we promise equalitarian distribution, "socialisation", etc. What we do say is that this is a question we shall fight out later on, fight again, on a new field and with other allies. There, we shall certainly be with the rural proletariat, with the entire working class, *against* the peasant bourgeoisie. In practice this may mean the transfer of the land to the class of petty peasant proprietors—wherever big estates based on bondage and feudal servitude still prevail, and there are as yet no material conditions for large-scale socialist production; it may mean nationalisation—given complete victory of the democratic revolution—or the big capitalist estates being transferred to *workers' associations*, for from

the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organised proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way. If we do not now and immediately promise all sorts of "socialisation", that is because we know the actual conditions for that task to be accomplished, and we do not gloss over the new class struggle burgeoning within the peasantry, but reveal that struggle.

At first we support the peasantry *en masse* against the landlords, support it to the hilt and with all means, including confiscation, and then (it would be better to say, at the same time) we support the proletariat against the peasantry *en masse*. To try to calculate *now* what the combination of forces will be within the peasantry "on the day after" the revolution (the democratic revolution) is empty utopianism. Without falling into adventurism or going against our conscience in matters of science, without striving for cheap popularity we can and do assert *only one thing*: we shall bend every effort to help the entire peasantry achieve the democratic revolution, *in order thereby to make it easier* for us, the party of the proletariat, to pass on as quickly as possible to the new and higher task—the socialist revolution. We promise no harmony, no equalitarianism or "socialisation" following the victory of the *present* peasant uprising, on the contrary, we "promise" a new struggle, new inequality, the new revolution we are striving for. Our doctrine is less "sweet" than the legends of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, but let those who want to be fed solely on sweets join the Socialist-Revolutionaries; we shall say to such people: good riddance.

In our opinion this Marxist point of view settles also the question of the committees. In our opinion *there should be no Social-Democratic peasant* committees. If they are Social-Democratic, that means they are not purely peasant committees; if they are peasant committees, that means they are not purely proletarian, not Social-Democratic committees. There is a host of such who would confuse the two, but we are not of their number. Wherever possible we shall strive to set up *our* committees, committees of the *Social-*

Democratic Labour Party. They will consist of peasants, paupers, intellectuals, prostitutes (a worker recently asked us in a letter why not carry on agitation among the prostitutes), soldiers, teachers, workers—in short, *all Social-Democrats*, *and none but Social-Democrats*. These committees will conduct the whole of Social-Democratic work, in its full scope, striving, however, to organise the rural proletariat especially and particularly, since the Social-Democratic Party is the class party of the proletariat. To consider it "unorthodox" to organise a proletariat which has not entirely freed itself from various relics of the past is a *tremendous delusion*, and we would like to think that the relevant passages of the letter are due to a mere misunderstanding. The urban and industrial proletariat will inevitably be the nucleus of our Social-Democratic Labour Party, but we must attract to it, enlighten, and organise all who labour and are exploited, as stated in our programme—all without exception: handicraftsmen, paupers, beggars, servants, tramps, prostitutes—of course, subject to the necessary and obligatory condition that they join the Social-Democratic movement and not that the Social-Democratic movement join them, that they adopt the standpoint of the proletariat, and not that the proletariat adopt theirs.

The reader may ask—what is the point, then, of having revolutionary peasant committees? Does this mean that they are not necessary? No, they are necessary. Our ideal is purely Social-Democratic committees in all rural districts, and then agreement between them and *all* revolutionary-democratic elements, groups, and circles of the peasantry for the purpose of establishing revolutionary committees. There is a perfect analogy here to the independence of the Social-Democratic Labour Party in the towns and its alliance with all the revolutionary democrats for the purpose of insurrection. We are in favour of a peasant uprising. We are absolutely opposed to the mixing and merging of heterogeneous class elements and heterogeneous parties. We hold that for the purpose of insurrection Social-Democracy should give an impetus to *all* revolutionary democracy, should help it *all* to organise, should *march shoulder to shoulder* with it, but without merging with it, to the barricades

in the cities, and against the landlords and the police in the villages.

Long live the insurrection in town and country against the autocracy! Long live revolutionary Social-Democracy, the vanguard of all revolutionary democracy in the present revolution!

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WHAT OUR LIBERAL BOURGEOIS WANT, AND WHAT THEY FEAR

In Russia political education of the people and the intelligentsia hardly exists as yet. Clear political convictions and firm party opinions have as yet scarcely developed in our country. People in Russia are too ready to give credence to any protest against the autocracy and frown upon any criticism of the character and substance of that protest, regarding such criticism as something that maliciously disunites the movement for emancipation. It is not surprising, therefore, that under this general flag of emancipation the *Osvobozhdeniye** too, which is published under the editorship of Mr. Struve, has a wide circulation among all and sundry free-thinking intellectuals who resent any analysis of the class content of *Osvobozhdeniye* liberalism.

And yet, *Osvobozhdeniye* liberalism is merely a more systematic, uncensored expression of the fundamental features of Russian liberalism as a whole. The farther the revolution advances, the more that liberalism exposes itself, and the more unpardonable is the fear of looking the truth full in the face and understanding the real essence of that liberalism. The "Political Letters" of the well-known historian Mr. Pavel Vinogradov, published in *Russkiye Vedomosti* (August 5), the well-known liberal organ, are highly characteristic in this respect. No less characteristic is the fact that other liberal newspapers, like *Nasha Zhizn*, quoted excerpts from this admirable piece of writing, without a single word of indignation or protest. Mr. Pavel

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* *Osvobozhdeniye*—Russian for "emancipation, liberation".—*Tr.*

Vinogradov has expressed in bold relief, in a way rarely to be met, the interests, tactics, and psychology of the self-seeking bourgeoisie; his outspokenness might, perhaps, be considered inappropriate by certain of the shrewder liberals, but then that makes it all the more valuable to class-conscious workers. Here are the concluding words of Mr. Vinogradov's article, which express its very quintessence:

"I do not know whether Russia will succeed in reaching the new system along a road close to that taken by Germany in 1848, but I have no doubt that every effort must be exerted to enter upon this road, and not upon the one chosen by France in 1789.

"Along the latter path Russian society—raw, poorly organised, and torn by internecine strife—will encounter tremendous dangers, if not its doom. To wait until we get object lessons on the subject of power, order, national unity, and social organisation is undesirable, the more so since these object lessons will be given either by the police sergeant, who will have gained new strength, or by the German corporal, whom anarchy in Russia will provide with a providential mission."

That is what the Russian bourgeois is thinking of most of all: the tremendous dangers of the "road" of 1789! The bourgeois has no objection to the path taken by Germany in 1848, but he will exert "every effort" to avoid the path taken by France. An instructive pronouncement, one which provides much food for thought.

What is the radical difference between the two roads? It is that the bourgeois-democratic revolution carried out by France in 1789, and by Germany in 1848, was brought to its consummation in the first case, but not in the second. The first ended in a republic and complete liberty, whereas the second stopped short without smashing the monarchy and reaction. The second proceeded under the leadership mainly of the liberal bourgeoisie, which took the insufficiently mature working class in tow, whereas the first was carried out, at least to a certain extent, by the revolutionarily active mass of the people, the workers and peasants, who, for a time at least, pushed the respectable and moderate bourgeoisie aside. The second led rapidly to the "pacification" of the country, i.e., the suppression of the revolutionary people and the triumph of "the police sergeant and the corporal"; whereas for a certain period the first placed power in the hands of the revolutionary people

which crushed the resistance of "the police sergeants and the corporals".

And now a learned lackey of the Russian bourgeoisie comes out in a "highly respectable" liberal organ with a warning against the first road, the "French". The learned historian wants the "German" road, and is quite outspoken about it. He knows perfectly well that the German road did not escape an armed uprising of the people. In 1848 and 1849 there were a number of uprisings and even provisional revolutionary governments in Germany. *But none of these uprisings was fully victorious*. The most successful of them, the Berlin uprising of March 18, 1848, terminated not in the overthrow of the royal power, but in *concessions* granted by the king, who remained in power and very soon managed to recover from his partial defeat and withdraw all these concessions.

And so, the learned historian of the bourgeoisie does not fear an uprising of the people. *He fears the victory of the people*. He is not afraid of the people administering a slight lesson to the reactionaries and the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy which he hates so much. *He is afraid of the people overthrowing the reactionary government*. He hates the autocracy and desires its overthrow with all his heart; it is not from the preservation of the autocracy, not from the poisoning of the people's organism by the slow putrefaction of the still living parasite of monarchist rule that he expects the *doom* of Russia, but *from the complete victory of the people*.

This man of cheap-jack scholarship knows that a time of revolution is a time of object lessons for the people, but he does not want object lessons on the *destruction of reaction*, and tries to scare us with object lessons on *the destruction of the revolution*. He is scared to death of the road which has led to the complete victory of the revolution, even for a short time, and yearns with all his heart for an outcome like the German, in which reaction secured complete victory for a long, long time.

He does not welcome revolution in Russia, but merely tries to find extenuating circumstances for it. He desires not a victorious revolution, but an unsuccessful revolution. He considers reaction a phenomenon that is in order and legitimate, natural and durable, reliable and reasonable.

He regards revolution as a phenomenon that is illegitimate, fantastic, and unnatural, one that can at best be *justified* to a certain degree on the grounds of the instability, the "weakness", the "unsoundness" of the autocratic government. This "objective" historian regards revolution not as the most lawful right of the people, but merely as a sinful and dangerous method of correcting the extremes of reaction. In his opinion a revolution which has been completely victorious is "anarchy", whereas completely victorious reaction is not anarchy, but merely a slight exaggeration of certain necessary functions of the state. He knows of no other "rule" but a monarchy, no other "system" and no other "social organisation" but those of the bourgeoisie. Of the European forces which revolution in Russia will "provide with a providential mission" he knows only the "German corporal", but he neither knows nor cares to know *the German Social-Democratic worker*. He detests most of all the "presumption" of those who "are preparing to outstrip the Western bourgeoisie" (the Professor writes the word bourgeoisie in ironical quotation marks as if to say: what a stupid term to apply to European—Eu-ro-pe-an—civilisation!). This "objective historian" smugly closes his eyes to the fact that it is precisely because of the old abomination of the Russian autocracy that Europe has for decades and decades been marking time and even retrogressing politically. He fears the object lesson of the "police sergeant who will have gained new strength" and therefore—O leader of the people! O statesman!—he utters a warning above all against resolutely smashing all the "forces" of the contemporary police sergeant. What contemptible servility! What a despicable betrayal of the revolution, dished up with the sauce of a pseudo-scholarly and pseudo-objective analysis of the question! Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar, said Napoleon. We say, scratch a Russian liberal bourgeois and you will find a police sergeant in a brand-new uniform, who is permitted to retain nine-tenths of his *old* strength for the very profound, "scholarly", and "objective" reason that otherwise, he may, perhaps, want to "gain *new* strength"! Every bourgeois ideologist has the soul of a thoroughgoing huckster; he does not think of destroying the *forces* of reaction and of the "police sergeant", but

of bribing this police sergeant, of greasing his palm and appeasing him by striking a bargain with him as quickly as possible.

How inimitably this most learned ideologist of the bourgeoisie corroborates all that we have so often said in Proletary about the nature and character of Russian liberalism! Unlike the European bourgeoisie, which was revolutionary in its time and went over to the side of reaction decades later, our home-grown wiseacres immediately skip revolution, or want to do so, and arrive at the moderate and tidy rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie does not and, because of its class position, cannot want revolution. It merely wants to strike a bargain with the monarchy against the revolutionary people; it merely wants to steal to power behind the backs of that people.

And what an instructive lesson this liberal bourgeois sage teaches those doctrinaire Social-Democrats who have gone as far as the following resolution, which was adopted by the Caucasian supporters of the new *Iskra* and *specially approved* by the Editorial Board of *Iskra* in a special supplement. This resolution (together with *Iskra* 's approval) is given in full in N. Lenin's *Two Tactics* (pp. 68-69),* but since many comrades in Russia are not acquainted with this resolution, and since the *Iskra* Editorial Board refused to publish this, in their opinion, so "very apt" resolution, we reproduce it here in full so as to edify all Social-Democrats and put *Iskra* to shame:

"Whereas we consider it to be our task to take advantage of the revolutionary situation so as to deepen Social-Democratic consciousness in the proletariat, and in order to secure for the Party complete freedom to criticise the nascent bourgeois-state system, the Conference" (the Caucasian new-*Iskra* Conference) "declares itself against the formation of a Social-Democratic provisional government, and entering such a government, and considers it to be the most expedient course to exercise pressure from without upon the bourgeois provisional government in order to secure a feasible measure of democratisation of the state system. The Conference believes that the formation of a provisional government by

* See pp. 93-94 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Social-Democrats, or their entering such a government, would lead, on the one hand, to the masses of the proletariat becoming disappointed in the Social-Democratic Party and abandoning it, because the Social-Democrats, despite the seizure of power, would not be able to satisfy the pressing needs of the working class, including the establishment of socialism, and, on the other hand, *would cause the bourgeois classes to recoil from the revolution and thus diminish its sweep*."

This is a shameful resolution, for (against the will and mind of its authors, who have stepped on to the inclined plane of opportunism) it expresses a betrayal of the interests of the working class to the bourgeoisie. This resolution sanctifies the conversion of the proletariat into the tail-end of the bourgeoisie for the duration of the democratic revolution. One need but place this resolution side by side with the passage from Mr. Vinogradov's article quoted above (and anybody will find hundreds and thousands of similar passages in the writings of the liberal publicists) to realise what a marsh the new-Iskrists have got into. Mr. Vinogradov, this typical ideologist of the bourgeoisie, has *already recoiled* from the cause of the revolution. Has he not thereby diminished the "sweep of the revolution", gentlemen of the new *Iskra*? Should you not go penitently to the Vinogradovs and beg them, *at the price of your refraining from leading the revolution*, not "to recoil from the revolution"?

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THE THEORY OF SPONTANEOUS GENERATION

"*Iskra* has shown that a constituent assembly can be formed by way of spontaneous generation, without the aid of any government whatever, and consequently without the aid of a provisional government as well. Henceforth this terrible problem may be regarded as settled, and all disputes in connection with it must cease."

Thus runs the Bund statement made in No. 247 of *Posledniye Izvestia*, dated September 1 (August 19). Unless this is irony, no better "development" of *Iskra*'s views could be imagined. In any case, the theory of "spontaneous generation" has been established, the "terrible problem" has been settled, and disputes "must cease". What a blessing! We shall now live without disputes about this terrible question, cherishing this new, recently discovered, and simple theory of "spontaneous generation", a theory as clear as the eyes of a child. True, this theory of spontaneous generation was not generated spontaneously, but appeared to the common view as the fruit of cohabitation between the Bund and the new *Iskra*—but after all what is important is not the origin, but the value of a theory!

How slow-witted were those unfortunate Russian Social-Democrats who discussed this "terrible question" both at the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and at the Conference of new-Iskrists: some of these discussed at length the question of a provisional government *for the purpose* of generating, but not spontaneously, a constituent assembly. Others (the Conference resolution) thought it possible that "the revolution's decisive victory over tsarism may be marked" also by the "decision of some representative institution to call, under the direct revolutionary pres-

sure of the people, a constituent assembly". No one, however, not even the new *Iskra*'s Editorial Board, who attended the Conference in full together with Plekhanov, could ever have thought up what "'*Iskra*' *has now shown*", and what the Bund has now summarised, confirmed, and christened with a magnificent name. Like all great discoveries, *the theory of the spontaneous generation of a constituent assembly* immediately sheds light on what was utter confusion. Now everything has become clear. There is no need to think of a revolutionary provisional government (remember *Iskra*'s famous dictum: let not the combination of the words "long live" and "government" defile your lips); there is no need to make the members of the State Duma give a "revolutionary pledge" to "transform the State Duma into a revolutionary assembly" (Cherevanin, in *Iskra*, No. 108). *A constituent assembly can be generated spontaneously!!* It will be immaculately brought forth by the people themselves, who will not defile themselves with any "intermediary" by way of a government, even a provisional, even a revolutionary one. This will be birth "without original sin", by the pure method of general elections with no "Jacobin" struggle for power, with no defilement of the holy cause through betrayal by bourgeois representative assemblies, and even without any coarse midwives, who hitherto in this profane, sinful, and unclean world had punctually appeared on the scene every time the old society was pregnant with a new one.

Hail spontaneous generation! Let all the revolutionary peoples of all Russia now appreciate its "possibility"—and consequently its necessity *to them* as the most rational, easy, and simple road to freedom! Let a monument be speedily erected in honour of the Bund and the new *Iskra*, the spontaneous progenitors of the theory of spontaneous generation!

But however much we may be blinded by the glaring light of this new scientific discovery, we must touch up on certain base features in this sublime creation. Just as the moon is very badly made in Hamburg,[94] so too new theories are fabricated none too carefully at the editorial office of *Posledniye Izvestia*. The recipe is a simple one, long a favourite with people who could never be accused of harbouring a single original thought—take contrasting views, mix

them, and divide into two parts! From *Proletary* we take the criticism of popular elections under the autocracy, from *Iskra* —condemnation of the "terrible problem"; from *Proletary*— the active boycott, from *Iskra*—the uselessness of insurrection as a slogan ... "like a bee that gathers a fee from each flowering tree". And the good Bundists are smugly preening themselves, rejoicing at the termination of disputes on the terrible problem, and admiring themselves: how superior they are to the narrow and biased views of both contending parties!

It doesn't work out, comrades of the Bund. You have shown no other "way of spontaneous generation" than that of the new *Iskra*. And as regards the latter, you yourselves have had to admit that "under the autocracy and against the will of the government, which holds the entire machinery of state in its hands", elections of popular representatives can only be *farcical* elections. Do not abandon us half-way, O creators of the new theory; tell us in what "way" other than the new *Iskra*'s you "visualise" "spontaneous generation"?

In opposition to *Iskra*, *Proletary* wrote that the only people who will be able to conduct elections under the autocracy are the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, who will willingly call them popular elections.* The Bund replies: "This argument does not hold water, since it is beyond doubt that the autocracy will allow no one—not even the *Osvobozhdeniye* League—to conduct elections except within limits established by law." We may respectfully remark: the Zemstvos, municipal councillors, and members of "unions" have held, and are holding, elections. That is a fact. Their numerous bureaux provide proof of it.

The Bund writes: "We should not start agitation against the Duma and for an insurrection in general [!] since insurrection, as merely a means of effecting a political revolution, cannot in this case [and not "in general"?] serve as a slogan for agitation. We can and must reply to the Duma by extending and intensifying political agitation for a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of universal, etc., suffrage." To this we answer: in the first place, had the Bundists done a little thinking, or even simply consulted

* See p. 198 of this volume.—*Ed.*

our Party programme, they would have seen that a constituent assembly, too, is only a "means". It is illogical to declare one "means" suitable as a slogan, and another unsuitable "in general". Secondly, we have already for a long time past repeatedly explained in detail that a slogan calling for a constituent assembly alone is inadequate, since it has become an *Osvobozhdeniye* slogan, the slogan of the bourgeois "compromisers" (see *Proletary*, Nos. 3 and 4*). It is *quite natural* for the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie to *gloss over* the question of the *method* of convening a constituent assembly. For representatives of the revolutionary proletariat it is totally impermissible. The theory of spontaneous generation fully befits the former, but as regards the latter, it can only disgrace them in the eyes of class-conscious workers.

The Bund's final argument: "An armed uprising is imperative, and we must keep on preparing for it all the time. However, we are as yet unable to launch an uprising, therefore [!!] there is no point in linking it up with the Duma." To this we reply: 1) to acknowledge that insurrection and preparations for it are imperative and at the same time to turn up one's nose contemptuously at the question of "combat squads" ("taken from the *Vperyod* arsenal", as the Bund writes) means to defeat one's own purpose and reveal a lack of thought in one's writings. 2) A provisional revolutionary government is an organ of insurrection. This principle, which is clearly expressed in a resolution of the Third Congress, was accepted in essence by the new-*Iskra* Conference too, although, in our opinion, it was less aptly put (a provisional revolutionary government "emerging from a victorious popular insurrection": both logic and historical experience show that it is possible to have provisional revolutionary governments as organs of insurrection which are far from victorious, or which are not completely victorious; moreover, a provisional revolutionary government does not only "emerge" from an uprising, but also directs it). The Bundists do not attempt to dispute this proposition,

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* "Revolutionary Struggle and Liberal Brokerage", "The Democratic Tasks of the Revolutionary Proletariat". See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 492-93, 511-18.—*Ed*.

and indeed it cannot be disputed. To recognise that an uprising and preparations for it are imperative, and at the same time to demand the cessation of disputes about the "terrible problem" of a provisional government means to write without thinking. 3) The phrase about the formation of a constituent assembly "without the aid of any government whatever, and consequently, without the aid of a provisional government as well" is an *anarchist* one. It is wholly on a level with the famous *Iskra* phrase about "defiling" the lips by combining the words "long live" with "government". It shows a failure to understand the significance of a revolutionary government as one of the greatest and finest "*means*" of effecting a political revolution. The paltry "liberalism" flaunted here by the Bund in emulation of *Iskra* (that is to say, we can manage without any government, even a provisional one!) is sheer anarchist liberalism. The formation of a constituent assembly *without the aid* of an uprising is an idea worthy only of bourgeois philistines, as even the comrades of the Bund realise. Moreover, an uprising *without the aid* of a provisional revolutionary government can be neither an uprising of the whole people nor a victorious uprising. Again and again we must state with regret that the Bundists' conclusions do not hang together. 4) If it is necessary to prepare for an uprising, such preparation must of necessity include the dissemination and explanation of slogans calling for an armed uprising of the people, the formation of a revolutionary army, and the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government. We must ourselves study new methods of struggle, their conditions, their forms, their dangers, their practical realisation, etc., and enlighten the masses on these matters. 5) The proposition: "we are as yet unable to launch an uprising" is wrong. The *Potemkin* events have proved rather that *we are unable to prevent premature outbreaks of the uprising that is being prepared*. The *Potemkin* sailors were less prepared than those on other ships, and the sweep of the uprising was less than it might have been. What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? First, that the task of preparing an uprising should include that of preventing premature outbreaks of an uprising that is being or has almost been prepared. Secondly, that the uprising now

developing spontaneously is *outstripping* the purposeful and planned work we are doing to prepare it. We are unable now to restrain the insurrectionary outbreaks which occur here and there sporadically, disconnectedly, and spontaneously. So much the more are we in duty bound to *speed up* dissemination and explanation of all the political tasks and political requisites of a successful uprising. All the more ill-advised, therefore, are suggestions that an end be put to the disputes about the "terrible problem" of a provisional government. 6) Is the idea that "there is no point in linking up insurrection with the Duma" correct? No, it is wrong. To determine beforehand just when the uprising should take place is absurd, especially for us who are living abroad. In this sense there can be no question of any "linking up", as has been repeatedly pointed out by *Proletary*. But *agitation in favour of insurrection and advocacy of the latter* must of necessity be "linked up" with all the important political events which are stirring the people. Our entire dispute now centres on the slogan of agitation which should be made the hub of our "Duma" agitation campaign. Is the Duma an event of that kind? Undoubtedly, it is. Will the workers and peasants ask us: What would be the best reply to the Duma? Undoubtedly, they will, and are even doing so already. How are we to reply to these questions? Not by referring to spontaneous generation (which can only be treated as a joke), but by *explaining* the conditions, forms, prerequisites, tasks, and organs of an *insurrection*. The more we achieve by such explanations, the more likely will it be that the inevitable insurrectionary outbreaks will be able to develop more smoothly and rapidly into a successful and victorious uprising.

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LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

September 16, 1905

Dear Comrade,

All your letters proposing that the International Socialist Bureau intervene to reconcile the two groups in our Party have been forwarded to the Central Committee in Russia. I am now in a position to inform you that the Central Committee is prepared to take part in the conference referred to, on condition that it will be confined to a preliminary exchange of views. I hope the delegates of the Central Committee will arrive in Geneva or Berlin in the very near future, probably in September.

However, I must inform you that the Central Committee is preparing to conclude an agreement with the Organising Committee in Russia, which is the executive body of the Minority in the Party. Preliminary negotiations have already taken place, and both parties have arrived at an understanding concerning sums contributed to the cause of the Russian revolution by organisations abroad. The text of this agreement was forwarded to you a fortnight ago.

Since only full understanding between the comrades in Russia can guarantee a lasting reconciliation, it would be advisabie to await the outcome of these negotiations before calling the conference you mention in your letter to us.

Vladimir Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

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FRIENDS MEET

During the last few days foreign papers, which are very carefully following the development of the political crisis in Russia, have published a number of interesting reports on the activities of the Zemstvos and the *Osvobozhdeniye* League. Here is what they say:

"After a two-hour discussion the St. Petersburg Conference of Marshals of the Nobility arrived at complete agreement with the Minister of the Interior concerning the elections" to the State Duma (*Vossische Zeitung*,[95] September 16). "Reports from all the gubernias and cities of Russia show that most electors are utterly indifferent to the political rights granted them" (*ibid.*). Golovin (Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Zemstvo Board) is conducting negotiations with Durnovo (Governor General of Moscow) concerning permission to hold a Zemstvo Congress. Durnovo told Golovin that he was in full sympathy with the Zemstvos, but that he had been ordered to exert every effort to prevent the Congress. Golovin made reference to the Congress of Professors. Durnovo replied that "this is an altogether different matter, since the students had to be persuaded to resume their studies at all events" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 17). "The Zemstvo Congress has been authorised to meet in Moscow on the 25th inst. in order to discuss the electoral programme, provided it keeps strictly to that subject." (*The Times*, September 18, cablegram from St. Petersburg.) "M. Golovin today visited the Governor General with reference to the forthcoming Zemstvo Congress. His Excellency stated that the Congress would be permitted to assemble, but that the programme must be confined to three points—first, the participation of the

Zemstvos and towns in the elections to the State Duma; secondly, the organisation of the electoral campaign; and, thirdly, the participation of the Zemstvos and towns in the work of assisting in relief work in famine-stricken districts." (*Ibid*., cablegram from Moscow.)

Friends have met and come to terms. An agreement has been reached between Golovin (the leader of the Zemstvo party) and Durnovo. Only infants could fail to see that the agreement is based on mutual concessions, on the principle of *do ut des* (I give you that you may give me). What the autocracy has conceded is clear: it has permitted the Congress. What has been conceded by the Zemstvo party (or is it the *Osvobozhdeniye* Party? God alone knows! And is it worth while finding out?) no one mentions. The bourgeoisie has every reason to conceal its negotiations with the autocracy. But even if we do not know the details, the particulars, we are fully aware of the *gist* of the concessions made by the bourgeoisie. *The bourgeoisie has promised the autocracy to moderate its revolutionary fervour* which consisted in Petrunkevich having been regarded in Court circles as a former revolutionary.... *The bourgeoisie has promised a discount in return for a discount*. We do not know how big this discount is. However, we do know that the "bargaining price" asked for by the bourgeoisie was twofold: for the people—a monarchist constitution with two chambers; for the tsar—the convocation of people's representatives, nothing more (since the celebrated Zemstvo delegation did not dare to ask Nicholas II for more). It is on this double bargaining price that the bourgeoisie has now promised the autocracy a discount. *The bourgeoisie has promised to be dutiful, loyal, and law-abiding*.*

Friends met and came to an agreement.

About the same time, other friends began to meet and come to terms. The St. Petersburg correspondent of the

* Foreign papers of September 21 (N. S.) reported from St. Petersburg that the Bureau of the Zemstvo Congress had received many withdrawals from participation in the September 25 Congress on the ground that *its programme had been considerably curtailed by the government*. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of this information, but even if it is only a rumour, it undoubtedly confirms our views on the significance of the negotiations between Golovin and Durnovo.

Frankfurter Zeitung, a Bourse paper (September 15), reports that a secret congress of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League has taken place, evidently in Moscow. "At this meeting it was decided that the *Osvobozhdeniye* League should be turned into a *democratic-constitutional* party. A motion to this effect was tabled by Zemstvo members belonging to the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, and was carried unanimously by the Congress" (or was it a conference?). "Thereupon forty members of the League were elected to draft and edit *the party programme*. This commission is to start work soon." The question of the State Duma was discussed. After a lively debate it was decided *to take part in the elections* "on condition, however, that party members elected participate in the State Duma not in order to concern themselves with current affairs, but for the purpose of continuing the struggle within the Duma itself". In the course of the debates it was pointed out that a widespread (or far-reaching—*weitgehencier*) boycott is impossible, and only a boycott of that nature would have any sense. (Is it possible, gentlemen, that no one cried out at your meeting: "Don't say 'I cannot', say 'I don't want to!'"—Note by the Editors of *Proletary*.) However, the meeting holds that the State Duma is a good arena for the propaganda of democratic ideas. "A true friend of the people," according to the minutes of the meeting, "a friend of freedom, will enter the State Duma only for the purpose of fighting for a constitutional state." (Remember *S.S.* of *Osvobozhdeniye*, who explained to all and sundry that for the radical intelligentsia extension of suffrage is the focal point, whereas for the Zemstvos, for the landlords, and capitalists, it is the extension of the rights of the State Duma.—Editors of *Proletary*.) "At the same time the meeting pointed out that the democratic members of the Duma should bear in mind that in this struggle there must be a *complete break with the existing government*" (the italics are in the original) "and such a break should not be feared. These decisions of the meeting will, of course, be printed and circulated." (The Editors of *Proletary* have so far obtained neither this leaflet nor any information about it from Russia.) "In view of the far-reaching influence of the *Osvobozhdentsi*, as members of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League call themselves, who count among their number representatives of

the most diverse strata of society and who are headed by Zemstvo leaders, their election campaign among circles of society closest to them and qualified to vote acquires great importance. There is no doubt that a strong nucleus of these *Osvobozhdentsi* will penetrate into the State Duma and constitute its Left wing, as soon as the State Duma turns into a body genuinely representative of the people. If these radicals succeed in winning the candidates of the moderate Zemstvos and the towns over to their side, a constituent assembly may eventually be proclaimed.

"The participation of Russian political parties in the elections is thus apparently a settled matter, for the Union of Unions has also finally declared itself in favour of participation. Only the Jewish Bund is campaigning against the Duma elections, and at big meetings held in various cities ... the workers in general have taken a categorical stand *against* the State Duma, from which they are excluded."

That is how the correspondent of a German bourgeois newspaper writes the history of the Russian revolution. His reports, probably, contain errors of detail, but by and large they are undoubtedly close to the truth—of course, so far as facts, not predictions, are concerned.

What is the real significance of the facts he describes?

The Russian bourgeoisie, as we have pointed out hundreds of times, is acting as intermediary between the tsar and the people, between the government and the revolution, in a desire to make use of the latter in order to secure power for *itself* in its own class interests. Therefore, until it attains power, it is *bound* to strive for "friendship" both with the tsar and with the revolution. And that is what it is doing. The dignitary Golovin is sent to strike up a friendship with Durnovo. An anonymous scribbler is sent to strike up a friendship with the "people", with the revolution. In the first case friends met and came to terms. In the second case they hold out their hands, nod their heads in friendly fashion, promise to be true friends of the people, friends of liberty, swear to take part in the Duma only for the sake of the struggle and nothing but the struggle, avow that they will make a complete and final

break with the existing government, and hold out even the prospect of a constituent assembly being proclaimed. They act the radical, dance attendance on revolutionaries, and make up to them in order to win the title of friends of the people and of liberty; they are prepared to promise anything—*on the off-chance of someone swallowing the bait*!

The bait has been swallowed. The new *Iskra* with Parvus at its head has done that. Friends have met and begun negotiations about an agreement. Cherevanin cries out (in *Iskra*, No. 108): "We must make the *Osvobozhdeniye* League members who are entering the Duma give us a revolutionary pledge." "We agree, we quite agree," is the reply. "We shall proclaim a constituent assembly." Martov (in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* translated into Russian in *Proletary*, No. 15) seconds Cherevanin: "Pressure must be brought to bear so that only resolute advocates of free and democratic representation are elected." "Of course, of course," the *Osvobozhdeniye* League replies, "honest to God, we are most resolute people; we are out for a complete break with the existing government." "We must remind them that they are in duty bound to express the interests of the people," Parvus, our Ledru-Rollin[96] thunders. "They must be forced to express the interests of the people."—"Most assuredly," the *Osvobozhdeniye* League replies. "We even have it recorded in the minutes that we are true friends of the people, friends of liberty." "Political parties must be formed," Parvus demands. "Done," the *Osvobozhdeniye* League replies. "We are already called the Constitutional-Democratic Party." "A clear programme is needed," Parvus persists. "Why, of course," the *Osvobozhdeniye* League replies, "we have set forty men to write a programme, and are only too glad to do it ..." "An agreement on Social-Democratic support for the *Osvobozhdeniye* League must be concluded," all the new-*Iskra* crowd wind up in chorus. The *Osvobozhdeniye* League is moved to tears. Golovin pays a call on Durnovo to tender his congratulations.

Which of them are the buffoons, and which the dupes?

All the mistakes of *Iskra*'s tactics in the Duma question have now led up to a natural and inevitable finale. The disgraceful part played by *Iskra* in its war against the idea of an active boycott is now obvious to each and all. There

is no doubt now as to who *benefited* by *Iskra*'s tactics. The idea of an active boycott has been buried by the majority of the monarchist bourgeoisie. *Iskra*'s tactics will inevitably be buried by the majority of Russian Social-Democrats.

Parvus let his tongue run away with him to the extent of talking about a formal agreement with the *Osvobozhdeniye* League (the "democrats"), about joint political responsibility binding them and the Social-Democrats, and about Social-Democratic support for the *Osvobozhdeniye* League on the basis of precisely defined conditions and demands—even new-Iskrists will, probably, repudiate this absurd and disgraceful talk. Parvus, however, has simply given franker and blunter expression to the idea underlying the new-*Iskra* views. The formal support he proposes is merely the inevitable consequence of the *moral* support the new *Iskra* has all along been giving the monarchist bourgeoisie by condemning an active boycott of the Duma, by justifying and championing the idea of democrats entering the Duma, and by playing at parliamentarianism when no parliament whatever exists. It has been well said: we have no parliament as yet, but we have parliamentary cretinism galore.

The fundamental error of the new-Iskrists has come to the fore. They have constantly turned a blind eye to the *theory of compromise*, the political theory underlying the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend, and the truest and most profound expression of the Russian bourgeoisie's class stand and class interests. They have kept harping on only one aspect of the matter—the conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the autocracy, with complete disregard of the other aspect—the *compromise* between the bourgeoisie and the autocracy, against the people, the proletariat, and the revolution. And yet it is precisely this second aspect that is coming more and more to the fore acquiring ever greater and more fundamental importance with each advance of the Russian revolution, each month of a situation which is so intolerable to bourgeois adherents of law and order.

The fundamental error of the new-Iskrists led them to a radically incorrect appraisal of the ways in which Social-Democracy should take advantage of the conflicts between

the bourgeoisie and the autocracy, and the ways of *fanning* the flames of these conflicts by our efforts. Yes, it is our absolute duty to fan the flames of these conflicts at all times, be it without a Duma, or prior to a Duma, or in the Duma itself, if it ever meets. But the new-Iskrists do not see where the *proper means* are to be found. Instead of encouraging the flames by breaking the windows and allowing fresh air—the workers' uprisings—to rush in, they sweat at making toy bellows and fanning the revolutionary zeal of the *Osvobozhdeniye* people by presenting them with farcical demands and conditions.

Indeed, it is our duty to support the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way. But with us this support has always consisted (remember the attitude of *Zarya* and the old *Iskra* towards *Osvobozhdeniye*), and, as far as revolutionary Social-Democrats are concerned, will always consist, first and foremost, in ruthlessly exposing and branding every false step of this "democratic"—save the mark!—bourgeoisie. If it is at all possible for us to exert influence on the democratism of the bourgeoisie, that influence will have effect only when all acts of treachery, all the bourgeoisie's errors, its unfulfilled promises and fine words that are belied by events and deeds, are stigmatised on every occasion when a bourgeois democrat speaks to workers or politically conscious peasants. Since this bourgeoisie, which only yesterday was proclaiming from the house-tops that it would boycott the Duma, has today already basely retracted its promises, changed its decisions, redrafted its resolutions, and come to an agreement with the Durnovos about a legal mode of action, we must withhold moral support of these liars and lackeys of the autocracy, prevent them from getting away with broken promises and making new ones to the workers (which will likewise be cast to the wind the moment the Duma becomes a legislative instead of a consultative body). No, we must brand them and impress upon the whole of the proletariat that fresh betrayals on the part of these bourgeois "democrats", who reconcile the constitution with Trepov, and Social-Democracy with *Osvobozhdeniye* politics, are inescapable and inevitable. We must demonstrate and prove to all the workers—using the instance of the bourgeois betrayal of the people on the

question of the boycott, as well as other examples—we must demonstrate that all these Petrunkeviches and the like are already full-fledged Cavaignacs and Thiers.[97]

Let us assume that we shall not cope with the task of frustrating this Duma before it makes an appearance. Let us assume that the Duma meets. Constitutional conflicts within it will be inevitable, for the bourgeoisie is certain to aspire to power. Even then, we must support this aspiration, since the proletariat also has something to gain from a constitutional system too, because the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class will clear the ground for our struggle for socialism. That is all true. But this is just where our radical divergence of opinion from the new *Iskra* begins, not ends. This divergence is not on the question of whether support should be given to bourgeois democrats, but on the question of the means of giving that support in a revolutionary epoch and of exerting pressure on them. By justifying their treachery or shutting one's eyes to it, by hastening to make deals with them, rushing to play at parliamentarianism, exacting promises and pledges from them, you achieve only one thing—*they exert pressure on you*, *not you on them*! We have lived to see the revolution. The time of mere literary pressure is gone; the time of parliamentary pressure has not yet arrived. It is *only* an uprising that can exercise *effective*, not paltry pressure. When civil war spreads over the whole country, pressure is exercised by armed force, by giving battle, and then any other attempt to bring pressure to bear amounts to hollow and wretched phrase-mongering. Nobody has yet ventured to assert that the period of insurrection has passed in Russia. And since that is so, any avoidance of the tasks of a rising, any argument against its necessity, any "watering-down" of our demands to the bourgeois democrats that they participate in the uprising, means laying down our arms at the feet of the bourgeoisie, converting the proletariat into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Nowhere in the world has the proletariat as yet ever laid down its arms when a serious struggle has commenced, nor has it ever yet yielded to the accursed heritage of oppression and exploitation without measuring swords with the enemy. Such are now our means and hopes of bringing pressure to bear. No one can foretell the outcome of the struggle. If

the proletariat is victorious—it will be the workers and peasants who will make the revolution, and not the Golovins and Struves. If the proletariat is defeated—the bourgeoisie will obtain new constitutional rewards for assisting the autocracy in this struggle. Then and only then a new era will be inaugurated, a new generation will come forward, European history will repeat itself, parliamentarianism will for a time become the real touchstone of all politics.

If you want to exercise pressure now, then prepare for insurrection, preach it, and organise it. Only an uprising holds out the possibility that the Duma farce will not be the end of the Russian bourgeois revolution, but the beginning of a complete democratic upheaval, which will kindle the fire of proletarian revolutions all over the world. Only an uprising can guarantee that our "United Landtag" will become the prelude to a constituent assembly of a non-Frankfort type, that the revolution will not end in a mere March 18 (1848), that we shall have not only a July 14 (1789), but also an August 10 (1792). Only an uprising, and not pledges obtained from the *Osvobozhdeniye* League members, can be a surety that from the ranks of the latter there will emerge individual Johann Jacobys,[98] who, finally disgusted by the loathsomeness of the Golovin's cringing and fawning, will at the last minute march in the ranks of the proletariat and the peasantry to fight for the revolution.

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ARGUE ABOUT TACTICS, BUT GIVE CLEAR SLOGANS!

The argument about the tactics in respect of the State Duma is becoming more and more heated. The differences between *Iskra* and *Proletary* are becoming ever deeper, especially since Parvus's article in *Iskra*.

Tactics must be debated, but in this the utmost clarity must be striven for. Questions of tactics are questions of the Party's political conduct. A line of conduct can *and should* be grounded in theory, in historical references, in an analysis of the entire political situation, etc. But in all these discussions the party of a class engaged in a struggle should never lose sight of the need for absolutely clear answers—*which do not permit of a double interpretation*—to concrete questions of our political conduct: "yes" or "no"? Should this or that be done right now, at the given moment, or should it not be done?

Such clear replies are essential to prevent differences from being exaggerated or confused, and also to make definitely known to the working class the specific kind of advice being offered it by this or that group of Social-Democrats at a given moment.

With a view to introducing complete clarity into our controversy with *Iskra* we have drawn up the following list of concrete questions concerning the political conduct of the Social-Democrats in the present Duma election campaign. We do not in the least claim that this list is complete, and would welcome suggestions for amending, changing, or subdividing any of the questions. It stands to reason that what is said here concerning election meetings applies to all meetings in general.

WHAT IS THE ADVICE THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ARE GIVING THE PROLETARIAT WITH REFERENCE TO THE STATE DUMA?

	Iskra	*Proletary*
1. Should workers endeavour to gain entry to election meetings?	Yes	Yes
2. Should workers endeavour to gain entry to election meetings even by force?	Yes	Yes
3. Should we speak at such meetings about the uselessness of the Duma and explain all the aims and the entire programme of Social-Democracy?	Yes	Yes
4. Should the workers and the people as a whole be called upon at such meetings to rise up in arms and form a revolutionary army and provisional Revolutionary government?	?	Yes
5. Should these slogans (point 4) be made the focus of our whole "Duma" campaign?	No	Yes
6. Should *Osvobozhdeniye* League members (or "Constitutional-Democrats") entering the State Duma be denounced as bourgeois traitors who are pursuing a policy of "compromise" with the tsar?	No	Yes
7. Should we Social-Democrats tell the people that it would be preferable to elect to the State Duma the Petrunkeviches rather than the Stakhevich, etc.?	Yes	No
8. Should we conclude any agreement whatever with the *Osvobozhdeniye* League on our support of the latter on the basis of certain conditions, demands, pledges, etc.?	Yes	No

	Iskra	*Proletary*
9. Should we make the slogan of "revolutionary self-government" the central point of our agitation?	Yes	No
10. Should we call upon the people immediately to elect, on the basis of universal suffrage, bodies of revolutionary self-government and through these a constituent assembly?	Yes	No
11. Should we elect Social-Democratic election committees? Should we put up Social-Democratic candidates for the State Duma?	Yes	No

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PLAYING AT PARLIAMENTARIANISM

We have on repeated occasions (in *Proletary*, No. 12, before promulgation of the State Duma Act, and in Nos. 14 to 17 after August 6) enlarged on our tactics with regard to the State Duma, and now we must consider them anew in their relation to the new views expressed by Parvus (special reprint from *Iskra*, No. 110, the article: "Social-Democracy and the State Duma").

Let us first follow Parvus's main arguments step by step. He begins his article by stating, "We must fight to the last against a packed parliament, that mixture of baseness and paltriness", and to this true statement he immediately adds the following, which is no less true: "We can overthrow the State Duma ... only by a popular uprising. Likewise, it is only by a popular uprising that we can force the government to change the election laws and extend the rights of the Duma." Excellent. What, it may be asked, should be our slogans of *agitation* with regard to the State Duma? What are the main and particularly important forms of *organisation* for the struggle against the mixture of baseness and paltriness? Parvus puts the question in essentially the same way when he says: "What we, for our part, can contribute to the preparation of an uprising is agitation and organisation." And here is how he answers the first part of this question, about the attitude to election meetings.

"If we interfere with these meetings," writes Parvus, "if we disrupt them, we shall merely be rendering a service to the government."

So Parvus is opposed to having the workers *interfere* with the attempts of a handful of landlords and merchants to *limit* the subject of discussion at election meetings to

the base and paltry State Duma? He is against workers taking advantage of the election meetings in order to criticise the "base" State Duma and to expound *their* Social-Democratic views and their slogans?

So it seems, but, immediately after the sentence quoted, Parvus states something that is already quite different. "What is not given to the workers voluntarily," we read in his article, "they must take by force. They must show up at assemblies of voters *en masse* and transform them *into workers' meetings*." (The italics in the quotations are ours throughout—*Editorial Board of "Proletary".*) "*Instead of* discussing whether to elect Ivan Fomich or Foma Ivanich, they will put political questions on the agenda." (Parvus probably wanted to say Social-Democratic questions, for the question of the election of Ivan or Foma is also a political question.) "At these meetings we can discuss the policy of the government, the tactics of the liberals, the class struggle, and the State Duma itself. All this will lead to the masses becoming revolutionised."

Now see how it all works out in Parvus's article. On the one hand, we must not interfere with the meetings of the Trubetskois, Petrunkeviches, and Stakhoviches. At the end of his article Parvus definitely condemns the idea of a boycott. On the other hand, we must show up at the meetings 1) by force; 2) "*transform*" the meetings of the Petrunkeviches and Stakhoviches into "workers' meetings"; 3) *instead of* discussing the question for which the meetings have been called (whether to elect Foma or Ivan?), we must discuss our Social-Democratic questions—the class struggle, socialism, and, of course, the need for a popular uprising, the requisites for it, its aims, means and methods, weapons, and its organs, such as a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government. We say "of course", for even though he did not say a word about preaching insurrection at the election meetings, Parvus himself acknowledged at the outset that we must fight to the last and that we can attain our immediate objects *only* by means of an uprising.

It is obvious that Parvus has got into a tangle. He fights against the idea of a boycott, does not advise interfering with meetings and disrupting them, and yet simultaneously, side by side with this, he advises breaking into meetings

by force (does this not mean "disrupting"?), transforming them into workers' meetings (does this not mean "interfering" with the Petrunkeviches and Stakhoviches?), and discussing *not the Duma*, but our own Social-Democratic, revolutionary questions, which the Petrunkeviches do not want to discuss seriously, but which the workers and class-conscious peasants are very eager to discuss, and undoubtedly will discuss.

Why has Parvus got into such a tangle? Because he has failed to understand the point at issue. He set out to fight against the idea of a boycott, imagining that a boycott means mere abstention, rejection of the idea of utilising election meetings for the purposes of *our* agitation. Yet no one, even in the legal press, let alone the illegal press, advocates such a passive boycott. Parvus reveals utter ignorance of Russian political problems when he confuses a passive and an active boycott, when, in discussing the boycott, he does not devote a single word to an analysis of the *second kind of boycott*.

We have more than once spoken of the conventional meaning of the term "an active boycott", and stated that there is no need for the workers to boycott the Duma, since the Duma itself is boycotting them. We, however, clearly defined the real content of this conventional term from the very outset, as far back as a month and a half ago, when we wrote in *Proletary*, No. 12, prior to the promulgation of the State Duma Act: "As distinct from passive abstention, an active boycott should imply increasing agitation tenfold, organising meetings everywhere, taking advantage of election meetings, even if we have to force our way into them, holding demonstrations, political strikes, and so on and so forth." And somewhat further: "'An active boycott'" (we give this term in quotation marks as a conventional term) "means agitation, recruiting, organising the revolutionary forces on a larger scale, with redoubled energy and bringing triple pressure to bear."

This is expressed so clearly that only people completely alien to Russian political problems could fail to understand it, or people with hopelessly confused thinking, *Konfusionsräthe* ("councillors of confusion"), as the Germans say.

Now then, what is it that Parvus really wants? When he advises breaking into election meetings by force, transforming them into workers' meetings, discussing Social-Democratic questions and insurrection, "instead of discussing whether to elect Ivan Fomich or Foma Ivanich" (note "instead of" and not "together with, in addition to"), what he is advising is an active boycott. As you see, Parvus met with a slight mishap: he was heading for one door, but stumbled through another. He declared war on the idea of a boycott, but himself declared (on the question of election meetings) in favour of an active boycott, i.e., the only kind of boycott that was discussed in the Russian political press.

Of course, Parvus may object that conventional terms are not binding on him. Formally, such an objection would be justified, but it is worthless in essence. One must surely know what is under discussion. We are not going to quibble about words, but here we are dealing with political terms which have already taken root in Russia, on the scene of action—a *fait accompli* that must be reckoned with. Any Social-Democratic writer abroad who took it into his head to ignore slogans which develop on the scene of action would merely be displaying narrow-minded and sterile literary conceit. We repeat: no one in Russia ever spoke, and no one ever wrote in the revolutionary press, of any other boycott but an active one. Parvus might be fully entitled to criticise the term, reject its conventional meaning, or interpret it differently, etc., but to ignore it, or to distort the meaning it has already acquired, means confusing the issue.

We have pointed out above that Parvus says "not together with" but "instead of". What Parvus advises is not bringing forward our Social-Democratic questions and the question of an uprising together with that of having Foma or Ivan elected, but bringing forward the question of the class struggle and an uprising *instead of* the question of elections. This distinction between "not together with" and "instead of" is highly significant and calls for attention, the more so that, as is shown by the further content of his article, it might have entered Parvus's head to change the wording and say: not instead of but together with.

We must consider two questions: 1) Is it possible to discuss, at election meetings, the election of Ivan or of Foma "together with" the class struggle, socialism, and insurrection? 2) If that is possible, should the former and the latter questions be discussed together, or the latter in place of the former? Anyone who is familiar with Russian conditions will scarcely be at a loss in replying to these two questions. Getting into election meetings and transforming them into workers' meetings calls for the use of force, i.e., crushing the resistance of the police and the military first of all. In the more or less important workers' centres (and it is only there that the workers' Social-Democratic Party can count on leading a really broad, popular movement), the resistance of the police and the military will be most serious. It would be plain folly on our part to shut our eyes to this. Parvus himself says that the "election agitation may at any moment turn into a revolutionary uprising". If that is so, then it is our duty to take stock of our forces and adapt them to this very *task of insurrection*, and not to the task of furthering the election of Foma as against Ivan to the State Duma. If that is so, the main and central slogan of our entire Duma campaign of agitation should be one calling for an insurrection, a revolutionary army, and a revolutionary government. If that is so, then it is our duty, before and above all else, to advocate and explain these very slogans at each and every meeting. Hence, Parvus once again blows up his own argument in, on the one hand, expecting an uprising "at any moment", and, on the other, maintaining complete silence about propaganda of insurrection and an analysis of its prerequisites, methods, and organs as the "mainspring" of the Duma campaign.

To proceed. Let us consider another contingency, possible in individual centres, especially the smaller. Let us assume that attempts to force our way into meetings do not give rise to a serious struggle against the government, or go so far as an insurrection. Let us assume that in individual instances these attempts are crowned with success. In that case, we must in the first place not lose sight of an institution called *martial law*. To every partial victory of the people over the police and the military, the government retaliates, as is probably known even to Parvus, by proclaiming martial

law. Does this prospect frighten us? No, because it is a step that brings the uprising nearer and renders the entire struggle in general more acute. Does it frighten the Zemstvos and the Duma electors generally? It undoubtedly does, for it would facilitate the arrest of the Milyukovs, for it provides the government with pretexts for banning some election meetings, and perhaps all meetings and the whole Duma to boot! Consequently, it all boils down again to the fact that some want an uprising, advocate it, make preparations for it, agitate for it, organise insurrectionary detachments, etc., whereas others do not want an uprising, struggle against the idea of insurrection, condemn the advocacy of insurrection as mad and criminal, etc. Is Parvus really ignorant of the fact that these "others" are *all Osvobozhdeniye League members*, i.e., even the extreme Left wing of the bourgeois democrats who may get into the Duma??

And (this in the second place) if Parvus does know this, then he must also know the following. Resistance to forcible entry into election meetings and to their transformation into workers' meetings will be offered not only (and sometimes even not so much) by the police and the military *but by the Zemstvo and "Osvobozhdeniye" people themselves*. Only infants can shut their eyes to this. The Zemstvo and the *Osvobozhdeniye* people pose the question more clearly and directly than some Social-Democrats do: either prepare an uprising and make it the hub of our agitation and all our work, or go over to the Duma platform and make it the basis of all political struggle. The Zemstvo and *Osvobozhdeniye* people have already solved this question, as we have often pointed out and emphasised in *Proletary*, beginning with No. 12. They call meetings precisely and solely in order to discuss the election of Foma or Ivan, Petrunkevich or Stakhovich, and to adopt a programme of "struggle" ("struggle" in quotation marks, struggle while wearing a lackey's white gloves) based on the Duma, and not on insurrection. The Zemstvo and *Osvobozhdeniye* people (we are linking the two together purposely, for there are no grounds for drawing any political distinction between them) will certainly not be averse to admitting revolutionaries and Social-Democrats to a meeting of theirs (only when and where this can be done without recourse to any considerable

degree of force!!), if they can find among them stupid people who are ready to promise "support" to Foma as against Ivan, to Petrunkevich as against Stakhovich. But the Zemstvos will never tolerate any attempts to have *their* meetings transformed into workers' meetings, to have *their* meetings turned into revolutionary mass meetings, to make open and direct appeals for armed insurrection from *their* tribune. It is even somewhat awkward to go into elaborate explanations of this obvious truth, but it has to be masticated for the benefit of Parvus and *Iskra*. The Zemstvo and *Osvobozhdeniye* people will inevitably resist *such* use being made of their meetings, although these bourgeois hagglers will of course offer resistance not by force, but by safer, "peaceful", and circuitous means. They will enter into no deals with people who promise them "popular" support for Petrunkevich against Stakhovich, for Stakhovich against Gringmut, otherwise than on condition that election meetings are not turned into workers' meetings, that their platform is not used for a call to insurrection. If they learn that workers are coming to their meetings (and they almost always will find this out, since one cannot conceal a mass demonstration) some of them will straightaway inform the authorities, others will take to urging the Social-Democrats to refrain, a third group will hasten to assure the Governor that "they are not to blame", that they want a Duma, want to enter the Duma, and that they have always, through their "faithful colleague" Mr. Struve, condemned the "mad and criminal" advocacy of insurrection; a fourth group will advise changing the time and plane of the meeting; a fifth group, those who are "bolder" and shrewder politically, will discreetly say that they will be delighted to hear the workers, will thank the Social-Democratic speaker, will scrape and bow to the "people", will make high-flown, pretentious, and emotion-charged speeches assuring each and all that they are always for the people, heart and soul for the people, that they are with the people and not with the tsar, that "their" Petrunkevich said so a long time ago, that they "fully agree" with the Social-Democratic speaker about the "baseness and paltriness" of the State Duma, but that it is necessary, in the splendid words of that highly esteemed parliamentarian, Parvus, who so appropriately transplants

to non-parliamentary Russia the parliamentary patterns of the Vollmar alliances between the Social-Democrats and the Catholics—that it is necessary "not to interfere with the election campaign, but rather to extend it"; extending it means not senselessly jeopardising the fate of the State Duma, but getting the whole people to "support" Foma's election instead of Ivan's, the election of Petrunkevich and Rodichev instead of Stakhovich, Stakhovich instead of Gringmut, and so on.

In a word, the more stupid and the more cowardly the Zemstvos will be, the less chance will there be of their listening to Parvus at their election meeting. The more intelligent and bolder the Zemstvo people, the more chance of that will there be, and also the more chances, that, in his role of supporter of Foma against Ivan, Parvus will have proved the dupe.

No, my dear Parvus! So long as there is no parliament in Russia, applying the tactics of parliamentarianism to Russia means so much unbecoming playing at parliamentarianism, means turning into hangers-on to the landlords, instead of being leaders of the revolutionary workers and politically conscious peasants. To enter into secret deals with the Rodichevs and the Petrunkeviches about support for them against Stakhovich, as a substitute for temporary agreements between open political parties, which are non-existent in our country, means sowing corruption in the workers' midst.

To the direct and clear slogan of the Zemstvo and *Osvobozhdeniye* people—down with criminal advocacy of insurrection, let us work in the Duma and through the Duma—we must reply with our direct and clear slogan—down with the bourgeois betrayers of liberty, the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry and their like, down with the Duma, and hail the armed uprising!

To combine the insurrection slogan and "participation" in the elections of Foma or Ivan means introducing utter confusion, under the pretext of "comprehensiveness" and "multiformity" of agitation, and "flexibility" and "responsiveness" of slogans; in practice such a combination amounts to Manilovism. In practice, Parvus's and Martov's appearance before the Zemstvos in "support" of Petrunkevich against Stakhovich (admitting the possibility of exceptional

cases when such an appearance would be at all feasible) will not be an open appearance before the mass of the people, but the backstage appearance of a duped leader of the workers before a handful of betrayers of the workers. From the standpoint of theory or of the general principles of our tactics, to combine these slogans now, at the given moment, is a variety of parliamentary cretinism. For us revolutionary Social-Democrats insurrection is not an absolute slogan, but a concrete one. We put it off in 1897, in 1902 we put it forward in the sense of general preparations, and only after January 9, 1905, did we advance it as a direct appeal. We do not forget that Marx was in favour of an uprising in 1848, whereas in 1850 he condemned the ravings and phrase-mongering about an uprising[99]; that before the war of 1870-71 Liebknecht denounced participation in the Reichstag, whereas after the war he participated in it himself. We at once stated in *Proletary*, No. 12, that it would be ridiculous to renounce for the future all struggle based on the Duma. We know that not only a parliament but even a travesty of a parliament may, when the conditions for an uprising are lacking, become the focal point of all our agitation for the entire period when an uprising is out of the question.

However, we demand a clear and precise presentation of the question. If you think that the period of insurrection is over in Russia—say so, and uphold your opinion openly. We shall appraise and discuss it thoroughly and calmly, from every angle, from the standpoint of the concrete conditions. But when you yourselves talk of the possibility of an uprising "at any moment" and of its necessity—then we denounce, and shall continue to denounce as miserable Manilovism, all the various disquisitions against an active boycott of the Duma. If an uprising is possible and necessary, then that is precisely what we must make the central slogan of the whole of our campaign around the Duma;- then we must expose the venal soul of a "Frankfort Parliament windbag" in every *Osvobozhdeniye* adherent who shuns this slogan of insurrection. If an uprising is possible and necessary, that means there can be no legal centre for a legal struggle for the aims of the uprising, nor can Manilov-like phrase-mongering take its place. If an uprising is possible

and necessary, it means that the government "*has placed the bayonet as the main point on the agenda*", has launched civil war, proclaimed martial law as a form of counter-criticism of democratic criticism; under such circumstances, to take the "near-parliamentary" signboard of the State Duma seriously, to begin to play a shady and furtive two-some at parliamentarianism with the Petrunkeviches, means substituting the political chicanery of clowning intellectuals for the policy of the revolutionary proletariat.

Having shown the basic falsity of Parvus's position, we can deal only briefly with a few of the most glaring manifestations of this falsity. Parvus writes: "Before the elections or after the elections, a legal basis for the existence of political parties is created in connection with the State Duma." That is not true. What is actually being created *now* is a "legal basis" for governmental manipulation of elections. That basis is termed: 1) the Rural Superintendent (peasant elections are entirely under his thumb); 2) the secret police (the arrest of Milyukov); 3) martial law. When a "legal basis for the existence of political parties" (including the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) is created *in fact*, and not in the language of journalists, then we shall have to reconsider the whole question of insurrection, for to us insurrection is only one of the important means, but one that is not always obligatory, of clearing the way for the struggle for socialism.

"It is necessary to come out immediately, not as individual social groups, not as lawyers, engineers, or Zemstvo members, but as liberal, democratic, Social-Democratic, parties—officially and openly. The representatives of the various tendencies could come to an agreement among themselves in this respect, just as agreements are made between the various parties in a parliament."

Yes, this they can do, only not openly but in secret, for if Parvus has forgotten Trepov, Trepov has not forgotten Parvus. What Parvus terms a parliamentary agreement (sometimes indispensable to Social-Democrats in a *parliamentary* country) is in present-day Russia, in September 1905, the most contemptible playing at parliamentarianism.

The betrayers of the revolution are now making an agreement between the *Osvobozhdeniye* supporters and the revolutionaries their prime objective; the supporters of revolution—an agreement between the Social-Democrats and all revolutionary democrats, i.e., supporters of an uprising. If the new *Iskra*, Parvus, and Plekhanov* *now* enter into a "parliamentary" agreement with the *Osvobozhdeniye* group (about the latter forming a party—see above, the article entitled "Friends Meet"**), we shall publicly declare that these Social-Democrats have lost all sense of reality and must go by the board. We shall then conclude an agreement with the revolutionary democrats on the basis of joint agitation for an uprising, for its preparation, and accomplishment.

We have already shown, in an analysis of the new-*Iskra* resolutions (Lenin: *Two Tactics*), that *Iskra* is descending to the level of the liberal landlord, whereas *Proletary* is raising and inspiring the revolutionary peasant.***

"Each party should organise its own election committee for the conduct of the election campaign throughout the country. The parties should agree among themselves about practical measures for extending freedom of speech, of assembly, and so forth, during the elections. They should bind themselves by joint political responsibility" (just listen, fellow-workers! The new-*Iskra* group want to bind you to the Petrunkeviches! Down with the Petrunkeviches and the new-Iskrists!) "so that if an official representative of any political party is prosecuted as such by the police or is condemned in court, the representatives of all the other [!] parties should declare their solidarity with him and all together organise [!] a popular [??] protest and, if possible, [mark this!] a popular uprising in his defence."

Good riddance to you, my dear Parvus! Organise protests and an uprising with the Petrunkeviches (democrats) and

* We mention Plekhanov because he has stated in print that *Iskra*'s tactic is better than *Proletary*'s. True, Plekhanov makes *no mention of the new-*"*Iskra*" *resolutions* and those of the Third Congress; however, dodges and evasions on the part of a Social-Democratic writer are a circumstance that enhances rather than extenuates the blame attaching to him.

** See pp. 254-55 of this volume.—*Ed.*

*** See p. 47 of this volume.—*Ed.*

the Stakhoviches (liberals)—our ways have parted. It is with the revolutionary democrats that we shall do *that*. Only, while you are about it, change your slogans as well, most esteemed heroes of "parliamentary agreement". Instead of the slogan "an uprising is imperative", just say: "an uprising, *if possible*, will supplement the protests". Then all the *Osvobozhdeniye* supporters will agree with you! Instead of the slogan "universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and secret ballot", advance the following: "*If possible*, the government should guarantee direct, equal, universal and secret suffrage". Good riddance to you, gentlemen! We shall patiently wait for Parvus, Petrunkevich, Stakhovich, and Martov to "organise a popular protest and, if possible, a popular uprising" in defence of Milyukov. For in our "near-parliamentary" era it seems to be more timely, gentlemen, to defend Mr. Milyukov than the hundreds and thousands of workers who are being arrested and beaten up!...

Parvus declares categorically: "We have no chance whatever of getting our representatives elected to the Duma independently." Yet he writes: "If, however, election committees prove unfeasible, we shall still have to bend every effort to put up our own candidates." Despite the qualifications demanded Parvus believes that "in individual cases the possibility of putting up Social-Democratic candidates is not excluded". "One or two Social-Democratic candidates, irrespective of where they may be put up, will become a political slogan for the whole country."

Thank you for at least being clear. But then, what stands in your way, gentlemen? The newspaper *Rus* long ago put forward its candidates, all those Stakhoviches, Petrunkeviches, and other betrayers of the revolution who cool their heels in Mr. Durnovo's antechamber. Why is *Iskra* silent? Why does it not go from words to deeds? Why does it not put forward Axelrod, Starover, Parvus, and Martov as candidates for the State Duma? Try it, gentlemen, conduct an experiment, *experimentum in corpore vili*.* Try it, and we shall see at once which of us is right: you who believe that these candidates will become "a slogan for the whole

* An experiment on a vile body.—*Ed*.

country", or we who believe that at the present time these candidates will only play the role of buffoons.

Parvus writes: "The government has given a handful of people the right to elect a body which is to manage the affairs of the whole nation. This imposes on the artificially selected voters the duty of using their exclusive right with due regard to the opinion of the popular masses and of not being guided by arbitrary personal" (but by class and party?) "considerations. Our task is to remind them of this duty, force [!!l them to perform it, and we must stop at nothing in carrying out this task."

This reasoning, quite naturally supplemented by the assurance that the tactics of (active) boycott expresses disbelief in the "revolutionary forces of the country" (*sic*!), is fundamentally wrong. It is a typically bourgeois-sentimentalist presentation of the question that all Social-Democrats should rise up against. Parvus's reasoning is bourgeois, for he fails to see the class essence of the Duma—the agreement between the bourgeoisie and the autocracy. Parvus's reasoning is so much empty and sentimental phrase-mongering, for he is prepared —even if fleetingly—to take seriously the false words of the *Osvobozhdeniye* adherents that they desire to "act with due regard to the opinion of the popular masses". The esteemed Parvus is some three years behind the times. When the liberals had no press and no illegal organisation, whereas we possessed both, we helped them in their political development. History will not fail to record this service among the deeds of the Social-Democratic movement. But from political sucklings the liberals have now become the chief political wirepullers and have shown their treachery to the revolution in deed. To lay the main stress *at the present time* not on the need to expose the treachery of the bourgeois "compromisers", but to remind them of their "duty" to manage the affairs (*not of the bourgeoisie*, *but*) of the whole people, means toadying to the *Osvobozhdeniye* League! It is only they who can seriously seek an expression of "the revolutionary forces of the country" in the State Duma. The Social-Democrats know that the best we can achieve now is the neutralisation, the paralysing of the bourgeoisie's efforts at treachery. The Zemstvo and the *Osvobozhdeniye* people are not "a revolutionary force of the country", and you should feel

ashamed to be ignorant of that, Comrade Parvus. The proletariat and the peasantry, which is fighting against the landlords, are now the only revolutionary force in the democratic revolution.

The formulation of the *conditions* of proletarian support for the *Osvobozhdeniye* League is the gem of gems in Parvus's remarkable article. "It is necessary," writes Parvus, "to impose definite political demands on the opposition candidates who wish to avail themselves of our support." "These might, for instance, be: 1) the demand in the Duma itself that it be immediately dissolved and a constituent assembly convened, elected on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot; 2) the denial of all military and financial credits to the government until this demand is fulfilled." (A poor Russian translation from the German, but the meaning is clear.)

One downward step is followed by another. One misstep on to an inclined plane, and the fall becomes headlong. Our supermen like Parvus and Plekhanov, who hold themselves aloof from both sections of the Party, loftily ignore those very new-*Iskra* resolutions for which they are morally and politically responsible. These supermen imagine themselves superior to both the "Majority" and the "Minority"; in actual fact they are *inferior* to both, since to all the shortcomings in the Majority they have been able to add the shortcomings in the Minority, *as well as all the shortcomings of the turncoat.*

Take Parvus. He has always gone hand in glove with *Iskra*, even when the plan of the Zemstvo campaign and of January 9 opened his eyes, though not for long, to its opportunist stand. Nevertheless, Parvus wanted to be considered a "conciliator"—most likely because of the fact that when, after January 9, he began to advance the slogan calling for a provisional government, the Bolsheviks were obliged to correct him and point out that his slogans contained elements of phrase-mongering. "No tsar, but a workers' government!" Parvus vociferated under the impression of January 9. "Without the people, but with a liberal Duma!" is what his present "tactics" amount to after August 6. No, comrade, we shall not base our tactics on fleeting impulses, bowing to the exigencies of the moment!

Parvus has now concocted "new" *conditions* for the liberals.

Poor new-Iskrists, how exhausted they must feel after concocting "conditions" for an agreement with the *Osvobozhdeniye* League! At the Second Congress, Starover (see his resolution, which was rejected by the Third Congress) concocted one set of conditions, which immediately fell through, for neither in the plan of the Zemstvo campaign, nor now have these conditions been advanced in full by any of the new-Iskrists who wrote about an "agreement" with the *Osvobozhdeniye* League. The new-*Iskra* Conference advanced other and stricter conditions in the resolution on the attitude to the liberals. Parvus of the *Iskra* bears moral responsibility for this resolution—but what do literary supermen care for mere resolutions drawn up with the participation of responsible representatives of the proletariat! Supermen snap their fingers at Party resolutions!

The new-*Iskra* resolution on the attitude to *opposition* parties states in black and white that the Social-Democrats "demand of all enemies of tsarism":

"1) Active and unequivocal support of all determined action by the organised proletariat directed towards dealing fresh blows at tsarism."

In proposing an "agreement" with the *Osvobozhdeniye* League and promising them "support", Parvus demands nothing of the kind.

"2) Open recognition and unqualified support of the demand for a popular constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal, etc., suffrage, *and open action against all parties and groups that are trying to curtail the rights of the people*, whether it be by limiting suffrage or by accepting the grant of a monarchist constitution in lieu of a constituent assembly."

Parvus repudiates the whole of the second part of these conditions. He even completely disregards the question of whom the *Osvobozhdeniye* League members in the Duma should "demand the convocation" of a constituent assembly from. From the tsar, no doubt? But why shouldn't you convoke it yourselves, esteemed heroes of "parliamentary agreement"? Or are you no longer opposed to having it "*granted*" by the tsar?

"3) Resolute support of the working-class struggle against the government and the magnates of capital, for the right to strike and the right of association."

Parvus exempts the *Osvobozhdeniye* League from this "condition", evidently on the occasion of the Duma's convocation and the injuriousness of the tactic—"the worse, the better" (although in the same breath Parvus mockingly assures the reader that it would be worse if the Duma had legislative rights, i.e., that the one step towards something better, the one the *Osvobozhdeniye* League is striving for, is a step for the worse!!).

"4) Open resistance to all attempts by the government and the feudal nobility to suppress the peasant revolutionary movement by measures of barbarous violence against the persons and property of the peasants."

Why have you forgotten this condition, my good Parvus? Can it be that you are no longer prepared to put this excellent demand to Petrunkevich? Stakhovich? Rodichev? Milyukov? Struve?

"5) Refusal to support any measures intended to preserve, in a free Russia, any restrictions of the rights of individual nationalities and any traces of national oppression."

And

"6) Active participation in helping the people to arm themselves for the fight against reaction, and support for the Social-Democrats' endeavours to organise an armed mass struggle."

Why, my dear Parvus, have you forgotten these conditions?

Proletary, No. 18,
September 26 (13), 1905

Published according to
the manuscript

THE LIBERAL UNIONS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY[100]

Of what importance are the "trade unions" of intellectuals to the proletariat, and should we Social-Democrats join them so as to fight against any beclouding of the workers' class-consciousness?

The "trade" unions of intellectuals and the Union of Unions are political organisations. In fact, they are *liberal* unions. These unions constitute, on the whole, the nucleus of the so-called Constitutional-Democratic, i.e., bourgeois-liberal, Party. A most important duty now falls to us: to exert every effort to instil a *party spirit* into the proletariat, to weld its vanguard into a genuine political party *absolutely* independent of all other parties, and absolutely its own master. It is therefore incumbent upon us to exercise extreme caution in taking any step likely to cause confusion in clear-cut and definite Party relations. The entire liberal bourgeoisie is now doing its very utmost to prevent the formation of a fully independent class party of the proletariat in order to "unite" and "merge" the *entire* "liberation" movement in a single stream of democratism with the purpose of concealing the *bourgeois* nature of that democratism.

Under these circumstances it would be a great mistake for members of the Social-Democratic Party to enter the liberal unions. It would place them in the extremely false position of being members of two different and mutually hostile parties. One cannot serve two gods. One cannot belong to two parties. Owing to the absence of political liberty in our country, and in the gloom of the autocratic regime, it is very easy to confuse the parties; the interests of the bourgeoisie *demand* such confusion. The interests of the proletariat demand a definite and clear demarcation of the parties. At present it is

impossible to obtain genuine and not merely verbal guarantees that groups of Social-Democrats joining intellectualist "trade" unions would preserve complete independence, remain members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party alone and of no other party, who would account for their every step to *their* party organisation. The chances are a hundred to one that these members would not be able to preserve their independence, that they would be obliged to resort to shifts, which are useless from the standpoint of results, and injurious as serving to corrupt the still young *party* spirit of the workers.

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FROM THE DEFENSIVE TO THE OFFENSIVE

The special correspondent of *Le Temps*, a highly reputable conservative paper, wired the following to that paper from St. Petersburg on September 21 (8):

"The night before last a group of 70 persons attacked the Riga Central Prison, cut the telephone wires and, using rope ladders, made their way into the prison yard, where after a stiff engagement two prison warders were killed and three seriously wounded. The demonstrators then freed two political prisoners who were to be court-martialled and expected to be sentenced to death. During the pursuit of the demonstrators, who managed to escape, except for two who were arrested, one policeman was killed and several others wounded."

And so matters are moving ahead! Despite the incredible and utterly indescribable difficulties, headway is being made in the matter of getting armed. Individual terrorism, bred of intellectualist impotence, is gradually becoming a thing of the past. Instead of spending tens of thousands of rubles and a vast amount of revolutionary energy on the assassination of some Sergei[101] (who probably did more to make Moscow revolutionary-minded than many revolutionaries), on assassinations "in the name of the people"—military operations *together with the people* are now commencing. It is by engaging in such operations that the pioneers of armed struggle become fused with the masses not merely in word but in deed, assume leadership of the combat squads and contingents of the proletariat, train in the crucible of civil war *dozens of popular leaders* who, tomorrow, on the day of the workers' uprising, will be able to help with their experience and their heroic courage thousands and tens of thousands of workers.

Hail the heroes of the Riga revolutionary contingent! May their success serve as encouragement and example to

Social-Democratic workers throughout Russia. Long live the pioneers of the people's revolutionary army!

See how successful the venture of the Riga revolutionaries was even from a purely military standpoint. The enemy losses are three killed and probably five to ten wounded. Our loss is only two men, who were probably wounded and thus taken prisoner by the enemy. Our trophies are two revolutionary leaders rescued from prison. This is indeed a brilliant victory!! It is a real victory, scored in a battle against an enemy armed to the teeth. It is no longer a plot against some detested individual, no act of vengeance or desperation, no mere "intimidation"—no, it was a well thought-out and prepared commencement of operations by a contingent of the revolutionary army, planned with due regard for the correlation of forces. The number of such contingents of 25 to 75 men each can be increased to several dozen in every big city, and frequently in the suburbs of a big city. Workers will join them in hundreds; it is only necessary to begin extensive propaganda of this idea immediately, form such contingents, supply them with all sorts of weapons, ranging from knives and revolvers to bombs, and give these contingents military training and education.

Fortunately, the time has passed when revolution was "made" by individual revolutionary terrorists, because the people were not revolutionary. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of the solitary "bomb thrower", and is becoming *an essential weapon of the people*. With the improvements in military *matériel* the technique of street fighting is also changing, and necessarily so. At present time we are all (and very wisely so) making a study of how to put up barricades and defend them. Though this old work is useful, we must not overlook the newest developments in military weapons. The progress made in the use of explosives has resulted in a number of innovations in gunnery. The Japanese proved stronger than the Russians partly because they were able to make much better use of explosives. Extensive use of high explosives was one of the characteristic features of the recent war. And the Japanese, now recognised throughout the world as experts in military matters, have now adopted the *hand bomb*, which they used with such telling effect against Port Arthur. Let us learn from the Japanese! Let us not lose heart

because of the grave set-backs that have attended attempts to transport large quantities of arms. No failures can sap the energy of those who feel and actually see how intimately they are bound up with the revolutionary class, and realise that truly the whole people has now risen in defence of their immediate objectives. Bombs can be manufactured anywhere and everywhere. They are now being produced in Russia on a far larger scale than any of us know (and every member of the Social-Democratic organisation undoubtedly knows of more than one instance of such workshops being set up). They are manufactured on an incomparably larger scale than is known to the police (and the latter undoubtedly know more than the revolutionaries in each separate organisation). No force will be able to stand up to contingents of a revolutionary army armed with bombs, contingents that one fine night will launch simultaneously several such attacks as the one in Riga, and will be backed—and this is the last and most important condition—by the rising of hundreds of thousands of workers who have not forgotten the "peaceful" 9th of January, and who long for an *armed* January 9.

Matters in Russia are obviously heading towards that. Consider reports in the legal newspapers about bombs being found in the baggage of peaceful steamer passengers, Read about the *hundreds* of attacks on the police and the military, about the *scores* killed on the spot and the scores seriously injured during the last two months. Even correspondents of the treacherous bourgeois *Osvobozhdeniye*, which is so busy condemning the "mad" and "criminal" advocacy of insurrection, admit that never before have tragic events been so imminent as they are now.

To work, comrades! Let each stand at his post! Let every workers' circle bear in mind that any day events may require that it take a leading part in the final and decisive battle.

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ON THE CURRENT MOMENT

The determined stand taken by the Smolensk Municipal Council has been held up by *Proletary*, in issue No. 15,* as an instance of what might be called "revolutionary self-government" (which *Iskra* confuses with the slogan of a popular uprising). The Council declared the billeting of the Cossacks contrary to law, stopped all payments to them, organised a city militia to protect the population, and appealed to the soldiers to refrain from violence against citizens.

To illustrate the workings of the same idea and to characterise the moment we are living through, we shall quote from *l'Humanité* a resolution passed by the Kerch Municipal Council in connection with the recent pogrom in that city.

The Council decreed: 1) that sympathy be expressed to the Jewish inhabitants on the casualties (killed and injured) and the material losses incurred; 2) that two scholarships be established at the local Gymnasium in memory of pupils killed during the disturbances; 3) inasmuch as the local authorities proved incapable and little disposed to protect the lives and property of the population, that payments for the upkeep of the police be discontinued from local funds; 4) that a sum of 1,500 rubles be distributed among the poorer Jews who had suffered most during the disturbances; 5) that the harbour-master be commended as the only local official who had energetically and humanely prevented the further spread of the mass manhandling; 6) that the Minister for the Interior be informed of the authorities' unlawful behaviour during the disturbances, and a Senate investigation be demanded.

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* See pp 221-22 of this volume.—*Ed.*

In the measure that the Kerch Municipal Council has, of its own free will, extended the scope of the powers it is entitled to by law, and in the measure that it is participating in the revolutionary life of the whole country, it is embarking upon really "revolutionary self-government". But where are the *guarantees* that that self-government will turn into one by the *people*? And should we Social-Democrats emphasise this "piece of revolution" as the main slogan of agitation, or speak of a complete and decisive victory of the revolution, which is impossible without an uprising?

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FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY

Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to one of the methods of co-operation between the Central Organ and the press of the various localities, in the matter of agitation. The Central Organ is very often accused of being out of touch with the movement, being couched in unpopular language, etc., etc. There is of course some truth in these reproaches, and we are fully aware that our work, which is conducted from afar, is inadequate in such an eventful period. However, our isolation is in part due to the infrequent and irregular communications between the Central Organ and the *masses* of local Social-Democrats, and to insufficient co-operation between the two. We quite agree that we are not helping you sufficiently, but then, neither are you giving us enough help. We now want to draw your attention in a comradely way to the elimination of *one* of these shortcomings.

The comrades on the spot do not make sufficient use of the Central Organ for purposes of agitation. The Central Organ arrives late, and the number of copies received is small. It is therefore necessary more frequently: 1) to have articles and items reprinted in local bulletins; 2) more often to adapt or paraphrase in more popular language the slogans (and articles) of the Central Organ, in local bulletins, in doing which you may complement, alter, abridge them, etc., since you, who are on the spot, can see what is best, and all Party publications belong to the Party as a whole; 3) *to quote* the Central Organ in local bulletins more often, so as

to familiarise the masses with the title of the Central Organ, with the *idea* of having their own permanent paper, the idea of having their own ideological centre, of always being able to turn to it, etc., etc. You should on all occasions endeavour to indicate in your bulletins that the very same idea was propounded in such and such an article in *Proletary*, or that news to the same effect is contained in such and such of the letters it has published, etc., etc. This is most important for the purpose of familiarising the *masses* with our Central Organ, and widening our entire sphere of influence.

The local committees have often republished articles, selecting whatever appealed to them most. What is particularly important now is *to have uniform slogans* (on the attitude towards the liberals, the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, their "theory of agreement", their draft constitution, etc.; on the question of a revolutionary army and the programme of a revolutionary government; on the boycott of the State Duma, etc., etc.). You should try to make every possible use of the Central Organ in your local agitation, not only by republishing but also by *p a r a p h r a s i n g* its idea and slogans in your bulletins, *developing* or amending them to conform with the local conditions, etc. This is extremely important for establishing actual co-operation between us, for exchanging opinions, correcting our slogans and acquainting the *masses* of the workers with the fact that we have a permanent Central Organ of the Party.

We earnestly request that this letter be read and discussed in absolutely all organisations and study circles of the Party, down to the very lowest.

The Editorial Board of "Proletary"

Rabochy,[102] No. 2,
September 1905

Published according to
the manuscript

THE JENA CONGRESS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY

Congresses of the German Social-Democrats have long become events whose importance goes far beyond the confines of the German labour movement. The German Social-Democratic movement ranks first in respect of organisation, integrality and coherence, and the extent and rich content of its Marxist literature. It is natural that under such circumstances resolutions of the German Social-Democratic congresses also frequently acquire almost international significance. Such was the case with the question of the latest opportunist tendencies in socialism (Bernsteinism). The decision of the Dresden Social-Democratic Congress, which confirmed the old and tested tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy, was adopted by the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress, and has now become the common decision of the whole class-conscious proletariat throughout the world. Such is now the case too. The question of a mass political strike—the main question at the Jena Congress—is agitating the entire international Social-Democratic movement. It has been brought to the fore lately by events in a number of countries, including Russia, and even perhaps Russia in particular. The German Social-Democrats' decision will undoubtedly exercise considerable influence on the entire international labour movement by giving support and strength to the revolutionary spirit of militant workers.

However, let us first take brief note of the other and less important questions discussed and decided by the Jena Congress. First of all, it considered the question of Party organisation. We shall not of course dwell here on the details

of the revision of the German Party Rules. It is important that the highly characteristic basic feature of this revision should be stressed, i.e., the tendency towards further, more comprehensive and stricter application of the principle of *centralism*, the establishment of a stronger *organisation*. This tendency found expression, first, in the inclusion in the Rules of a direct provision to the effect that every Social-Democrat is obliged to belong to a Party organisation, with the exception of cases when this is precluded by very serious reasons. Secondly, it found expression in the institution of a system of Social-Democratic local branches instead of the system of delegates, the replacement of the principle of one-man authority and confidence in an individual, by the principle of collective, organisational links. Thirdly, it expressed itself in a decision to the effect that all Party organisations must contribute 25 per cent of their revenue to the Party's central treasury.

On the whole, this obviously shows that the growth of the Social-Democratic movement and of its revolutionary spirit necessarily and inevitably leads to the more consistent establishment of centralism. In this respect the development of the German Social-Democratic movement is highly instructive to us Russians. Not so long ago organisational questions occupied a disproportionate place among current problems of Party life, and to some extent this holds true of the present as well. Since the Third Congress two organisational tendencies in the Party have become fully defined. One is towards consistent centralism and consistent extension of the democratic principle in Party organisations, not for the sake of demagogy, or because it sounds good, but in order to put this into effect as Social-Democracy's free field of activity extends in Russia. The other tendency is towards diffusiveness of organisation, "vagueness of organisation", whose injuriousness is now understood even by Plekhanov, who defended it for such a long time (let us hope that events will soon force him to understand likewise the connection between this vagueness of organisation and vagueness of tactics).

Recall the disputes about Clause 1 of our Rules. The Conference of the new-Iskrists, who had been previously fervently defending the "idea" underlying their mistaken formulation

of this clause, now simply discarded all the clause and the idea as a whole. The Third Congress confirmed the principle of centralism and *organisational* ties. The new-Iskrists immediately attempted to put on a basis of general principles the question whether every Party member must belong to an organisation. We now see that the Germans—opportunists and revolutionaries alike—do not even question the legitimacy of such a requirement as a matter of *principle*. When they brought this requirement (that every Party member must belong to a Party organisation) straight into their Rules, they explained the need of *exceptions to this rule*, not by considerations of principle but by the *absence of sufficient freedom* in Germany! Vollmar, who at Jena delivered the report or the organisational question, justified toleration of exceptions to the rule on the ground that it would be impossible for such people (petty officials) to belong to the Social-Democratic Party *openly*. It goes without saying that the situation in Russia is different: since there is no freedom all organisations are equally secret. Under conditions of revolutionary freedom it is particularly important that parties be quite distinct from each other, and that no "diffusiveness" be permitted in this respect. However the principle of the desirability of stronger organisational ties remains unshaken.

As regards the delegate system, which the German Social-Democrats have now discarded, its existence was due entirely to the Exceptional Law Against the Socialists. The farther this law receded into the past, the more natural and inevitable became the transition to a Party system based on direct links between organisations, instead of on links through delegates.

Another question that came up for discussion at Jena prior to the question of political strike is also highly instructive for Russia. This was the question of the May Day celebrations, or, to be more exact (to take the gist of the matter and not the item that gave rise to the discussion), the question of the relation of the trade union movement to the Social-Democratic Party. *Proletary* has spoken several times about the profound impression made on German Social-Democrats and not only on them alone, by the Cologne Trade Union Congress.[103] It became more than evident at this Congress that even in Germany, where the traditions of Marxism

and its influence are strongest, *anti-socialist* tendencies, tendencies towards "pure trade-unionism" of the British, i.e., absolutely bourgeois type, are developing in the trade unions—mark you, *Social-Democratic* trade unions. That is why from the question of a May Day demonstration in its literal sense, there inevitably arose at the Jena Congress the question of trade-unionism and Social-Democracy, the question of Economism, to speak in terms of trends within the Russian Social-Democratic movement.

Fischer, who delivered the report on the question of May Day, frankly stated that it would be a bad mistake to ignore the fact that in the trade unions the socialist spirit is disappearing now here, now there. Things had gone so far that, for instance, Bringmann, representative of the carpenters' union, had uttered and published statements like the following: "The strike on May Day is like a foreign body in the human body." "In the given circumstances the trade unions are the sole means for improving the condition of the workers", etc. And these "symptoms of disease", as Fischer aptly termed them, are being supplemented by a number of others. In Germany, as in Russia and indeed everywhere, a narrow trade-unionism, or Economism, is linking up with opportunism (revisionism). The newspaper published by this same carpenters' union wrote about the crumbling foundations of scientific socialism, the erroneousness of the theory of crises, the theory of collapse, etc. The revisionist Calwer did not call on the workers to show discontent or increase their demands, but to be modest, etc., etc. Liebknecht met with approval from the Congress when he spoke against the idea of the trade unions' "neutrality", and remarked that "Bebel, it is true, also spoke in favour of neutrality, but, in my opinion, this is one of the few points on which Bebel does not have the backing of the majority of the Party".

Bebel himself denied that he had advised the trade unions to be neutral with regard to the Social-Democratic movement. Bebel fully recognised the danger of narrow trade-unionism. He went on to say that he knew even worse examples of this craft union apathy: young trade union leaders go so far as to jeer at the Party in general, at socialism in general, at the theory of the class struggle. These statements of Bebel's evoked general indignation at the Social-Democratic Congress.

There was loud applause when he resolutely declared: "Comrades, be on your guard, think of what you are doing; you are travelling a fatal path, which in the end will lead to your doom."

It thus stands to the credit of the German Social-Democratic movement that it faced the danger squarely. It did not gloss over the extremes of Economism, or invent lame excuses and subterfuges (such as were so abundantly invented by our Plekhanov, for instance, after the Second Congress). No, it bluntly named the disease, resolutely condemned the injurious tendencies, and straightforwardly and openly called on all Party members to combat them. This is instructive to Russian Social-Democrats, some of whom have earned the praise of Mr. Struve for having begun to "see the light" on the question of the trade union movement.

Written in September 1905

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Published according to the manuscript

NO FALSEHOOD! OUR STRENGTH LIES IN STATING THE TRUTH!

LETTER TO THIS EDITORIAL BOARD[104]

"We are not strong enough to launch an uprising ... therefore there is no point in linking it up with the Duma ... a constituent assembly should be the battle-cry of our agitation." That is what the Bund wrote, and no adequate reply was provided by the author of the article in No. 16.*

These words of the Bund's are an excellent reflection of *philistinism* within the Social-Democratic movement, philistinism in the sense of banality, the golden mean, insipidity, generalities, mediocrity (qualities that have always been characteristic of the Bund, which, as is known, played the part of an ideological parasite in 1897-1900, in 1901-03, in 1904, and now in 1905).

That is the current view, the commonly accepted standpoint, "common sense" ("the triumph of common sense" in *Osvobozhdeniye* and "seeing the light").

This is a tremendous *falsehood*, the exposure of which is of the utmost import to the Russian revolution and to the class-conscious proletariat, as the *only* possible creator of a *victorious revolution*.

We are not strong enough to launch an uprising; *therefore* we should not link it up with anything; *therefore* the slogan must not call for an armed uprising, but for a constituent assembly.

It is just like saying: "Naked and unfortunate, hungry and tormented, we are unable to emerge from the swamp in which

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* See pp. 246-51 of this volume.—*Ed.*

we are perishing, and ascend to the mountain top where there is light and sunshine, clean air and all the fruits of the earth. We have no ladder, and without it we cannot ascend. We are unable to acquire a ladder. Therefore we should not link up our struggle for an ascent with the slogan of obtaining (*respective*, making) a ladder. Therefore our slogan should be 'To the mountain top, to the mountain top: there happiness and deliverance, air and light, new spirit and vigour await us'."

Since there is no ladder, without which an ascent is impossible—*therefore* you should not make the acquisition of a ladder your slogan, and work on making one—therefore the slogan should be: "Get to the summit; to the mountain top, there happiness, etc., await you!"

"As ever, weakness had taken refuge in a belief in miracles," as Marx said![105]

Is it the weakness of the proletariat, or the *weak thinking* of the Bund and the new *Iskra* that is now taking refuge in a bellef in miracles, in the belief that the mountain can be scaled without a ladder, in the belief that a constituent assembly is possible without an uprising?

Such belief is that of the insane. Without an armed uprising a constituent assembly is a phantasm, a phrase, a lie, a Frankfort talking shop.

The deceit and falsity of the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend, of that *first b o u r g e o i s s l o g a n* in Russia to assume a broadly political, mass-political, popular form, consist in that very support of a belief in miracles, in the support of that lie. For the liberal bourgeoisie needs the lie, since to it that is no lie, but the greatest of truths, the truth of its class interests, the truth of bourgeois liberty, the truth of capitalist equality, the holy of holies of the huckster fraternity.

This is its (the bourgeoisie's) truth, for what it needs is not the victory of the people, or the *mountain top* but a swamp for the masses; it wants the bosses and money-bags to be seated on the backs of the common people; it needs not a victory, but a deal, a *compromise* with the enemy = a sell-out to the enemy.

For the bourgeoisie this is no "miracle", but reality, the reality of treason to the revolution, not of the victory of the revolution.

"...We are not strong enough to acquire a ladder ... we are not strong enough to launch an uprising." Is that the case, gentlemen?

If that is the case, then recast *a l l* your propaganda and agitation, begin to speak to the workers and the entire people in *new* and different words, in language framed in a new and different way.

Tell the people: workers of St. Petersburg, Riga, Warsaw, Odessa, Tiflis ... we are not strong enough to launch a rising and be victorious in a rising. Therefore there is *no point* in thinking, no point in vain talking about a *popular constituent assembly*. Don't debase grand words with petty subterfuges. Don't cover up your weakness with a belief in miracles. Proclaim your weakness aloud to one and all—a fault confessed is half redressed. False rhetoric and false boastfulness spell moral ruin and lead unfailingly to political extinction.

Workers! We are too weak to bring about an uprising and win victory in one! Therefore stop all talk about a *popular constituent assembly*, drive away those liars who speak about it, expose the treachery of the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry, the "Duma enthusiasts", the Constitutional-Democrats, and the rest of the vile crew, for it is only *i n w o r d* that they want a popular constituent assembly; actually they want an assembly directed *against the people*, one that will not constitute anything new, but will merely patch up the old, one that will not give you new garments, a new life, a new weapon for the great new struggle, but will give you only tinsel over your old rags, only mirages and deceptions, popguns instead of rifles and chains instead of weapons.

Workers! We are too weak for an uprising. Therefore, do not talk and do not let the *Osvobozhdeniye* prostitutes, the *Constitutional-Democrats*, and Duma supporters talk of a *r e v o l u t i o n*; do not allow those bourgeois scoundrels to sully a great popular concept with their claptrap.

We are weak? That means that we have no revolution, nor can there *be one*. That is not a revolution of the people, but swindling of the people by the Petrunkeviches and a pack of liberal lackeys of the tsar. That is not a struggle for liberty, but a bartering away of the people's freedom in exchange for parliamentary seats for the *Osvobozhdeniye*

League. That is not the beginning of a new life, but perpetuation of the old starvation and drudgery, the old stagnancy, and putrefaction.

We are not strong enough to bring about an uprising, fellow-workers! We are not strong enough to rouse the people to the pitch of revolution! We are not strong enough to attain freedom.... We have only enough strength to jostle the enemy, but not to overthrow him, to jostle him in such a way that Petrunkevich will be able to take a seat beside him. Hence, away with all talk about revolution, liberty, and popular representation; whoever talks of these things *without actually working* at the ladder needed to attain to these things, at the uprising needed to win them, is a liar and a humbug, who is merely deceiving you.

We are weak, fellow-workers! We are backed only by the proletariat, and by the millions of peasants who have started a scattered and unarmed struggle in their blind and ignorant way.

Against us are the entire Court clique and all the workers and peasants clad in soldiers' uniform and*

To sum up. We are weak. Weakness seeks salvation in a belief in miracles. That is a fact which emerges from the Bund's statements, from *Iskra*'s plan.

But what is the fact, gentlemen? Is it the weakness of the forces of the proletariat of all Russia or the weak thinking of the Bundists and the new-Iskrists?

Speak the truth:

1) There is no revolution. There is only a deal between the liberal bourgeoisie and the tsar....

2) There is no struggle for liberty. There is only the bartering away of the people's freedom.

3) There is no struggle for popular representation. There is only representation for the *money-bag*.

We are weak ... from this inevitably follows all treachery to the *r e v o l u t i o n*.

If you want a revolution, freedom, popular representation ... *y o u m u s t b e s t r o n g*.

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* This sentence is unfinished in the MS.—*Ed*.

You are weak?
Revolution is for the strong!
Our lot is to remain in rags.
You are weak?
Only the strong win freedom.
The weak will always *remain slaves*. The experience of all history.
You are weak?
You will be represented by your masters, the slave-owners, the exploiters.
"Representation" is either conquest by the strong, or a scrap of paper, a hoax, *blindfolding the one who is weak so as to dull his faculties....*

Starting from the end

ω) Who is weak? The forces of the proletariat, the minds of the Iskrists and Bundists?

χ) Do you want a revolution? Then you ***must*** be strong!

ξ) We must speak the *truth*: therein lies *our* strength, and the *masses*, *the people*, the *multitude* will decide in actual practice, after the struggle, whether we have strength.
Have we strength?
Or are we weak.

ω) Who is weak.

Written in September 1905

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Published according to the manuscript

ON THE SO-CALLED ARMENIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' ORGANISATION

We are in receipt of a letter from the Central Committee, informing us that the Armenian Social-Democratic Workers' Organisation has expressed a desire to sign the resolution adopted at the conference of all Social-Democratic parties.[106] The Central Committee, however, does not agree to accept this signature, because it was opposed to the participation in the conference of this organisation, which is purely foreign and has no serious links within Russia. We hope soon to publish in *Proletary* more detailed information concerning the true nature of this organisation. For the time being we shall merely observe that all those who wish to help a really Social-Democratic movement among the Armenian workers in the Caucasus should have dealings only with the Caucasian organisations of the R.S.D.L.P., which publish Armenian literature in the Caucasus, and not in Geneva.

Written in September-October 1905

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Published according to the manuscript

THE ZEMSTVO CONGRESS

On Monday, September 12 (25), there opened in Moscow a Zemstvo and Municipal Congress, which discussed and finally determined the attitude to the Duma. Like previous Zemstvo congresses, this Congress marks a further step in the political development and political organisation of the Russian bourgeoisie. That is why every class-conscious worker must give attention to this birth of a bourgeois constitutional party. The political development of the proletariat as a class has always and everywhere proceeded hand in hand with the political development of the bourgeoisie as a class.

But besides this general significance, the Zemstvo Congress is also of tremendous importance in connection with the burning question of our attitude towards the Duma. A compromise between the bourgeoisie and tsarism, or the former's more resolute struggle against the latter—such is the gist of this question, which, as is known, is giving rise to differences on Social-Democracy's tactics too.

To begin with, let us remind the reader that at their preceding Congress the Zemstvo people roundly condemned the Bulygin Duma, and accepted the well-known *Osvobozhdeniye* draft constitution (a monarchy and a two-chamber system). The question of boycotting the Duma was at first decided in the affirmative by the majority, but later it was reconsidered and deferred until the next congress, which was to be called *immediately* following the promulgation of the State Duma Act—there was even talk of calling it by telegraph. In fact, the Congress was not called for a long time. At first, as we noted in *Proletary*, No. 14, rumour had it that the Zemstvos had cancelled the Congress. Later, the public learned of the negotiations between Mr. Golovin and Durnovo, which we described and appraised in the

preceding issue of *Proletary*,* and which resulted in the police *permitting* the Congress. The Congress was therefore held under conditions entirely different from the preceding, which had been banned by the police, who had threatened to disperse it, had made out a report and, after the Congress, ordered a Senate investigation. This time the Zemstvos and the police came to terms and *reached an agreement* in advance.

To give the reader a better idea of the significance of the difference between "then" and "now", let us remind him of the statement that appeared in the latest issue of *Osvobozhdeniye*. Mr. "Independent" (probably, independent of the police?) wrote the following in No. 76, in full accord with the author of the leading article in that issue: "There should be no question of any sort of compromise whatever. As before, liberty must be won and not begged for.... We should not—and this is in the highest degree important—for a moment renounce either the former methods of struggle or the positions that have already been won. If compromises are possible here too, then that possibility must be removed immediately and in good earnest. All that has till now been done to organise the forces of emancipation must also be done in the future.... The activities of the congresses, unions, and assemblies should continue in the same spirit and in the same direction as hitherto."

It is impossible to express oneself more clearly. After August 6, the organ of the Zemstvo or "Constitutional-Democratic" Party resolutely and unconditionally expresses itself against *renouncing the former methods of struggle*. However, the gist of the false stand taken by the liberal bourgeoisie lies in the fact that, along with a desire for liberty, they no less ardently desire a deal with tsarism. That is why they say one thing and do another. In order "not to renounce the former methods of struggle", they should be boycotting the Duma. After renouncing the boycott, it was logically inevitable for them *to renounce some* of the "former methods of struggle". *Osvobozhdeniye* began to fulminate against compromises at the very moment Golovin was making a compromise with Durnovo. *Osvobozhdeniye* began to vociferate, "we should not for a moment renounce", just when the Zemstvo Congress renounced the former freedom of its sessions. On

* See pp. 253-61 of this volume.—*Ed*.

the occasion of the "granting" of a Duma, that purported inception of liberty, the Zemstvos agreed to confer less freely.

And indeed: 1) the programme for the Congress was cut down by Mr. Durnovo, i.e., by the police; 2) the chairman promised to adjourn the Congress in the event of a discussion on questions not on the agenda authorised by the police; 3) the Congress consented to hold its sittings in the presence of a police agent—sent by Durnovo (*chef de cabinet*)—who was empowered to close the Congress if the "terms" of the agreement between Mr. Golovin and Mr. Durnovo were infringed; 4) also on pain of closure of the Congress, police forbade all "seditious outcries" (according to a wire from the special correspondent of the conservative paper *Le Temps*, who added that all these terms were *faithfully observed*).

It goes without saying that since we derive our information from foreign newspapers we cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy or the exhaustive nature of this information. But there are no grounds for doubting that on the whole it is accurate. On the contrary, Mr. Golovin (who certainly did not intend his negotiations with Durnovo to become known to the public!) most likely promised the police even more regarding the loyal behaviour of the Zemstvos!

The undeniable fact is that *Osvobozhdeniye* 's words are utterly at variance with the deeds of its adherents. *Osvobozhdeniye*'s journalists harangue against the police, while the wirepullers most amicably arrange matters with the police. The beginning of the Zemstvo campaign for the Duma elections coincided with the beginning of agreement between the Zemstvo bourgeoisie and the autocracy.

Foreign correspondents speak unanimously of the *peaceful* nature of this Zemstvo Congress as compared with the preceding. Only one speaker, or according to other information two, favoured boycotting the Duma. The majority stood for participation (we stated in No. 12* of *Proletary*, even before the Duma Act was promulgated, that the Zemstvo Right wing had already made up its mind on this question). The majority considered that non-participation in the elections would be a "sign of timidity"—a view fully shared, as we know, by Parvus and the new *Iskra*. On the other hand,

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* See pp. 179-87 of this volume.—*Ed.*

our Zemstvos displayed their *boldness* ... by coming to terms with the police....

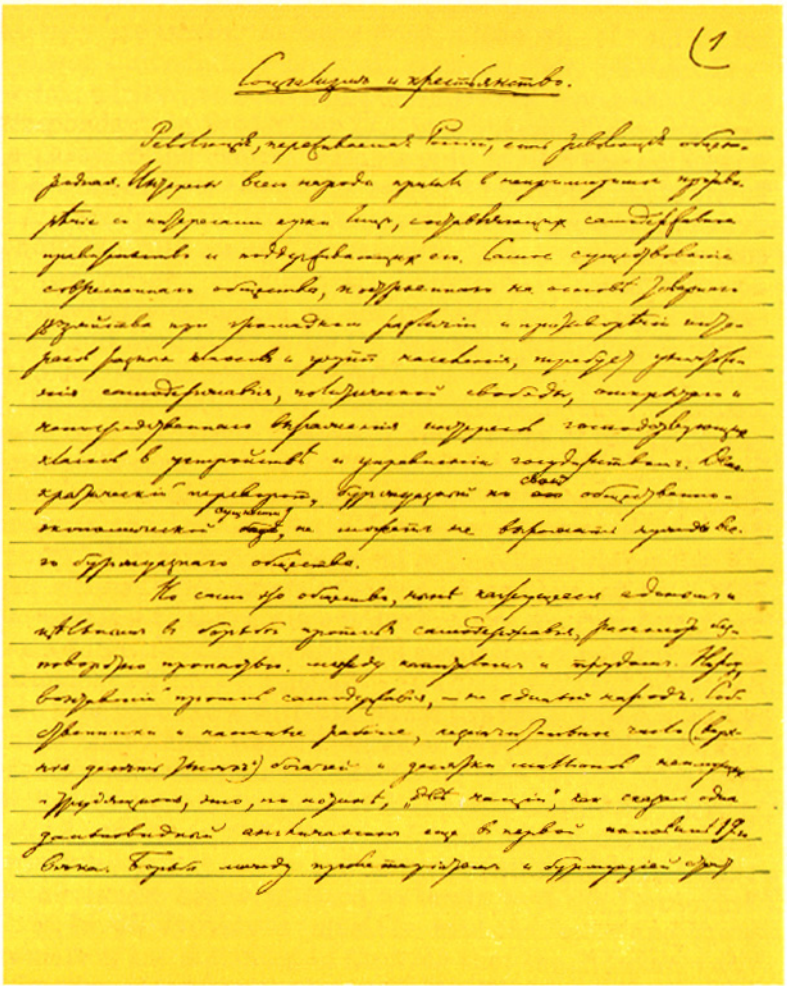
The Congress adopted a resolution which, instead of condemning the Duma, merely states (we are at a loss to say whether timidly or boldly) that the "Duma will not be a popular representative body in the literal sense of the term". Russian citizens are invited to unite on the programmes adopted at previous Zemstvo Congresses and to carry on their struggle on the basis of the Duma. The resolution does not say a single word about fighting outside the Duma and apart from the Duma: that is what the *Osvobozhdeniye* writer, who is "independent" of the police, calls "not for a moment renouncing the former methods of struggle...."

Moderating their formerly excessive "revolutionary" zeal, the Zemstvos are applying their efforts to "constructive" work in connection with the Duma. They have drawn up a detailed political programme (we are not yet in possession of its complete text); they have endeavoured to cover up their retreat from democracy by reiterating the main points of moderate constitutionalism; they have dealt in detail with the question of the election campaign, the organisation of local and central election committees, drawing up lists of candidates, etc.

After all this is it still not clear what the landlord and merchant liberalism of the Zemstvos and *Osvobozhdeniye* League is driving at?

What they want is: to start discarding, one by one, the militant demands of democracy, everything that guarantees the rights of the revolutionary people, that develops and extends the struggle for liberty (while maintaining silence in the resolution about the struggle apart from the Duma, etc.); to start clinching all such demands of democracy that secure power for the bourgeoisie alone (snug berths in the Duma above all)! Less agitation among the people and more activity in the Duma!

As William Stead, that "liberal" who but yesterday was an admirer of the autocracy, so aptly put it (see his letter to *The Times* of September 26), external peace called for peace within the country, peace between the tsar and the liberal bourgeoisie, such as was proclaimed by the Law of August 6! By their *behaviour* the Zemstvos are proving



First page of Lenin's manuscript
"Socialism and the Peasantry". 1905
Reduced

that they are *willing to make peace*, although, of course, by no means immediately or in all respects. "Mr. Mikhail Stakhovich, a friend and colleague of Shipov's," wrote the *Temps* correspondent on September 27, "is counting on the creation of a party of the centre, which would favour the autocracy and a consultative Duma; he asserts that many members of the extreme parties" (!! what aspersion on the *Osvobozhdeniye* supporters—*Editors of* "*Proletary*") "are prepared to join this party." Mr. Stakhovich's assertion is confirmed not only by the statements of many legally published newspapers, but even more so by the Zemstvo gentlemen's *deeds*. The *Times* correspondent informs us on September 26 that Mr. M. Stakhovich was present at the Congress. "The last named is still a strong believer in the victory of the moderate elements, indeed, the *almost total absence* of the usual fiery denunciations of the government, except casual [!!] references to the horrors of the Caucasus, rather confirms his forecast." The same correspondent of this conservative British paper writes: "The temper of the Assembly offers a singular contrast to the sentiment dominating the July Congress, when a large number of delegates advocated a boycott of the government [Duma] scheme."

Can it be that *Iskra* will still refuse to abandon its erroneous opinion that those who favoured a boycott wanted passive abstention, whereas the Stakhoviches, who favour participation, want a serious struggle? Will it really continue even now to stand, together with Parvus, for an agreement with the *Osvobozhdeniye* adherents and support for them, after they have obviously begun to come to terms with the Durnovos?

P. S. In all fairness it must be said that more and more information keeps coming in showing that the Russian new-Iskrists do not agree with the new *Iskra*. We have just received a leaflet issued by the St. Petersburg (Menshevik) group, entitled: "The State Duma or a Constituent Assembly." Together with criticism of the Duma we find here the slogan "Down with the Duma!" The workers' representatives are urged to tell the liberals "that they must not recognise the State Duma", "that they must renounce their right [the print in the leaflet is not legible] of election to the Duma", that they must help the workers "to arm for the struggle against the Black Hundreds and the State Duma".

The St. Petersburg Mensheviks have thus adopted the slogan of an active boycott. Here too, as in the well-known case of the "Zemstvo campaign plan",[107] *Iskra* is at variance with its adherents in Russia. Only in one respect do the St. Petersburg Mensheviks come close to *Iskra*: they urge the workers immediately to elect "representatives in factories, workshops, and departments, just as they did for the Shidlovsky[108] Commission.... When they meet, let our representatives wage a struggle against the State Duma, just as our delegates in the Shidlovsky Commission fought against that cunning trap set by the autocracy." This slogan is very similar to the *Iskra* slogan calling for "revolutionary self-government", although the comrades of the St. Petersburg group do not, of course, use this inept and high-sounding phrase. We have no doubt but that the St. Petersburg workers will see the erroneousness of this slogan and a false analogy with the Shidlovsky Commission. At that time the workers were boycotting the Commission; now the Duma is boycotting the workers.

While the tsar retains power, revolutionary self-government can be only a fragment of the revolution (the decision of the Smolensk Municipal Council, etc.). Making it the main slogan of the revolutionary proletariat means, sowing confusion and playing into the hands of the *Osvobozhdeniye* people. In developing, extending, strengthening, and spreading the organisation of the *revolutionary* forces of the proletariat and the peasantry, we must not confuse this organisation of war, this organisation of an uprising, with *self-government*. In purpose, manner of origin, and character, the organisation of an armed uprising, the organisation of a revolutionary army, is *quite unlike* the organisation of revolutionary self-government. The more zealously the liberal bourgeoisie, the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry, endeavour to curtail, blur, and dock the consistent revolutionary-democratic slogans, the more clearly and directly must we bring forward such slogans—the convocation of a popular constituent assembly by a provisional revolutionary government, the organisation of an armed uprising, and a revolutionary army for the overthrow of tsarist rule.

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SOCIALISM AND THE PEASANTRY

The revolution Russia is going through is a revolution of the entire people. The interests of the whole people have come into irreconcilable conflict with those of a handful of men constituting the autocratic government or backing it. The very existence of present-day society, which is based on commodity production and wherein the interests of the various classes and population groups are extremely varied and conflicting, calls for the destruction of the autocracy, the establishment of political liberty, and the open and direct expression of the dominating classes' interests in the organisation and administration of the state. Bourgeois in its social and economic essence, the democratic revolution cannot but express the needs of all bourgeois society.

However, this society, which now seems a united whole in the struggle against the autocracy, is itself irremediably split by the chasm between capital and labour. The people that have risen against the autocracy are not a united people. Employers and wage-workers, the insignificant number of the rich ("the upper ten thousand") and the tens of millions of those who toil and own no property—these are indeed "two nations", as was said by a far-sighted Englishman as long ago as the first half of the nineteenth century.[109] The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie stands on the order of the day throughout Europe. This struggle has long spread to Russia as well. In present-day Russia it is not two contending forces that form the content of the revolution, but two distinct and different social wars: one waged within the present autocratic-feudal system, the other within the future bourgeois-democratic system, whose birth we are already witnessing. One is the struggle of the entire people

for freedom (the freedom of bourgeois society), for democracy, i.e., the sovereignty of the people; the other is the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for a socialist organisation of society.

An arduous and formidable task thus devolves on the socialists—to wage two wars simultaneously, wars that are totally different in their nature, their aims, and the composition of the social forces capable of playing a decisive part in either of them. The Social-Democratic movement has explicitly set itself this difficult task, and has definitely coped with it thanks to its having based its entire programme on scientific socialism, i.e., Marxism, and thanks to its having become one of the contingents of the army of world Social-Democracy, which has verified, confirmed, explained, and developed in detail the principles of Marxism on the basis of the experience of so many democratic and socialist movements in the most diverse countries of Europe.

Revolutionary Social-Democracy has long indicated and proved the bourgeois nature of Russian democratism, ranging from the liberal-Narodnik to the *Osvobozhdeniye* varieties. It has always pointed out that it is inevitable for bourgeois democratism to be half-hearted, limited, and narrow. For the period of the democratic revolution it has set the socialist proletariat the task of winning the peasant masses over to its side, and, paralysing the bourgeoisie's instability, of smashing and crushing the autocracy. A decisive victory of the democratic revolution is possible only in the form of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. But the sooner this victory is achieved, and the fuller it is, the faster and the more profoundly will fresh contradictions and a fresh class struggle develop within the fully democratised bourgeois system. The more completely we achieve the democratic revolution, the closer shall we approach the tasks of the socialist revolution, the more acute and incisive will be the proletariat's struggle against the very foundations of bourgeois society.

The Social-Democrats must wage a relentless struggle against any departure from this presentation of the revolutionary-democratic and socialist tasks of the proletariat. It is absurd to ignore the democratic, i.e., essentially bourgeois, nature of the present revolution, and hence it is absurd to

bring forward such slogans as the one calling for the establishment of revolutionary communes. It is absurd and reactionary to belittle the tasks of the proletariat's participation—and leading participation at that—in the democratic revolution, by shunning, for instance, the slogan of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. It is absurd to confuse the tasks and prerequisites of a democratic revolution with those of a socialist revolution, which, we repeat, differ both in their nature and in the composition of the social forces taking part in them.

It is on this last mentioned mistake that we propose to dwell in detail. The undeveloped state of the class contradictions in the people in general, and in the peasantry in particular, is an unavoidable phenomenon in the epoch of a democratic revolution, which for the first time lays the foundations for a really extensive development of capitalism. This lack of economic development results in the survival and revival, in one form or another, of the backward forms of a socialism which is petty-bourgeois, for it idealises reforms that do not go beyond the framework of petty-bourgeois relationships. The mass of the peasants do not and cannot realise that the fullest "freedom" and the "justest" distribution even of all the land, far from destroying capitalism, will, on the contrary, create the conditions for a particularly extensive and powerful development of capitalism. Whereas Social-Democracy singles out and supports only the revolutionary-democratic substance of these peasant aspirations, petty-bourgeois socialism elevates to a theory this political backwardness of the peasants, confusing or jumbling together the prerequisites and the tasks of a genuine democratic revolution with those of an imaginary socialist revolution.

The most striking expression of this vague petty-bourgeois ideology is the programme, or rather draft programme, of the "Socialist-Revolutionaries", who made the more haste to proclaim themselves a party, the less developed among them were the forms and prerequisites for a party. When analysing their draft programme (see *Vperyod*, No. 3*) we already had occasion to point out that the Socialist-Revolutionaries' views are rooted in the old Russian Narodnik ideas.

* "From Narodism to Marxism", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 83-89.—*Ed.*

However, as the entire economic development of Russia, the entire course of the Russian revolution, is remorsely and ruthlessly cutting the ground from under the foundations of pure Narodism day by day and hour by hour, the views of the Socialist-Revolutionaries inevitably tend to become eclectic. They are trying to patch up the rents in the Narodnik ideas with bits of fashionable opportunist "criticism" of Marxism, but this does not make the tattered garment wear any the better. All in all, their programme is nothing but an absolutely lifeless and self-contradictory document, which is merely an expression of a stage in the history of Russian socialism on the road from the Russia of serfdom to bourgeois Russia, the road "from Narodism to Marxism". This definition, which typifies a number of more or less small streams of contemporary revolutionary thought, is also applicable to the latest draft agrarian programme of the Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.), published in No. 6-8 of *Przedświt*.*

The draft divides the agrarian programme into two parts. Part I sets forth "reforms for the realisation of which social conditions have already matured"; Part II—"formulates the consummation and integration of the agrarian reforms set forth in Part I". Part I, in its turn, is subdivided into three sections: A) labour protection—demands for the benefit of the agricultural proletariat; B) agrarian reforms (in the narrow sense, or, so to say, peasant demands), and C) protection of the rural population (self-government, etc.).

This programme takes a step towards Marxism in attempting to single out something in the nature of a minimum from the maximum programme—then in providing a wholly independent formulation of demands of a purely proletarian nature; further, the preamble to the programme recognises that it is wholly inadmissible for socialists to "flatter the proprietory instincts of the peasant masses". As a matter of fact, if the truth contained in this latter proposition had been given sufficient thought and carried to its logical conclusion, that would have inevitably resulted in a strictly Marxist programme. The trouble is that the P.S.P. which draws its ideas just as willingly from the fount of opportunist criticism

* *The Dawn.—Ed.*

of Marxism is not a consistently proletarian party. "Since it has not been proved that landed property tends to concentrate," we read in the preamble to the programme, "it is inconceivable to champion this form of economy with absolute sincerity and assurance, and to convince the peasant that the small farms will inevitably disappear."

This is nothing but an echo of bourgeois political economy. Bourgeois economists are doing their utmost to instil in the small peasant the idea that capitalism is compatible with the well-being of the small independent farmer. That is why they veil the general question of commodity production, the yoke of capital, and the decline and degradation of small peasant farming by stressing the particular question of the concentration of landed property. They shut their eyes to the fact that large-scale production in specialised branches of agriculture producing for the market is also developing on small and medium-sized holdings, and that ownership of this kind is deteriorating because of greater leasing of land, as well as under the burden of mortgages and the pressure of usury. They obscure the indisputable fact of the technical superiority of large-scale production in agriculture and the fall in the peasant's living standards in his struggle against capitalism. There is nothing in the P.S.P. statements but a repetition of these bourgeois prejudices, resurrected by the present-day Davids.[110]

The unsoundness of theoretical views affects the practical programme as well. Take Part I—the agrarian reforms in the narrow sense of the term. On the one hand, you read in Clause 5: "The abolition of all restrictions on the purchase of land allotments," and in 6: "The abolition of *szarwark*[111] and obligatory cartage (compulsory services)." These are purely Marxist minimum demands. By presenting them (especially Clause 5) the P.S.P. is making a step forward in comparison with our Socialist-Revolutionaries, who in company with *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* have a weakness for the vaunted "inalienability of land allotments". By presenting these demands the P.S.P. is verging on the Marxist idea regarding the struggle against remnants of serfdom, as the basis and content of the present-day peasant movement. Although the P.S.P. verges on to this idea, it is far from fully and consciously accepting it.

The main clauses of the minimum programme under consideration read as follows: "1) nationalisation through confiscation of the royal and state demesnes[112] as well as estates belonging to the clergy; 2) nationalisation of the big landed estates in the absence of direct heirs; 3) nationalisation of forests, rivers, and lakes." These demands have all the defects of a programme whose main demand at present is the nationalisation of the land. So long as full political liberty and sovereignty of the people do not exist, whilst there is no democratic republic, it is both premature and inexpedient to present the demand for nationalisation, since nationalisation means transference to the state, and the present state is a police and class state; the state of tomorrow will in any case be a class state. As a slogan meant to lead forward towards democratisation, this demand is quite useless, for it does not place the stress on the peasants' relations to the landlords (the peasants take the land of the landlords) but on the landlords' relations to the state. This presentation of the question is totally wrong at a time like the present, when the peasants are fighting in a revolutionary way for the land, against both the landlords and the landlords' state. Revolutionary peasant committees for confiscation, as instruments of confiscation—this is the only slogan that meets the needs of such a time and promotes the class struggle against the landlords, a struggle indissolubly bound up with the revolutionary destruction of the landlords' state.

The other clauses of the agrarian minimum programme in the draft programme of the P.S.P. are as follows: "4) limitation of property rights, inasmuch as they become an impediment to all improvements in agriculture, should such improvements be considered necessary by the majority of those concerned; ... 7) nationalisation of insurance of grain crops against fire and hail, and of cattle against epidemics; 8) legislation for state assistance in the formation of agricultural artels and co-operatives; 9) agricultural schools."

These clauses are quite in the spirit of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, or (what amounts to the same thing) of bourgeois reformism. There is nothing revolutionary about them. They are, of course, progressive—no one disputes that—but progressive in the interests of property-owners. For a socialist to advance them means nothing but flattering proprietory

instincts. To advance them is the same as demanding state aid to trusts, cartels, syndicates, and manufacturers' associations, which are no less "progressive" than co-operatives, insurance, etc., in agriculture. All this is capitalist progress. To show concern for that is not our affair, but that of the employers, the *entrepreneurs*. Proletarian socialism, as distinct from petty-bourgeois socialism, leaves it to the Counts de Rocquigny, the landowning Zemstvo members, etc., to take care of the co-operatives of the landowners, big and little—and concerns itself entirely and exclusively with *wage-workers*' co-operatives for the purpose of *fighting the landowners*.

Let us now consider Part II of the programme. It consists of only one point: "Nationalisation of the big landed estates through confiscation. The arable land and pastures thus acquired by the people must be divided up into allotments and turned over to the landless peasants and those with small holdings, on guaranteed long-term leases."

A fine "consummation", indeed! Under the guise of "consummation and integration of agrarian reforms" a party calling itself socialist proposes what is by no means a socialist organisation of society, but rather an absurd petty-bourgeois utopia. Here we have a most telling example of complete confusion of the democratic and the socialist revolutions, and complete failure to understand the difference in their aims. The transfer of the land from the landlords to the peasants may be—and in fact has in Europe everywhere been—a component part of the democratic revolution, one of the stages in the bourgeois revolution, but only bourgeois radicals can call it "consummation" or "final realisation". The redistribution of land among the various categories of proprietors, among the various classes of farmers, may be advantageous and necessary for the victory of democracy, the complete eradication of all traces of serf-ownership, for raising the living standards of the masses, accelerating the development of capitalism, etc.; the most resolute support of a measure like that may be incumbent upon the socialist proletariat in the epoch of a democratic revolution, but only *socialist* production and not petty peasant production, can constitute a "consummation and final realisation". "Guaranteeing" small-peasant leaseholds whilst commodity production and

capitalism are preserved, is nothing but a reactionary petty-bourgeois utopia.

We see now that the P.S.P.'s fundamental error is not peculiar to that Party alone, is not an isolated instance or something fortuitous. It expresses in a clearer and more distinct form (than the vaunted "socialisation" of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, which they themselves are unable to understand) the *basic* error of all Russian Narodism, *all* Russian bourgeois liberalism and radicalism in the agrarian question, including the bourgeois liberalism and radicalism that found expression in the discussions at the recent (September) Zemstvo Congress in Moscow.

This basic error may be expressed as follows:

In the presentation of immediate aims the programme of the P.S.P. is not revolutionary. In its ultimate aims it is not socialist.

In other words: a failure to understand the difference between a democratic revolution and a socialist revolution leads to a failure to express the genuinely revolutionary aspect of the democratic aims, while all the nebulousness of the bourgeois-democratic world outlook is brought into the socialist aims. The result is a slogan which is not revolutionary enough for a democrat, and inexcusably confused for a socialist.

On the other hand, Social-Democracy's programme meets all requirements both of support for genuinely revolutionary democratism and the presentation of a clear socialist aim. In the present-day peasant movement we see a struggle against serfdom, a struggle against the landlords and the landlords' state. We give full support to this struggle. The only correct slogan for such support is: confiscation through revolutionary peasant committees. What should be done with the confiscated land is a secondary question. It is not we who will settle this question, but the peasants. When it comes to being settled a struggle will begin between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the peasantry. That is why we either leave this question open (which is so displeasing to the petty-bourgeois projectors) or merely indicate the *beginning* of the road to be taken, by demanding the return of the cut-off lands[113] (in which unthinking people see an obstacle to the movement, despite the numerous explanations given by the Social-Democrats).

There is only one way to make the agrarian reform, which is unavoidable in present-day Russia, play a revolutionary-democratic role: it must be effected on the revolutionary initiative of the peasants themselves, despite the landlords and the bureaucracy, and despite the state, i.e., it must be effected by revolutionary means. The very worst distribution of land after a reform of *this sort* will be better from all standpoints than what we have at present. And this is the road we indicate when we make our prime demand the establishment of revolutionary peasant committees.

But at the same time we say to the rural proletariat: "The most radical victory of the peasants, which you must help with all your force to achieve, will not rid you of poverty. This can be achieved only by one means: the victory of the entire proletariat—both industrial and agricultural—over the entire bourgeoisie and the formation of a socialist society."

Together with the peasant proprietors, against the landlords and the landlords' state; together with the urban proletariat, against the entire bourgeoisie and all the peasant proprietors. Such is the slogan of the class-conscious rural proletariat. And if the petty proprietors do not immediately accept this slogan, or even if they refuse to accept it altogether, it will nevertheless become the workers' slogan, will inevitably be borne out by the entire course of the revolution, will rid us of petty-bourgeois illusions, and will clearly and definitely indicate to us our socialist goal.

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A REPLETE BOURGEOISIE AND A CRAVING BOURGEOISIE

Le Temps, one of the most influential organs of the French conservative bourgeoisie, is waging a most desperate campaign against socialism, and it is a rare day on which one fails to see in its columns the names of Marx, Bebel, Guesde and Jaurès, accompanied by the most vicious comment and vituperation. *Le Temps* cannot speak of socialism without trembling with rage.

The newspaper is following what well-intentioned Europeans call the Russian "crisis", with the utmost attention, and never fails to offer edifying counsel to *la nation amie et alliée*—the "friendly and allied nation". Thus on the present occasion, too, it devotes its leading article to the recent Zemstvo Congress. It recalls the preceding July Congress and cannot refrain even in retrospect from expressing its dissatisfaction. It was, you see, "a spectacle of utter incoherence of ideas and of complete incertitude of intention"; the Bulygin scheme was already known, but the delegates nevertheless confined themselves to "violent speeches", without being able to come to a decision on the question of boycott or participation. The organ of the French ruling bourgeoisie even reminds the Zemstvo delegates with irritation that they had no mandates!

On the contrary, what a smile of satisfaction has now come over the face of the bourgeois who is replete with political power! How graciously he hastens to shake the noble hand of his *confrère* who as yet is only craving for political power, but who is already revealing his "maturity"! The boycott has been rejected, and now nothing more is being said about the absence of mandates. "The decision of the Zemstvo delegates," says *Le Temps*, "does them credit.... It shows that

the political education of the most enlightened elements of the Russian people is progressing, and that they are abandoning vague plans of political prestidigitation, to enter boldly on the path of necessary evolution."

The bourgeois who is replete with political power and who has experience of what real victories of the people, the workers and peasants, lead to in revolutions, has no hesitation in declaring the September Congress of the liberal landlords and merchants a victory of evolution over revolution.

He praises the "moderation" of the Congress. He points with evident satisfaction to the rejection of the resolutions on "parcelling up the land" and on suffrage for women. "The wisdom and moderation of these decisions clearly indicate that the opinions of the extreme parties did not prevail at this Congress. The programme agreed on is sufficiently democratic *to disarm the revolutionaries*. Since the Zemstvo Congress expects to put its plans into effect solely by lawful means, its programme may also rally those reformists whom personal issues will not cut off from the rest of the Congress."

The replete bourgeois slaps the craving bourgeois encouragingly on the shoulder—to have advanced a programme "sufficiently democratic" to throw dust into people's eyes and *disarm the revolutionaries*, and have taken the path of legality, that is in plain and straightforward language to have come to terms with the Trepovs and Romanovs—that is true statesman-like wisdom.

That the hopes which the shrewd bourgeois places in simple-minded revolutionaries are not quite groundless has been proved by our wiseacres of the new *Iskra*. They have dropped the reins and dashed into a trap; they are eagerly proposing to exact democratic pledges from the moderate bourgeois, who are now prepared heart and soul to promise anything and to pledge themselves to anything. It is not only in struggle between hostile parties, but even in the struggle within the socialist parties (as we found from experience after the Second Congress) that all promises go by the board, once the more or less substantial interests of the contending parties are involved. As the English saying goes—promises like pie-crust are leaven to be broken.*

* This phrase is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

What did *Iskra*'s tactics with regard to the Duma boil down to? To the ideological and tactical *disarmament of the revolutionaries*. The wiseacres of the opportunist *Iskra* worked for this disarmament by denouncing the idea of an active boycott, substituting (fully in the spirit of *Novoye Vremya*,[114] and almost in the same terms) a passive boycott for an active, preaching confidence and trustfulness in the Milyukovs and Stakhoviches who now embrace each other, and *replacing* the revolutionary slogan of insurrection with *Osvobozhdeniye* 's bourgeois twaddle, such as the "revolutionary self-government of citizens".

It is only the blind who can still fail to see what a swamp *Iskra* has floundered into. In the illegal press it is completely isolated, with *only Osvobozhdeniye* on its side. The Bund, which even Martov and Axelrod will not suspect of any liking for the "*Vperyod* arsenal", has come out resolutely for an active boycott. In the legal press all the scoundrels and all the moderate liberals have united against the radical bourgeois who have voiced sympathy with the boycott and are disposed towards the peasantry in a most friendly way.

Well, did Lenin tell any falsehood when, in analysing the new-*Iskra* resolutions, he said in his *Two Tactics* that "*Iskra*" *is descending to the level of the liberal landlords*, while *Proletary* is endeavouring to raise the level of the revolutionary peasants?

We have mentioned *Novoye Vremya*. Both that reptile of an organ and *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* are waging a desperate struggle against the idea of a boycott, thereby revealing to all and sundry the Duma's actual political significance. As a sample, here is a typical outburst by *Novoye Vremya*, which we shall dwell on the more readily as it is shedding new light on the abysmal bourgeois vileness displayed by even such a "respectable" liberal organ as *Russkiye Vedomosti*.

Mr. Yollos, its well-known Berlin correspondent, deals with the Jena Congress in No. 247. To begin with, his philistine soul rejoices at the fact that there has appeared such a kind-hearted and fair-minded bourgeois liberal, the wealthy Abbe, who has made to the city of Jena the gift of a People's House, in which all parties, including even the Social-Democrats, are free to meet. And Mr. Yollos draws the moral: "One can benefit the people outside definite party bounds

too." That, of course, is true. But what are we to say of a writer, who, at a time of desperate party struggle in Russia, indulges in praise of non-partisanship? Doesn't Mr. Yollos really understand that this is a piece of the worst political tactlessness, since he is thereby playing into the hands of *Novoye Vremya*? The true meaning of this philistine delight in non-partisanship will, however, become apparent to the reader from the following statement by Mr. Yollos: "Needless to say there are political conditions under which it is useful for the time being *to keep ultimate aims to oneself*, and to bear in mind the immediate aims common to socialism and to liberalism."

Now that is frank! Thank you, Mr. Yollos, for at least being explicit! It remains for us, whenever addressing the workers, to make use of such declaration at all times and on all occasions to show up the *bourgeois* nature of Russian liberalism, and to make clear to the workers the need for an *independent* party of the proletariat, one that is undeviatingly hostile to the bourgeoisie, even the most liberal.

But all these tirades by our "democrat" are nothing compared with what is to come. Mr. Yollos does not confine himself to advising the proletariat "to keep its ultimate aims to itself for the time being", i.e., renounce socialism. No, he also advises renouncing the idea of bringing the present political revolution to its consummation. Mr. Yollos cites a speech by Bebel and plays up the passage in which Bebel expresses doubt as to whether we can succeed in transforming Russia into a civilised state "so soon", while at the same time declaring that the old autocratic regime will never return, and "the old Russia is no longer possible". Concerning this passage Mr. Yollos writes the following: "I do not consider Bebel an authority on Russian affairs, but I must observe that in this part of his speech he differs favourably from Kautsky and several other doctrinaires who recommend *Revolution in Permanenz* (uninterrupted revolution). As a clever man and politician who realises what concrete forms a state of uninterrupted anarchy assumes in the life of a nation, Bebel sees progress primarily in the promotion of cultural aims, and his words make it quite clear that he draws no line of demarcation and certainly erects no barriers between the Russian

intelligentsia and the Russian proletariat, at any rate before the elementary rights of man have been secured."

First of all this is a *libel on Bebel*, a libel fully in the style of *Novoye Vremya*. Bebel always and unequivocally draws a "line of demarcation" between bourgeois and proletarian democratism; Mr. Yollos cannot be ignorant of that. Bebel distinguishes in no uncertain fashion between the bourgeois intelligentsia and the Social-Democratic intelligentsia. To assure the Russian reader that Bebel, while fighting for "culture", ever hushes up the mendacity and treachery of the bourgeois democrats on the one hand, and the socialist aims of the working class on the other, means slandering in the grossest manner the leader of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Germany.

Secondly, it does not at all follow from Bebel's speech that he regards the Russian revolution otherwise than Kautsky. The "favourable difference" in this respect between Bebel and Kautsky is a sheer fabrication by Mr. Yollos, who has extracted and distorted a single passage in Bebel's speech, while maintaining silence about Bebel's numerous declarations fully in favour of the Russian revolution and its decisive victory.

Thirdly—and for us this is the most interesting feature of the stand taken by *Russkiye Vedomosti*—Mr. Yollos's outburst shows that he is *afraid* of a decisive victory of the revolution in Russia. Mr. Yollos says that "uninterrupted revolution" is "uninterrupted anarchy". To say that means saying that revolution is sedition; to say that means becoming a *traitor to the revolution*. And let not the *Osvobozhdeniye* diplomatists, who are so fond of asserting that they have no enemies on their left, try to tell us that this is only an accidental slip on the part of *Russkiye Vedomosti*. That is not true. It is an expression of the most profound sentiments and the most deep-rooted interests of the liberal landlord and the liberal manufacturer. It is the same thing as the statement made by Mr. Vinogradov, who is calling for a struggle to prevent the Russian revolution from entering on the path of 1789. It is the same as the servility of Mr. Trubetskoi, who told the tsar that he disapproved of sedition. This is no slip. It is the sole truthful statement in words on the countless disgraceful deeds of our bourgeois democrats, who are

wearied of "uninterrupted anarchy", are beginning to long for *law and order*, are already *tired* of "fighting" (even though they never did any fighting), and *already recoil* from revolution at the mere sight of workers and peasants actually rising for actual battle, eager to strike blows, and not receive them. The bourgeois democrats are prepared to wink at the misdeeds of the Trepovs and the slaughter of unarmed people; they are not afraid of that, but of "anarchy" of a quite different kind, when power will no longer be wielded by Trepov or by Petrunkevich and Rodichev, and the uprising of the peasants and workers will be *victorious*. The bourgeois democrats rally to the Duma idea so eagerly for the very reason that they see in it an earnest of the betrayal of the revolution, an earnest of the prevention of the complete victory of the revolution—that terrible "uninterrupted anarchy".

Novoye Vremya provides evidence of the fact that our analysis of the liberals' psychology is a faithful one. These dyed-in-the-wool lackeys of the Trepovs took immediate note of *Russkiye Vedomosti*'s baseness and hastened to heartily embrace their *confrères*. It is precisely this lie of Mr. Yollos's about Bebel "differing favourably" from Kautsky that *Novoye Vremya* of September 13 (26) cites approvingly, remarking in its turn:

"Thus, our radical 'absentees' will have to exclude Bebel too from the number of their allies."

This is a perfectly legitimate conclusion. The professional *Novoye Vremya* traitors have correctly appraised the sum and substance of the "slip" made by *Russkiye Vedomosti*. Moreover, *Novoye Vremya*, that past master of politics, at once drew a conclusion *with regard to the Duma*. Although Mr. Yollos did not say a word about Bebel's views on the boycott, *Novoye Vremya* nevertheless labelled as "absentees" those in favour of the boycott. *Novoye Vremya* supplemented the libel against Bebel with a libel against the "radicals", expressing, however, the absolutely correct opinion that the "radical absentees'" tactics are governed by the idea of the complete victory of the revolution, the idea of uninterrupted revolution, whereas the pro-Duma liberals are prompted by the fear of "uninterrupted anarchy". *Novoye Vremya* is right. Trepov's lackeys were fully justified in catching Mr. Yollos in the act

and telling him: If you do not want "uninterrupted anarchy" then it follows that you are my ally, and no democratic bombast will dissuade me of this. Ours is a minor family quarrel—against the "doctrinaires", the supporters of "uninterrupted anarchy", however, we shall be at one!

Will *Iskra* fail to realise even now that in reproaching the boycott supporters with abstention, i.e., *absenteeism*, it was talking after the *Novoye Vremya* fashion? Can it fail to realise that this concurrence of its slogans with those of *Novoye Vremya* proves that there is something fundamentally false in its stand?

The replete European bourgeoisie lauds the moderation of the Russian bourgeoisie, which is craving for power. Trepov's lackeys laud Mr. Yollos of *Russkiye Vedomosti* for censuring the idea of "uninterrupted anarchy". The *Novoye Vremya* and new-*Iskra* gentry scoff at "absenteeism"....

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THE LANDLORDS ON THE BOYCOTT OF THE DUMA

The abridged minutes of the July Zemstvo Congress have been published in No. 76 of *Osvobozhdeniye*. At present, when the question of the tactics towards the State Duma is in the limelight, this material is most noteworthy, for it is unique in showing *just how* the Zemstvo and *Osvobozhdeniye* people discussed the boycott issue. Certainly no one doubts that prior to the conclusion of peace—the appearance of the Duma Act—they were, or tried to appear, more revolutionary than they are at present. Nevertheless, the nature of their arguments is most useful for a verification of our own appraisal of the issue. After all, this is probably the first case in Russian political history of concrete political steps being discussed simultaneously by both opposition and revolutionary parties.

It is quite natural that the bourgeois democrats were impelled to raise the boycott issue not by the general programme of their struggle or by the interests of definite classes, but primarily by a vague feeling of embarrassment, of shame at the contradictory and false position they have placed themselves in. "How can we take part in something we have ourselves condemned?" Mr. Shishkov asked. "Why, the people will think that we endorse the scheme." As you see, this liberal's very first thought of the boycott is linked with the question of the people—he feels instinctively that to go into the Duma means wronging the people. He cannot get rid of gleams of good intentions to march with the people. Mr. Rayevsky, another speaker, puts the question on a more abstract plane: "We have always been steadfast in principle, but in tactics we are entering into a compromise. It will

turn out that we condemned the Bulygin scheme and yet are bent on becoming representatives of the people. We shall not tread this slippery path." This, of course, is a slight exaggeration on the part of Mr. Rayevsky, for the *Osvobozhdeniye* League *has never been* steadfast in principle. It is also incorrect to reduce the question to a bare repudiation of compromise: revolutionary Social-Democrats who have absorbed the spirit of Marxism would have told this speaker that it is ridiculous to absolutely reject compromises that are imposed by life itself, and that this is not the point at issue; what matters is a clear understanding and persistent pursuit of the aims of the struggle under all circumstances. However, we repeat, any materialistic presentation of the problem is basically alien to a bourgeois democrat. His doubts are merely a symptom of the deep split within the various strata of bourgeois democracy.

Mr. Rodichev, the phrase-monger who spoke after Mr. Rayevsky, settled the question very simply: "At one time we protested against the new Zemstvo regulations, yet we entered the Zemstvos.... If we had the forces with which to effect a boycott, we should declare one" (and is not this "lack of forces", gentlemen, due to the fact that the interests of the property-owners are hostile to an unyielding struggle against the autocracy, and hostile to the workers and peasants?).... "The first rule of military art is to get away in time..." (believe it or not, that is what this knight of liberalism from Tver actually said! And yet the liberals jeer at Kuropatkin). "There will be a boycott if we, after entering the Duma, make the following our first decision: 'We are leaving. This is not a genuine representation, which you can no longer do without. Give us a real representation!'" That would be a real "boycott". (Why, of course! To say "give us"!—could anything be more "real" for a Zemstvo Balalaikin?[115] No wonder they laughed so heartily when Mr. Golovin told them how "easily he had dispelled" the Governor of Moscow's apprehensions lest the Zemstvo Congress declare itself a constituent assembly.)

Mr. Kolyubakin said: "The preceding speakers put the question as follows: 'Either go into the Bulygin Duma, or do nothing at all'" (*Iskra* puts the question exactly like these "preceding speakers" of the monarchist bourgeoisie's right

wing). "We must appeal to the people, who will be unanimously opposed to the Bulygin Duma.... Appeal to the people, exercise freedom of speech and of assembly in actual practice. But by entering a disreputable institution you are disgracing yourselves. You will be in the minority there, and this minority will disgrace itself in the eyes of the population." In this speech one again senses the link between the boycott idea and an appeal to the peasantry, the significance of that idea as a turn away from the tsar and towards the people. And with admirable candour, Mr. Shchepkin hastened to rejoin to Mr. Kolyubakin's speech, which he so thoroughly understood: "Never mind if we make a mistake in the eyes of the people, if only we save the cause" (... *the cause of the bourgeoisie*, would probably have been the workers' interjection had they been present at this illustrious gathering). "I do not dispute that we may soon have to tread the revolutionary path. But the draft drawn up by the Bureau" (the draft resolution against a boycott) "seeks to avoid this, since we are not revolutionary either by upbringing or by inclination" (class upbringing, class inclination).

Mr. Shchepkin argues wisely! Better than the whole new-*Iskra* lot taken together, he understands that the crux of the matter is not the choice of ways and means, but the disparity of aims. It is necessary to "save the cause" of law and order—that is what really matters. The revolutionary path, which may lead to the victory of the workers and peasants, cannot be risked.

On the other hand, that magniloquent windbag Mr. de Roberti talks exactly like a new-*Iskra* adherent: "What is to be done if, owing to its inefficacy, the draft becomes law? An armed uprising?" (Come, come, Mr. Roberti, how can one "link up an uprising with the Duma!"? What a pity you are not acquainted with our Bund, which would have explained to you that the two cannot be linked together.) "That, I believe, will undoubtedly come in due time. But at present, resistance can either be merely passive, or passive while always ready to become active." (Oh, what a charming radical! He ought to borrow the slogan "revolutionary self-government" from the new-*Iskra*—what arias he could render on this theme, what arias!...) ... "to elect only those who would enter with the determination to effect a revolution

at all costs". That's the kind of people we are! Well, were we wrong when we said that Parvus met a friend in such an *Osvobozhdeniye* man, or that the new-*Iskra* had risen to the bait of the high-flown phrases of the magniloquent landed proprietors?

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ON THE QUESTION OF PARTY UNITY[116]

On our part, we can only welcome the perfectly clear and definite presentation of the question by the Central Committee—either fusion with the Party on the basis of the decisions of the Third Congress, or a unity congress. The Organising Committee will have to make the final choice. If it rejects entry into the Party on the basis of the decisions of the Third Congress, then the preparation and elaboration of the terms for a unity congress should be begun at once. To this end, both sides should first of all declare formally and quite explicitly that in principle the convening of two congresses at the same time and in the same place has been deemed necessary; secondly, it should likewise be formally established that all organisations in each section of the Party must unreservedly submit to decisions of the congress of their own section. In other words, both congresses should be of binding and not merely advisory significance to their respective Party sections; thirdly, the basis on which the congresses are to be convened should be definitely established in advance, i.e., what organisations are to send delegates and how many delegates with the right to vote each may send (for the section of the Party that has recognised the Third Congress, points 2 and 3 have already been defined in the Rules of the R.S.D.L.P. as adopted by that congress); fourthly, negotiations should at once be started on the time and place of the congress (the congresses themselves will decide as to the terms on which they will fuse, and the time of fusion); fifthly, it is extremely important that work should at once begin on drawing up a most explicit and detailed draft proposal on fusion, which should be submitted for decision to both congresses. This is a matter of imperative

necessity. The experience of other parties and of our own shows clearly that unless a draft proposal or draft proposals for fusion are prepared, published, and thoroughly discussed beforehand, it will be quite impossible for the congresses to come to a decision on so difficult a question.

So, it is now up to the Organising Committee, and its decision will be eagerly awaited by all who favour unity.

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AN IRATE REPLY

Our article, "The Theory of Spontaneous Generation" (*Proletary*, No. 16*), has evoked an extremely irate reply from the Bund. The latter even ran short of its own supply of virulent words and borrowed some from Plekhanov, that well-known opponent of coarse polemics. What is the trouble? Why is the Bund so incensed? It is so because we, on the one hand, mentioned the possibility of there being irony in the Bund's praise for *Iskra*, and, on the other hand, ridiculed the Bund's solidarity with *Iskra* on a number of questions. It is such duplicity that the Bund imputes to us, accusing us of prestidigitation, etc., while *maintaining complete silence* about all our analysis of the Bund's indubitably unironical and just as indubitably incorrect arguments. Why has the Bund maintained silence over this analysis of the crux of a question it has itself raised? That is because this analysis reveals *the duplicity in the stand of the Bund itself*, which, on the one hand, has renounced *Iskra*'s "Duma" tactics, and, on the other, has in dead earnest repeated a number of *Iskra*'s mistakes. What the irate Bund puts down to our duplicity should in fact be put down to the *duplicity of the Bund's own stand* on the question of whether our slogan should be the convocation of a constituent assembly by a provisional revolutionary government, or by the tsar or by the State Duma, or whether it should be the spontaneous generation of this constituent assembly.

We have shown that the Bund *is all muddled on this issue*. Till this very moment the Bund has not provided a straightforward answer. And if the Bund is now railing because we have held up a mirror to it, we can only answer by quoting the saying: "It's no use blaming the mirror if...."

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* See pp. 246-51 of this volume.—*Ed.*

A NEW MENSHEVIK CONFERENCE

We are in receipt of hectographed copies of the resolutions passed by the "Southern Constituent [!?] Conference" of the Mensheviks.[117] The most important of these resolutions (on the State Duma) will be dealt with by us on some other occasion. For the present we shall only note that of the two main points of *Iskra*'s "Duma" tactics the Conference rejected "pressure for the election of resolute people to the State Duma" (like Martov, Cherevanin, and Parvus), but accepted "organisation of nation-wide popular elections to a constituent assembly". Three resolutions were adopted on the composition of *Iskra*'s Editorial Board, yet the question was not settled. One resolution asks Axelrod not to leave the Editorial Board; another requests Plekhanov to return to the Board (the Conference—probably without humorous intention—expressing "surprise" at Plekhanov's resignation); the third thanks *Iskra*, expresses complete confidence in it, etc., but refers the question of the composition of the Editorial Board to an "all-Russia constituent conference for final decision". The "First All-Russia Conference", as is known, "referred" this question for decision to the local organisations. The latter "refer" it to the decision of a *constituent* conference.... This is probably what is called doing away with red tape and formalities.... In the meantime *Iskra* continues calling itself the Central Organ, although even its own supporters have not conferred such a title on it. A convenient position this, indeed!

The organisational Rules of the Southern Conference are a copy of the Rules we are already familiar with, but contain some minor changes. A new clause has been added: "Party congresses, which must be convened as far as possible once

a year, are the supreme organ of the Party." We heartily welcome this amendment. In connection with the new and excellent point that the "Central Committee shall be elected at the Congress", and also with the excellent desire to have the question of the Editorial Board decided at the Congress (be it even in the future), this amendment shows progress towards the decisions of the Third Congress. Let us hope that in another four months the next "constituent" conference will also set up the procedure for convening congresses, these supreme organs of the Party.... On the question of unity the Conference unfortunately beats about the bush, without giving a clear reply to the question: "Do you want to unite on the basis of the Third Congress? If not, do you want to prepare two congresses to assemble at the same time and in the same place?" Let us hope that the next "constituent" conference (preferably in something under four months !) will decide the matter.

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REPRESENTATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

"The Southern Constituent Conference" of the Mensheviks has passed the following resolution on this question:

"After acquainting itself with documents which show that Comrade Lenin, without taking any steps towards reaching an agreement with the 'Minority' on the question of R.S.D.L.P. representation in the International Bureau, has made this question an issue there between the two sections of the Party, and has laid stress on minor points of sectional differences, the Conference of Southern Organisations expresses its profound regret on this score. At the same time it requests Comrade Plekhanov to continue representing our section of the Party in the International Bureau and urges all 'Majority' organisations immediately to give their opinion on this question, and for their part to authorise Comrade Plekhanov to act as such representative in the interests of the unity which we are striving to attain, and to preserve with regard to all other socialist parties in all other countries the prestige of the R.S.D.L.P., which is equally dear to all of us."

This resolution compels the undersigned to state the actual facts of the case: 1) The Mensheviks cannot but know that all agreements are contingent on the Central Committee located in Russia. By deliberately referring to "Comrade Lenin" alone, they are telling an untruth. 2) Immediately after the Third Congress, two members of the Central Committee in Russia applied to Plekhanov in person, expressing the wish that he act both as representative of the R.S.D.L.P. in the International Bureau and as editor of a theoretical

organ. Plekhanov refused. The phrase "without ... any steps" is based on a departure from the truth. 3) When, after this refusal, Plekhanov resigned from the *Iskra* Editorial Board he declared in print (May 29), *without writing to the Central Committee* of the R.S.D.L.P., that he would consent to represent *only* both sections of the R.S.D.L.P., and likewise through the press asked those who recognise the Third Congress whether they agreed to this. 4) *Proletary*'s Editorial Board immediately published Plekhanov's statement (in No. 5 of June 26 [13]), adding that this question had been referred to the Central Committee for decision. 5) Pending the Central Committee's decision on this question, I got in touch with the International Bureau, on behalf of the Central Committee, in order to inform the International Bureau about the Third Congress, and to inform the Central Committee about the work of the International Bureau; at the same time I stated that the question of R.S.D.L.P. representation on the International Bureau had not yet been settled.* In other words, the Central Committee maintained contacts with the International Bureau through its representative abroad, pending a decision on the question of a special representative on the Bureau. 6) When I plainly and explicitly informed the International Bureau of the provisional nature of my relations with it, I raised *no* question *whatever* of a "struggle" or "differences", but confined myself exclusively to communicating the decisions of the Third Congress, which I was absolutely bound to do. 7) On *June 16* Plekhanov sent a letter to the International Bureau in which he (a) erroneously asserted that he had already been authorised by both groups to act as their representative and (b) set forth the history of the split from the time of the Second Congress, telling this story with many digressions from the truth, wholly in the Menshevik spirit, and calling the convocation of the Third Congress by the Central Committee "an utterly arbitrary act", dubbing the conciliators in our Party "the Marsh", and stating that "something like half the organisations 'with full rights'" were represented at the Congress, which was a "combination of ultra-centralists and the Marsh", etc.

* "A Letter to the International Socialist Bureau", 1905. See present edition, Vol. 8, p. 456.—*Ed.*

8) I refuted this letter of Plekhanov's point by point in my letter of *July 24, 1905* to the International Bureau.* (I learned of Plekhanov's letter only a month after it had been sent by him, when the International Bureau sent me a copy.) On the question of the "Marsh" I wrote in my letter to the following effect. "It is true that there is a 'Marsh' in our Party. Its members were continually changing sides during the controversies within our Party. The first of these turncoats was Plekhanov, who went over from the Majority to the Minority in November 1903, only to leave the Minority on May 29 of this year, when he resigned from *Iskra*'s Editorial Board. We do not approve of changing sides like that, but think we cannot be blamed if, after much vacillation, irresolute people who were members of the 'Marsh', are inclined to follow us." Dealing with the state of affairs after the split, I referred, in the same letter, to the necessity of providing the International Bureau with "a complete translation of all resolutions of the Conference". "If *Iskra* refuses to send the translation to the Bureau," I added, "we are prepared to do so ourselves."

Let the readers now judge for themselves whether Plekhanov's behaviour is anything like impartial, and whether the statement of the facts by the new conference bears any relation to the truth. Who is to blame for undermining the prestige of the R.S.D.L.P.? For taking the initiative in acquainting the International Bureau with the history of the split after the Second Congress? For stressing "sectional differences"??

N. Lenin

P. S. To satisfy the Southern Conference's desire to learn the opinion of the Majority organisations, we are publishing elsewhere in this issue the resolution of the Kostroma Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.,[118] forwarded to us in August 1905. The Editors have not received any other resolutions on this question.

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* See pp. 142-45 of this volume.—*Ed.*

TALKS WITH OUR READERS[119]

From the Editors. We are publishing excerpts from a letter written by a comrade who is a member of one of our Party committees. This comrade is one of the few that not only write to the Central Organ, but speak of *their* understanding of tactics and of the way *they* apply this tactics. Without such talks, not intended specially for publication, it is impossible to work out uniform Party tactics in common. Without such an exchange of opinions with those engaged in practical work, the editorial board of a paper brought out abroad will never be the real mouthpiece of the whole Party. That is why we are publishing an opinion expressed by a comrade who is familiar with a small part of the most recent literature, because we wish to encourage the largest possible number of practical workers to talk to us and exchange opinions on all Party problems.

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DAYS OF BLOODSHED IN MOSCOW[120]

Geneva, October 10 (September 27), 1905

A new outbreak of the workers' insurrection—a mass strike and street fighting in Moscow. On January 9 the first peal of revolutionary action by the proletariat thundered forth in the capital. The rumbling of this thunderclap reverberated throughout Russia, and with unparalleled rapidity roused over a million proletarians to titanic battle. St. Petersburg was followed by the outlying regions, where oppression of local nationalities had rendered the already insufferable political yoke still more intolerable. Riga, Poland, Odessa, the Caucasus—all in turn became centres of insurrection which spread and gained in intensity with every month, with every week. It has now reached the centre of Russia, the heart of the "true Russian" regions, whose stability had longest been movingly eulogised by the reactionaries. A number of circumstances explain this relative stability, i.e., backwardness, in the Russian central regions. These are: the less developed forms of big industry which involves masses of workers but is less divorced from the land and has in less measure concentrated proletarians in intellectual centres; the greater distances from foreign countries; the absence of national discord. The labour movement, which manifested itself with such great force in this region as far back as 1885-86, seemed to have died down for a long time, and the obstacles presented by the particularly difficult local conditions of work frustrated the efforts of the Social-Democrats scores of times.

But at last things began to move in the central areas too. The Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike[121] has revealed an unex-

pectedly high degree of political maturity in the workers. Ever since this strike the entire central industrial region has been in a state of unrest, which has been steadily developing, gaining in intensity and sweep. This unrest has now begun to manifest itself openly in the form of an uprising. Without any doubt the outbreak was intensified by the revolutionary students in Moscow, who have just passed a resolution, quite analogous to the St. Petersburg resolution, branding the State Duma, calling for a struggle on behalf of a republic and for the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government. The "liberal" professors, who had just selected a most liberal rector, the notorious Mr. Trubetskoi, closed the University under the pressure of police threats; as they themselves said, they were afraid of a repetition of the Tiflis shambles[122] within the University walls. They thereby merely precipitated bloodshed in the streets, outside the University.

As far as we can judge from the brief telegrams in the foreign press, the course of events in Moscow was the "customary" one, which has, so to speak, become the regular thing ever since January 9. It began with a compositors' strike, which spread rapidly. On Saturday, September 24 (October 7), the printing-shops, electric trams, and tobacco factories were already at a standstill. No newspapers appeared, and a general strike of factory and railway workers was expected. In the evening big demonstrations were held, attended, besides the compositors, by workers of other trades, students, and so on. The Cossacks and gendarmes dispersed the demonstrators time and again, but they kept reassembling. Many policemen were injured; the demonstrators used stones and revolvers; an officer in command of the gendarmes was severely injured. One Cossack officer and one gendarme were killed, and so on.

On Saturday the bakers joined the strike.

On Sunday, September 25 (October 8), events at once took an ominous turn. From 11 a. m. workers began to assemble in the streets—especially on Strastnoi Boulevard and elsewhere. The crowd sang the *Marseillaise*. Printing-shops which refused to go on strike were wrecked. It was only after overcoming stubborn resistance that the Cossacks managed to disperse the demonstrators.

A crowd of about 400, consisting chiefly of bakery apprentices assembled in front of Filippov's shop, near the Governor General's residence. The crowd was attacked by Cossacks. The workers made their way into houses, climbed on to roofs, and showered the Cossacks with stones. The Cossacks opened fire at the roofs and, unable to dislodge the workers, resorted to a regular siege. One house was surrounded. A detachment of police and two companies of grenadiers made a flank movement, penetrated into the house from the rear and finally occupied the roof too. One hundred and ninety-two apprentices were arrested. Eight of them were injured and two workers were killed (we repeat that these are all telegraphic reports in the foreign press, of course, far from complete and providing only an approximate idea of the scale of the fighting). A reputable Belgian newspaper has published a report that janitors were busy cleaning the streets of traces of blood. This minor detail, it says, testifies to the seriousness of the struggle more than lengthy reports can.

St. Petersburg papers seem to have been allowed to write about the massacre in Tverskaya Street. However, on the very next day the censor became frightened of publicity, so that official reports as of Monday, September 26 (October 9) stated that there had been no serious disturbances in Moscow. A different story was contained in telephone messages reaching St. Petersburg newspapers. It appears that the crowd reassembled near the Governor General's house, where sharp clashes took place. The Cossacks opened fire several times. As they dismounted to fire, their horses trampled on many people. In the evening crowds of workers thronged the boulevards, shouting revolutionary slogans and holding red banners aloft. The crowd wrecked bakers' and gunsmiths' shops. They were finally dispersed by the police. Many were injured. A company of soldiers are standing guard at the Central Telegraph office. The bakers' strike has become general. Unrest among the students is still mounting, their assemblies growing ever larger and more revolutionary. The St. Petersburg correspondent of *The Times* reports that leaflets with a call to fight have been circulated in St. Petersburg, that unrest is rife among the bakers there, that a demonstration has been fixed for

Saturday, October 1 (14), and that the public are greatly alarmed.

Meagre as this information is, it nevertheless leads us to the conclusion that the insurrectionary outbreak in Moscow is not a relatively high stage of the movement, compared with the others. No previously trained and well-armed revolutionary contingents were in evidence; no section of the troops went over to the side of the people, nor was wide use made of bombs, the "new" type of popular armament (which created such panic among the Cossacks and soldiers in Tiflis on September 26 [October 9]). In the absence of any of these conditions, it was impossible to count either on the arming of a large number of workers, or on the victory of the uprising. As we have already pointed out, the Moscow events are of moment for quite a different reason: they mark the baptism of fire of a big centre, the involvement of an enormous industrial region in a serious struggle.

The uprising in Russia does not and cannot, of course, advance at an even and regular rate. The outstanding feature of the St. Petersburg events of January 9 was the rapid and unanimous movement of huge masses, unarmed and not out for battle, who nevertheless received a great lesson in the struggle. In Poland and in the Caucasus the movement is characterised by great stubbornness and the relatively more frequent use of arms and bombs by the population. The events in Odessa were distinguished by the fact that part of the troops went over to the rebels. In all cases and at all times, the movement has been essentially proletarian, inseparably merged with the mass strike. In Moscow the movement proceeded along the same lines, as was the case in a number of other and smaller industrial centres.

The question which naturally arises now is: will the revolutionary movement stop at the stage of development it has already reached, a stage which has become "customary" and familiar, or will it advance to a higher level? If we venture into the field of appraisal of such intricate and incalculable events as those of the Russian revolution, we shall inevitably arrive at the conclusion that the second alternative is infinitely the more probable. True, even the present form of struggle, already rehearsed if we may use such an expression—guerilla warfare, constant strikes,

wearing down the enemy in street fighting, now in this part of the country, now in another—this form of struggle has also yielded and continues to yield very important results. No state is able to withstand *à la longue** a stubborn struggle of this sort, which brings industrial life to a standstill, introduces utter demoralisation into the bureaucracy and the army, and spreads dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs among all sections of the people. Still less is the Russian autocratic government capable of enduring such a struggle. We may be quite confident that a persistent continuation of the struggle, even in forms that have already been created by the working-class movement, will inevitably bring about the collapse of tsarism.

However, it is highly improbable that the revolutionary movement in present-day Russia will halt at the stage it has already reached. On the contrary, all the facts indicate rather that this is only an initial stage in the struggle. Far from all the consequences of the shameful and ruinous war have as yet been felt by the people. The economic crisis in the cities and famine in the villages are exacerbating public feeling. Judging by available information, the Manchurian army is in an extremely revolutionary temper, and the government is afraid to bring it back—yet it is impossible not to bring it back in view of the danger of new and even more serious uprisings. Never before has political agitation among the workers and peasants in Russia been so widespread, so methodical, or so far-reaching. The State Duma farce inevitably entails fresh defeats for the government, and fresh ill-will in the population. Within the last ten months or so, the insurrection has grown tremendously before our very eyes, and the conclusion that the uprising will soon reach a new and higher stage, wherein fighting detachments of revolutionaries or of mutinous military units will come to the assistance of the multitude, helping the masses to procure arms, and introducing the greatest vacillation into the ranks of the "tsarist" (still tsarist, but already far from wholly tsarist) troops, wherein the uprising will lead to an important *victory* which tsarism will be unable to recover from—this conclusion is not a figment of the

* For a long time.—*Ed.*

imagination or a piece of wishful thinking, but one that stems directly and necessarily from the facts of the mass struggle.

The tsar's troops were victorious over the workers in Moscow. This victory has not enfeebled the vanquished, but has only welded them more closely together, deepened their hatred, and brought them closer to the practical tasks of a serious struggle. It is one of those victories that cannot fail to introduce vacillation in the ranks of the victors. Only now are the troops beginning to learn, and to learn not only by looking up laws but from their own experience, that they are being mobilised wholly and exclusively to fight the "enemy at home". The war with Japan is over, but mobilisation continues, mobilisation *against the revolution*. *Such* mobilisation holds no terrors for us, nor do we hesitate to welcome it, for the greater the number of soldiers called upon to wage a systematic struggle against the people, the more rapidly will the political and revolutionary education of these soldiers proceed. By mobilising ever new military units to wage war on the revolution, tsarism is delaying the issue, but such delay is of the greatest advantage to us, for in such protracted guerilla warfare the proletarians will learn how to fight, while the army will inevitably be drawn into political life, and the call of that life, the militant call of young Russia, is penetrating even the tightly locked doors of the army barracks, is awakening even the most ignorant, the most backward, and the most cowed.

An insurrectionary outbreak has once more been suppressed. Once more we say: Hail the insurrection!

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THE BOURGEOISIE AWAKENED FROM ITS SLUMBER

SUBJECT FOR AN ARTICLE

Imagine a small number of people fighting against a crying and hideous evil, of which the masses of sleeping people are unaware or to which they are indifferent. What should the fighters do first? 1) awaken as many of the sleepers as possible; 2) enlighten them as to the aims of their struggle, and its conditions; 3) organise them into a force capable of achieving victory; 4) teach them to make the proper use of the fruits of their victory.

Naturally, point *1* must precede points 2 to 4, which are impossible without *1*.

And so we have a small number of people *waking* everybody, shaking up *one and all*.

Owing to the course taken by events, their efforts have been crowned with success. The masses have been awakened. Now it seems that a section of those who have been awakened is *interested* in preserving the evil, and intends either consciously to uphold it or else to preserve such of its features or parts as are of advantage to the given groups of the awakened.

Is it not natural, then, that the fighters, the heralds of battle, the awakeners, the bell-ringers of the revolution, should turn *against* these awakened ones, whom *they themselves* have roused? Is it not natural that the fighters should *then* no longer waste their energies on stirring up "one and all", but rather transfer the main attention to those who have proved capable 1) of awakening—in the first place; 2) of assimilating the ideas of consistent struggle—in the second place; 3) of fighting in earnest and to the end—in the third place?

Such has been the Russian Social-Democrats' attitude to the liberals in 1900-02 (they did the rousing), in 1902-04 (they drew distinctions among the awakened), and in 1905 (they fought against the awakened ... traitors).

Written late in September 1905

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TO THE COMBAT COMMITTEE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE

October 16, 1905

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for sending 1) the report of the Combat Committee and 2) a memorandum on the organisation of preparations for insurrection +3) a scheme of the organisation. After reading these documents, I think it my duty to write directly to the Combat Committee for a comradely exchange of opinions. I need hardly say that I do not undertake to judge of the practical side of the matter; there can be no doubt that everything possible is being done under the difficult conditions in Russia. However, judging by the documents, the whole thing threatens to degenerate into office routine. All these schemes, all these plans of organisation of the Combat Committee create the impression of red tape—forgive me my frankness, but I hope that you will not suspect me of fault-finding. Schemes, and disputes and discussions about the functions of the Combat Committee and its rights, are of the least value in a matter like this. What is needed is furious energy, and again energy. It horrifies me—I give you my word—it horrifies me to find that there has been talk about bombs for *over six months*, yet not one has been made! And it is the most learned of people who are doing the talking.... Go to the youth, gentlemen! That is the only remedy! Otherwise—I give you my word for it—you will be too late (everything tells me that), and will be left with "learned" memoranda, plans, charts, schemes, and magnificent recipes, but without an organisation, without a living cause. Go to the youth. Form fighting squads *at once* everywhere,

among the students, and *especially among the workers*, etc., etc. Let groups be at once organised of three, ten, thirty, etc., persons. Let them arm themselves at once as best they can, be it with a revolver, a knife, a rag soaked in kerosene for starting fires, etc. Let these detachments at once select leaders, and as far as possible *contact* the Combat Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee. Do not demand any formalities, and, for heaven's sake, forget all these schemes, and send all "functions, rights, and privileges" to the devil. Do not make membership in the R.S.D.L.P. an absolute condition—that would be an absurd demand for an armed uprising. Do not refuse to contact any group, even if it consists of only three persons; make it the one sole condition that it should be reliable as far as police spying is concerned and prepared to fight the tsar's troops. Let the groups join the R.S.D.L.P. or *associate* themselves with the R.S.D.L.P. if they want to; that would be splendid. But I would consider it quite wrong to *insist* on it.

The role of the Combat Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee should be to *help* these contingents of the revolutionary army, to serve as a "bureau" for contact purposes, etc. Any contingent will willingly accept your *services*, but if in *such a matter* you begin with schemes and with talk about the "rights" of the Combat Committee, you will ruin the whole cause; I assure you, you will ruin it irreparably.

You must proceed to propaganda on a wide scale. Let five or ten people make the round of *hundreds* of workers' and students' study circles in a week, penetrate wherever they can, and everywhere propose a clear, brief, direct, and simple plan: organise combat groups immediately, arm yourselves as best you can, and work with all your might; we will help you in every way we can, but *do not wait for our help*; act for yourselves.

The principal thing in a matter like this is the initiative of the mass of small groups. They will do everything. Without them your entire Combat Committee is nothing. I am prepared to gauge the efficiency of the Combat Committee's work by the number of such combat groups it is in contact with. If in a month or two the Combat Committee does not have a minimum of 200 or 300 groups in St. Petersburg, then it is a dead Combat Committee. It will have to be

buried. If it cannot muster a hundred or two of groups in seething times like these, then it is indeed remote from real life.

The propagandists must supply each group with brief and simple recipes for making bombs, give them an elementary explanation of the type of the work, and then leave it all to them. Squads must *at once* begin military training by launching operations immediately, at once. Some may at once undertake to kill a spy or blow up a police station, others to raid a bank to confiscate funds for the insurrection, others again may drill or prepare plans of localities, etc. But the essential thing is to begin at once to learn from actual practice: have no fear of these trial attacks. They may, of course, degenerate into extremes, but that is an evil of the morrow, whereas the evil today is our inertness, our doctrinaire spirit, our learned immobility, and our senile fear of initiative. Let every group learn, if it is only by beating up policemen: a score or so victims will be more than compensated for by the fact that this will train hundreds of experienced fighters, who tomorrow will be leading hundreds of thousands.

I send you warm greetings, comrades, and wish you success. I have no desire to impose my views on you, but I consider it my duty to tender my word of *advice*.

Yours,
Lenin

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THE POLITICAL STRIKE AND THE STREET FIGHTING IN MOSCOW

The revolutionary events in Moscow have been the first flashes of lightning in a thunderstorm and they have lit up a new field of battle. The promulgation of the State Duma Act and the conclusion of peace have marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Russian revolution. Already weary of the workers' persistent struggle and disturbed by the spectre of "uninterrupted revolution", the liberal bourgeoisie has heaved a sigh of relief and joyously caught at the sop thrown to it. All along the line a struggle has begun against the idea of a boycott, and liberalism has turned openly towards the right. Unfortunately, even among the Social-Democrats (in the new-*Iskra* camp) there are unstable people who are prepared on certain terms to support these bourgeois traitors to the revolution, and to take the State Duma "seriously". The events in Moscow, it may be hoped, will put the sceptics to shame, and will help the doubters to make a proper appraisal of the state of affairs on the new field of battle. Anaemic intellectuals' dreams of the possibility of popular elections under the autocracy, as well as illusions harboured by dull-witted liberals regarding the State Duma's crucial importance, vanished into thin air at the very first major revolutionary action by the proletariat.

Our information on the Moscow events is as yet (October 12, N. S.) very meagre. It is confined to brief and often contradictory reports in foreign newspapers, and to censor-screened accounts of the beginning of the movement, published in the legal press. One thing is certain: in its initial stage the Moscow workers' struggle proceeded along lines that have become customary during the past revolutionary year. The

working-class movement has left its imprint on the entire Russian revolution. Starting with sporadic strikes it rapidly developed into mass strikes, on the one hand, and into street demonstrations, on the other. In 1905 the political strike has become an established form of the movement, developing before our eyes into insurrection. Whereas it took the entire working-class movement of Russia ten years to reach its present (and of course far from final) stage, the movement in certain parts of the country has progressed in a few days from a mere strike to a tremendous revolutionary outbreak.

The compositors' strike in Moscow, we are informed, was started by politically backward workers. But the movement immediately slipped out of their control, and became a broad trade union movement. Workers of other trades joined in. Street demonstrations by workers, inevitable if only for the purpose of letting uninformed fellow-workers learn of the strike, turned into political demonstrations, with revolutionary songs and speeches. Long suppressed bitterness against the vile farce of "popular" elections to the State Duma came to the surface. The mass strike developed into a mass mobilisation of fighters for genuine liberty. The radical students appeared on the scene, who in Moscow passed a resolution absolutely analogous to that of the St. Petersburg students. In the language of free citizens, not of cringing officials, this resolution very properly branded the State Duma as brazen mockery of the people, and called for a struggle for a republic, for the convocation of a genuinely popular and genuinely constituent assembly by a revolutionary provisional government. The proletariat and progressive sections of the revolutionary democrats began street fighting against the tsarist army and police.

This is how the movement developed in Moscow. On Saturday, September 24 (October 7), the compositors were no longer alone—the tobacco factories and electric trams were also at a standstill, and a bakers' strike had begun. In the evening big demonstrations were held, attended, besides workers and students, by very many "outsiders" (revolutionary workers and radical students no longer regarded each other as outsiders at open actions by the people). The Cossacks and gendarmes did their utmost to disperse the demonstra-

tors, who kept reassembling. The crowd offered resistance to the police and the Cossacks; revolver shots were fired and many policemen were wounded.

On Sunday, September 25 (October 8), events at once took a formidable turn. At 11 a. m. workers began to assemble in the streets, with the crowd singing the *Marseillaise*. Revolutionary mass meetings were held, and printing-shops whose staff refused to strike were wrecked. Bakeries and gunsmiths' shops were attacked, for the workers needed bread to live and arms to fight for freedom (just as the French revolutionary song has it). It was only after stubborn resistance that the Cossacks managed to disperse the demonstrators. There was a regular battle in Tverskaya Street, near the Governor General's house. In front of the Filippov bakery a crowd of bakers' apprentices assembled. As the management of the bakery subsequently declared, they were going out peacefully into the street, after stopping work in solidarity with the other strikers. A Cossack detachment attacked the crowd, who made their way into a house, climbed on to the roof and into the garrets, and showered the soldiers with stones. There began a regular siege of the house, with the troops firing on the workers. All communication was cut. Two companies of grenadiers made a flank movement, penetrated into the house from the rear, and captured the enemy's stronghold. One hundred and ninety-two apprentices were arrested, of whom eight were injured; two workers were killed. There were injured among the police and the troops, a captain of gendarmes sustaining fatal injuries.

Naturally, this information is extremely incomplete. According to private telegrams, quoted in some foreign newspapers, the brutality of the Cossacks and soldiers knew no bounds. The Filippov bakery management has protested against the unprovoked outrages perpetrated by the troops. A reputable Belgian newspaper has published a report that janitors were busy cleaning the streets of traces of blood. This minor detail—it says—testifies to the seriousness of the struggle more than lengthy reports can. On the basis of information from private sources that has found its way into the press, *Vorwärts*[123] has stated that in Tverskaya Street 10,000 strikers clashed with an infantry battalion, which

fired several volleys. The ambulance service had its hands full. It is estimated that no less than 50 people were killed and as many as 600 injured. The arrested are reported to have been taken to army barracks, where they were mercilessly and brutally manhandled, being made to run the gauntlet. It is further reported that during the street fighting the officers distinguished themselves by their inhuman brutality, even towards women (a St. Petersburg cable from the special correspondent of the conservative bourgeois *Temps*, dated October 10 [September 27]).

Information on the events of the subsequent days is more and more scanty. The workers' wrath mounted frightfully, the movement gathering momentum. The government took all measures to ban or slash all reports. Foreign newspapers have openly written of the contradiction between the reassuring news from the official agencies (which at one time were believed) and the news transmitted to St. Petersburg by telephone. Gaston Leroux wired to the Paris *Matin* that the censorship was performing prodigies by way of preventing the spread of news that might be in the least alarming. Monday, September 26 (October 9), he wrote, was one of the most sanguinary days in the history of Russia. There was fighting in all the main streets and even near the Governor General's residence. The demonstrators unfurled a red flag. Many were killed or injured.

The reports in other papers are contradictory. Only one thing is certain—the strike is spreading and has been joined by most workers employed at the big factories, and even in the light industries. The railwaymen too have stopped work. The strike is becoming general. (Tuesday, October 10 [September 27], and Wednesday.)

The situation is extremely grave. The movement is spreading to St. Petersburg: the workers of the San-Galli Works have already downed tools.

This is as far as our information goes to date. Any complete appraisal of the Moscow events on the strength of such information is, of course, out of the question. One still cannot say whether these events are a full-scale rehearsal for a decisive proletarian onslaught on the autocracy, or whether they are actually the beginning of this onslaught; whether they are only an extension of the "usual" methods of struggle

described above to a new area of Central Russia, or whether they are destined to mark the beginning of a higher form of struggle and of a more decisive uprising.

To all appearances, the answer to these questions will be forthcoming in the near future. One thing is certain: before our very eyes, the insurrection is spreading, the struggle is becoming ever more widespread, and its forms ever more acute. All over Russia the proletariat is pressing onward with heroic efforts, indicating now here, now there, in what direction the armed uprising can and, undoubtedly, will develop. True, even the present form of struggle, already created by the movement of the working masses, is dealing very telling blows at tsarism. The civil war has assumed the form of desperately stubborn and universal guerilla warfare. The working class is giving the enemy no respite, disrupting industrial life, constantly bringing the entire machinery of local government to a standstill, creating a state of alarm all over the country, and is mobilising ever new forces for the struggle. No state is able to hold out for long against such an onslaught, least of all the utterly corrupt tsarist government, from which its supporters are falling away one by one. And if the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie finds the struggle at times too persistent, if it is terrified by the civil war and by the alarming state of uncertainty which has gripped the country, the continuation of this state of affairs and the prolongation of the struggle is a matter of the utmost necessity to the revolutionary proletariat. If, among ideologists of the bourgeoisie, people are beginning to appear who are set on smothering the revolutionary conflagration with their sermons on peaceful and law-abiding progress, and are concerned with blunting the political crisis instead of making it more acute, the class-conscious proletariat, which has never doubted the treacherous nature of the bourgeois love of freedom, will march straight ahead, rousing the peasantry to follow it, and causing disaffection in the tsar's army. The workers' persistent struggle, the constant strikes and demonstrations, the partial uprisings—all these, so to say, test battles and clashes are inexorably drawing the army into political life and consequently into the sphere of revolutionary problems. Experience in the struggle enlightens more rapidly and more profoundly than years of propaganda

under other circumstances. The foreign war is over, but the government is obviously afraid of the return home of war prisoners and of the army in Manchuria. Reports of the revolutionary temper of the latter are coming in thick and fast. The proposed agricultural colonies in Siberia for officers and men of the army in Manchuria cannot but increase the unrest, even if these plans remain on paper. Mobilisation has not ceased, though peace has been concluded. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the army is needed wholly and exclusively *against the revolution*. Under such circumstances, we revolutionaries do not in the least object to the mobilisation; we are even prepared to welcome it. In delaying the denouement by involving ever more army units in the struggle, and in getting more and more troops used to civil war, the government is not doing away with the source of all crises, but, on the contrary, is extending the field for them. It is winning some respite at the price of the inevitable extension of the field of battle and of rendering the struggle more acute. It is stirring to action the most backward people, the most ignorant, the most cowed, and the politically inert—and the struggle will enlighten, rouse, and enliven these people. The longer the present state of civil war lasts, the more inevitably will large numbers of neutrals and a nucleus of champions of revolution be drawn from the ranks of the army of counter-revolution.

The entire course of the Russian revolution during the last few months shows that the stage now reached is not, and cannot be, the peak stage. The movement is still on the upgrade, as it has been ever since January 9. It was then that for the first time we saw a movement that amazed the world with the unanimity and solidarity of the huge masses of workers who had risen to advance political demands. This movement was still quite devoid of revolutionary consciousness, and helpless as regards arms and military preparedness. Poland and the Caucasus have provided an example of struggle on a higher plane; there the proletariat has partly begun to fight with weapons, and hostilities have assumed a protracted form. The Odessa uprising was marked by a new and important factor needed for victory—part of the forces went over to the side of the people. It is true that this did not bring immediate success; the difficult task of "co-ordinating

operations of land and sea forces" (a most difficult task even for a regular army) had not yet been accomplished. But the problem was posed, and by all tokens the Odessa events will not remain an isolated incident. The Moscow strike shows us the spread of the struggle to a "genuinely Russian" region, whose reliability had so long delighted the hearts of the reactionaries. The revolutionary action that has started in this region is of enormous significance even if only for the fact that proletarian masses here, who are receiving their baptism of fire, have been most inert and at the same time are concentrated in a relatively small area in numbers unequalled in any other part of Russia. The movement started in St. Petersburg, spread through all the marginal regions of Russia, and mobilised Riga, Poland, Odessa, and the Caucasus; the conflagration has now spread to the very heart of Russia.

The disgraceful farce of the State Duma appears all the more contemptible in comparison with this genuinely revolutionary action by a class ready for battle and truly progressive. The union of the proletariat and revolutionary democracy, which we have spoken of on more than one occasion, is becoming a fact. The radical students, who both in St. Petersburg and in Moscow adopted the slogans of revolutionary Social-Democracy, are the vanguard of all the democratic forces. Loathing the baseness of the "Constitutional-Democratic" reformists who have accepted the State Duma, these forces gravitate towards a real and decisive struggle against the accursed enemy of the Russian people rather than towards a policy of bargaining with the autocracy.

Look at the liberal professors, rectors, vice-rectors, and the entire company of Trubetskois, Manuilovs, and their like. These people are the finest representatives of liberalism and the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the most enlightened, the best educated, the most disinterested, the least affected by the direct pressure and the influence of the money-bag. And how do these best people behave? What use did they make of the first authority they obtained, authority they were invested with by election, their authority over the universities? They are already afraid of the revolution, they fear the aggravation and the extension of the movement, they are already trying to extinguish the fire

and bring about tranquillity, thereby earning well-merited insults in the form of praise from the Princes Meshchersky.

And they were well punished, these philistines of bourgeois science. They closed Moscow University, fearing a shambles on its premises. They merely succeeded in precipitating incomparably greater slaughter in the streets. They wanted to extinguish revolution in the University, but they only kindled it in the streets. They got into a quandary, along with the Trepovs and the Romanovs, whom they now hasten to persuade that freedom of assembly is needed: If you shut the University—you open the way for street fighting. If you open the University—you provide a platform for revolutionary mass meetings which will train new and even more determined champions of liberty.

How infinitely instructive is the instance of these liberal professors for an appraisal of our State Duma! Is it not clear now, from the experience of the universities, that the liberals and the Constitutional-Democrats will tremble for the "fate of the Duma" just as much as these miserable knights of cheap-jack science tremble for the "fate of the universities"? Is it not now clear that the liberals and the Constitutional-Democrats cannot use the Duma in any other way save the purpose of still more extensive and still more evil-smelling preaching of peaceful and law-abiding progress? Is it not clear now how ridiculous are the hopes of transforming the Duma into a revolutionary assembly? Is it not clear that there is only *one* method of "influencing"—not specifically the Duma or specifically the universities but the whole of the old autocratic regime—the *method of the Moscow workers*, the method of insurrection by the people? It is this alone that will not merely force the Manuilovs in the universities to ask for freedom of assembly, and the Petrunkeviches in the Duma to ask for liberty for the people, but will win genuine liberty for the people.

The Moscow events have shown the real alignment of social forces: the liberals scampered from the government to the radicals, urging the latter to desist from the revolutionary struggle. The radicals fought in the ranks of the proletariat. Let us not forget this lesson: it also bears directly on the State Duma.

Let the Petrunkeviches and the other Constitutional-Democrats play at parliamentarianism in autocratic Russia—the workers will wage a revolutionary struggle for genuine sovereignty of the people.

Irrespective of how the insurrectionary outbreak in Moscow ends, the revolutionary movement will in any case emerge even stronger than before, will spread to a wider area, and gather new forces. Let us even assume that the tsarist troops are now celebrating a complete victory in Moscow—a few more such victories and the utter collapse of tsardom will become a fact. This will then be the actual, genuine collapse of the entire heritage of serf-ownership, autocracy, and obscurantism—not the flabby, craven, and hypocritical patching up of tattered rags, with which the liberal bourgeois are trying to delude themselves and others. Let us even assume that tomorrow's post will bring us the sad news that the insurrectionary outbreak has been crushed once again. We shall then exclaim: once again—hail insurrection!

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THE LATEST IN *ISKRA* TACTICS, OR MOCK ELECTIONS AS A NEW INCENTIVE TO AN UPRISING

We have spoken many times already about the inefficacy of the *Iskra* tactics in the "Duma" campaign. The two main lines of this tactics—the urge to support the *Osvobozhdeniye* League which wants to enter the Duma on the strength of certain revolutionary pledges and the release of a slogan calling for "revolutionary self-government of citizens" and for popular elections to a constituent assembly under the autocracy—are both unsound. In the resolution of the Mensheviks' "Southern Constituent [?l Conference" we at last have an attempt to formulate the *Iskra* tactics accurately and officially. At this Conference the best of the new-*Iskra* forces in Russia were represented. The resolution is an attempt at a business-like exposition of purely practical advice addressed to the proletariat. That is why a careful analysis of this resolution is so essential, both for the purpose of evolving a definite line of practical activity and for an appraisal of *Iskra*'s tactical stand as a whole.

We quote the full text of the resolution:

Resolution on the State Duma
Adopted by the Constituent Conference of the Southern Organisations

Whereas,

we see the only way out of the present difficult conditions, compatible with the interests of the whole people, in the convocation of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and a secret ballot, for the purpose of abolishing the autocratic regime, and establishing a democratic republic necessary in the first place to the proletariat in its struggle against all the foundations of the bourgeois system and for the achievement of socialism; and whereas,

1) the system of elections to the State Duma does not enable the whole people to participate in them, the proletariat being excluded from the elections by reason of the high property qualification fixed for urban dwellers, while the peasantry—a mere section of it at that—will vote on the basis of a four-stage system, which provides the authorities with every opportunity for exerting pressure on them and whereas,

2) the whole of Russia is still deprived of all essential civil liberties, in the absence of which there can be no election campaign and, consequently, no elections conducted with any degree of fairness, and whereas, on the contrary, at the present time the authorities' arbitrary procedure is everywhere becoming worse than ever before, and vast areas are one after the other placed under martial law; and, finally, whereas,

3) a system of representation which is even more of a travesty is being worked out for all the marginal regions; —

the Conference urges all organisations to build up a most energetic campaign of agitation to expose the entire travesty of representation by which the autocratic government proposes to deceive the people, and declares deliberate traitors to the people all those who are prepared to content themselves with the State Duma, and who will not at this decisive moment set themselves the task of supporting by their actions and tactics the revolutionary people's demand for the convocation of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and a secret ballot.

To achieve the speediest possible realisation of the said demand, the Southern Conference recommends the following tactics to the Party organisations:

1) The launching of an energetic agitation campaign among the industrial proletariat and the peasant masses for the creation of comprehensive democratic organisations and their amalgamation in an all-Russia organisation with the purpose of waging an energetic struggle against the State Duma and for the establishment of a popular constituent assembly with the immediate introduction of freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, and the right to strike. The establishment of this all-Russia people's organisation should proceed through the formation of agitation committees elected by the workers at their respective factories, and the amalgamation of these agitation committees; through the creation of similar agitation committees among the peasantry; through the establishment of closer ties between the urban and rural committees; through the setting up of gubernia committees and the establishment of contact between them.

2) If this organisation proves sufficiently strong, and the working masses' temper appropriate, the inauguration of the election campaign should be used to organise nation-wide popular elections to a constituent assembly, bearing in mind the prospect that the organised movement of the people, aimed at getting these elections held, may naturally lead to the whole people rising against tsarism, since inevitable resistance by the latter and the clash with it on the occasion

of the elections will provide the rising with new incentives, while the people's preliminary organisation will give the rising universality and unity.

3) In addition, the Conference proposes that efforts be made to secure freedom of election meetings and recommends energetic intervention in the election campaign, intervention by the people in electors' meetings, and public discussion of the tasks confronting representatives elected to the State Duma, these discussions to be conducted by electors at mass meetings. At the same time, the Social-Democratic Party must induce those sections of the population with the right to vote in the State Duma elections, to take to the road of revolution. This may find expression either in their joining an uprising led by the democratic organisations of the people, or, in the absence of such, in their striving to transform the incipient State Duma into a revolutionary assembly that will convoke a popular constituent assembly, or facilitate its convocation by the democratic organisations of the people.

4) Preparations should be made for exerting pressure on the State Duma along the same lines, should the mass movement fail to have brought about the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of a constituent assembly by the time the Duma is finally convened. Preparations should be made for an ultimatum to the State Duma demanding the convocation of a constituent assembly and the immediate introduction of freedom of speech, assembly, the press and association, and the arming of the people. Preparations should be made to back up this ultimatum with a political strike and other mass action by the people.

5) All this tactics shall be approved at general mass meetings, organised prior to and during the election campaign among the proletariat and the peasantry.

We shall not dwell on the shortcomings in the redaction of the resolution which is far too wordy. Let us deal with its fundamental mistakes.

1. The preamble speaks of the only way out of the present situation. In this connection the entire stress is placed on the *idea* of a constituent assembly, and not a word is said as to *who* is to call it, so that the "way out" should be not merely on paper, but *in actual fact*. Silence on this score amounts to Social-Democrats yielding to the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry. As we have repeatedly pointed out, it is the interests of the monarchist-liberal bourgeoisie that oblige the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry to limit themselves to the convocation of a popular constituent assembly, and *pass over in silence* the question of who is to call it. This, as we have repeatedly pointed out, is the very question that the developing revolution has brought into the forefront, and herein

at present lies the fundamental difference between the bourgeoisie's opportunist ("compromise") tactics and the proletariat's revolutionary tactics. By their resolution the new-*Iskra* supporters have furnished documentary proof of their incurable blindness in fundamental questions of tactics, and of their relapsing into *Osvobozhdeniye* slogans.

In the succeeding sections the resolution still more confuses the question of the convocation of a popular constituent assembly. Propaganda which proclaims confidence in the State Duma on this score is downright reactionary, while to say that a constituent assembly should be convened by a "democratic organisation of the people" is much like proposing to call a constituent assembly through a committee of friends of the people living on the planet Mars. At their all-Russia Conference the new-Iskrists committed an unpardonable error in placing the convocation of a popular constituent assembly by a revolutionary government *on a par* with its convocation by a representative institution. The new-Iskrists have now gone even farther in reverse: they have not even mentioned a revolutionary provisional government. Why? On what grounds? In what respect have their views changed? All this remains a mystery. Instead of developing tactical directives, the Mensheviks' conferences merely provide exhibitions of plunges and vacillations now to the right, now to the left.

2. To call "deliberate traitors to the people all those who are prepared to content themselves with the State Duma", etc., is just such a plunge ostensibly to the left, but one that is not towards a genuinely revolutionary path, but rather towards revolutionary phrase-mongering. In the first place, what is the point of the stinging adjective "deliberate" (traitor)? Was Johann Jacoby, who entered the State Duma or the United Landtag in 1847 as a bourgeois liberal, and went over to the Social-Democrats after the war of 1870-71, a deliberate traitor to the people? Will any peasant who goes into the Duma and is "prepared" to content himself with very, very little be a deliberate traitor? Secondly, is it reasonable to establish as criteria of treachery things like: "whoever is *prepared* to content himself", "whoever does not set himself the task", etc.? How does one reveal one's "being prepared" and "setting oneself the task"—in word,

or in deed? If in word, then it is necessary to obtain from those C.D.s ("Constitutional-Democrats", as the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry now call themselves) who are entering the State Duma, a written promise or revolutionary pledge (Parvus, Cherevanin, Martov). In that case the resolution should express this idea clearly instead of being so vague about it. On the other hand, if being "prepared" is proved in deed, then why does the resolution not state openly and straightforwardly *what* "actions" it considers proof of this preparedness? The reason is because the resolution reflects the fundamental error of the new *Iskra*, which is unable to distinguish between revolutionary democracy and liberal-monarchist democracy. Thirdly, is it rational for a militant party to talk in general about persons ("all who") instead of speaking concretely about trends or parties? At present it is of particular importance for us to expose to the proletariat that trend—the Party of Constitutional-Democrats—whose "actions" have already shown us what demands it supports, and how it does so. Addressing the workers in the name of Social-Democratic organisations, speaking to them about entrants into the Duma, and about Duma electors, etc., while keeping silent about the Constitutional-Democratic Party (i.e., the *Osvobozhdeniye* people) means either shilly-shallying and scheming (coming to terms on the sly with the *Osvobozhdeniye* people to support them on conditions stipulated by Parvus or Cherevanin), or unwittingly spreading corruption among the workers and giving up the struggle against the Constitutional-Democrats.

Besides the historical facts regarding the activity of *Osvobozhdeniye*, its adherents, the Zemstvo members, and all other Constitutional-Democrats, we have no important data for gauging the "preparedness" of democrats from among the bourgeoisie to fight together with the people. The new-Iskrists ignore these facts and dismiss the matter with meaningless phrases. Yet Plekhanov is still trying to convince us that the organisational vagueness in *Iskra*'s views is not supplemented by vagueness in tactics!

The *Iskra* supporters have in fact not only shut their eyes to the Constitutional-Democrats' "preparedness" to commit treachery, proved by their obvious and universally noted turn to the right during the period between the July

and September Zemstvo congresses, but have even *assisted* these Constitutional-Democrats by fighting against the boycott! The Iskrists are threatening hypothetical *Osvobozhdeniye* adherents ("all those who are prepared", etc.) with "frightfully terrifying" words, but by their tactics they are assisting the genuine *Osvobozhdeniye* adherents. This is wholly in the spirit of Rodichev, one of the Constitutional-Democratic leaders, who thunders: "We will not accept liberty from hands steeped in the blood of the people!" (this statement of Rodichev's, uttered at a private meeting and directed against William Stead, is now making the rounds of the entire foreign press)—and in the same breath demands that those very hands convoke a popular constituent assembly.

3. The next fundamental error in the resolution is the slogan for "the creation of comprehensive democratic organisations and their amalgamation in an all-Russia organisation". The frivolity of the Social-Democrats who advance such a slogan is simply staggering. What does creating comprehensive democratic organisations mean? It can mean one of two things: either the socialists' organisation (the R.S.D.L.P.) being submerged in the democrats' organisation (and the new-Iskrists cannot do that deliberately, for it would be sheer betrayal of the proletariat)—or a temporary alliance between the Social-Democrats and certain sections of the bourgeois democrats. If the new-Iskrists want to advocate such an alliance, why do they not say so frankly and openly? Why do they hide behind the word "creation"? Why do they not specify the exact trends and groups in the bourgeois-democratic camp, with which they are urging the Social-Democrats to unite? Is this not a fresh example of impermissible *vagueness of tactics*, which in practice inevitably transforms the working class into an appendage to the bourgeois democracy?

The resolution's only definition of the nature of these "comprehensive democratic organisations" consists of a statement of the two aims set them: 1) a struggle against the State Duma, and 2) a struggle for a popular constituent assembly. The latter aim, as lamely formulated by *Iskra*, i.e., without any indication of who is to convene the popular constituent assembly, has been fully endorsed by the

Constitutional-Democrats. Does this mean that the Iskrists advocate an alliance between the Social-Democrats and the Constitutional-Democrats, but are ashamed to say so openly? The former aim is formulated with an obscurity we are accustomed to seeing only in Russian laws, which are deliberately designed to deceive the people. What is meant by a struggle against the State Duma? If we take the expression literally—assuming the authors of the resolution want to express themselves unequivocally—it means a *boycott of the Duma*, for to fight against an institution that does not yet exist means opposing its establishment. But we know that the Iskrists are opposed to the boycott, we see from the resolution itself that further on they no longer talk of a struggle *against* the State Duma, but of exerting *pressure* on the State Duma, of a striving to transform it into a revolutionary assembly, etc. This means that the words "struggle against the State Duma" should not be taken literally, or in their narrow sense. But in that case, how should they be taken? Perhaps, as understood by Mr. M. Kovalevsky, who reads papers criticising the State Duma? What constitutes a struggle *against* the State Duma? That remains a mystery. Our muddle-heads have said nothing precise on this score. Aware of the class-conscious workers' mood, which is definitely opposed to the tactic of agreements with the Constitutional-Democrats, the tactic of supporting the Duma on certain conditions, our new-Iskrists have cravenly taken a middle course: on the one hand, they repeat the slogan "Struggle against the State Duma" which is popular among the proletariat and, on the other hand, they are depriving this slogan of any exact meaning, are throwing dust into the eyes of the people, are interpreting the struggle against the Duma in the sense of exerting pressure on the Duma, etc. And this wretched muddle is being advanced by the most influential of the new-*Iskra* organisations at a time the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry are loudly protesting for the world to hear that they are entering the State Duma only in order to carry on a struggle and exclusively for the struggle, that they are "prepared" to make a complete break with the government!

We ask the readers: has more disgraceful vacillation in tactics ever been seen anywhere in the Social-Democratic movement? Is it possible to imagine anything more ruinous

to Social-Democracy than this advocacy of "creating comprehensive democratic organisations" *together with the Osvobozhdeniye* people (for the Constitutional-Democrats are in agreement with the aims of such organisations as set forth by *Iskra*), but without mentioning these people by name??

And Plekhanov, who has degraded himself in the eyes of all Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats by defending *Iskra*'s "organisational vagueness" for almost two years, will now try to assure us that this new-*Iskra* tactic is good!...

4. Further. It is most unwise to call an alliance of comprehensive (and amorphous) democratic organisations "an all-Russia people's organisation" or "a democratic organisation of the people". First of all, this is incorrect theoretically. As we know, the Economists erred by confusing party with class. Reviving old mistakes the Iskrists are now confusing the sum of democratic parties or organisations with an organisation of the people. That is empty, false, and harmful phrase-mongering. It is empty because it has no specific meaning whatever, owing to the absence of any reference to definite democratic parties or trends. It is false because in a capitalist society even the proletariat, the most advanced class, is not in a position to create a party embracing the entire class—and as for the whole people creating such a party, that is entirely out of the question. It is harmful because it clutters up the mind with bombastic words and does nothing to further the real work of explaining the actual significance of actual democratic parties, their class basis, the degree of their closeness to the proletariat, etc. The present, the period of a democratic revolution, bourgeois in its social and economic content, is a time when bourgeois democrats, all Constitutional-Democrats, etc., right down to the Socialist-Revolutionaries, are revealing a particular inclination to advocate "comprehensive democratic organisations" and in general to encourage, directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, non-partisanship, i.e., an absence of any strict division between the democrats. Class-conscious representatives of the proletariat must fight this tendency resolutely and ruthlessly, for it is profoundly bourgeois in essence. We must bring exact party distinctions into the foreground, expose all confusion, show up the falsity of phrases about allegedly united, broad, solid democratism, phrases

our liberal newspapers are teeming with. In proposing an alliance with certain sections of the democrats for the achievement of definite tasks, we should single out only *revolutionary* democrats—particularly at a time like this; we should indicate what most clearly distinguishes those "prepared" to fight (right now, in the ranks of the revolutionary army) from those who are "prepared" to bargain with the autocracy.

To bring home their mistake to the Iskrists, let us take a very simple example. Our programme speaks of peasant committees. The resolution of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. defines their role more precisely by calling them revolutionary peasant committees (in this respect the new-*Iskra* Conference agreed, in essence, with the Third Congress). We have set them the task of bringing about democratic reforms in general and agrarian reforms in particular, *going as far as the confiscation* of the landed estates by *revolutionary action*. The *Iskra* resolution now recommends a new kind of "agitation committees among the peasantry". Such advice is worthy not of socialist workers but of liberal bourgeois. Had they been formed, such "peasant committees of agitation" would play right into the hands of the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry, for their revolutionary character would be supplanted by liberalism. We have already pointed out that the content of the agitation of these committees, as defined by *Iskra* (the struggle "against" the State Duma and for a popular constituent assembly), does not exceed the limits set by the *Osvobozhdeniye* programme. Is it now clear to the new-Iskrists that by supplementing the slogan of revolutionary peasant committees with one calling for "peasant committees of agitation" it is transforming Social-Democratic slogans into *Osvobozhdeniye* slogans?

5. Finally, we reach the main task of this "all-Russia people's organisation"—the organisation of nation-wide popular elections to a constituent assembly. Nation-wide popular elections with the autocracy left intact! And "clashes" with the autocracy provide "new incentives for an uprising".... Mock elections as a new incentive for an uprising is what this amounts to!

The slogan calling for "revolutionary self-government", and the theory of the "spontaneous generation" of a

constituent assembly could not but lead to this absurdity, which is destined to become classical. To speak of nation-wide popular elections under the rule of the Trepovs, i.e., before the victory of the uprising, before the actual overthrow of the tsarist government, is the height of Manilovism, and can serve only to spread incredible political corruption among the workers. Only people attuned to phrase-mongering by the new *Iskra* can accept such slogans, which crumble to dust at the merest contact with sober criticism. One has only to reflect a little on precisely what is meant by nation-wide *popular* elections, if the term be taken seriously; one has only to remember that they imply freedom of agitation, keeping the entire population informed, and recognition by the entire population of the centre or local centres that will register the entire population, and canvass literally everyone, with no exceptions—one has only to give such things a little thought to realise that the "nation-wide popular elections" proposed by *Iskra* would amount to a nation-wide joke or a nation-wide swindle. Not a *single* deputy who could claim to have been "elected by the entire people", i.e., who has had 50,000 to 100,000 votes freely and consciously cast for him—not one such deputy can be elected anywhere in Russia "in the inauguration of the election campaign".

The *Iskra* resolution advises the proletariat to *stage a farce*, and no reservations or excuses can change the farcical import of this resolution. We are told that elections can be carried out only "if this organisation proves sufficiently strong", only when "preliminary organisation will give the rising universality and unity". Our answer to this is that strength is revealed in action, not in word. Prior to the victory of an uprising it is ridiculous to talk of a force that will be able, without evoking laughter, even to proclaim "nation-wide popular elections", let alone conduct them. No organisation, no matter how universal or united, can ensure the victory of an uprising unless 1) this organisation consists of people who are really capable of insurrection (and we have seen that the resolution advocates merely "comprehensive", organisations, i.e., actually organisations of the *Osvobozhdeniye* type which would undoubtedly betray an uprising once it had started); and unless 2) there exist forces

for the victory of the uprising (and to achieve victory, the material force of a revolutionary army is needed, besides the moral force of public opinion, the people's welfare, etc.). To put the main stress on this moral force and on high-sounding phrases about "the whole people", while *maintaining silence*, in a call to arms, about the actual material force, is to reduce the revolutionary slogans of the proletariat to bourgeois-democratic phrase-mongering.

Mock elections do not constitute a "natural transition to an uprising", but rather an *artificial* transition invented by a handful of intellectuals. The fabrication of such artificial transitions is absolutely similar to Nadezhdin's old occupation—the concoction of "excitative" terrorist acts. In the same way, the new-Iskrists want to "excite" the people to insurrection artificially—an idea that is basically false. We cannot create an organisation that will really embrace the whole people; any elections we would take it into our heads to appoint under the autocracy would inevitably be a farce, and to utilise such a *fabricated* pretext for an uprising is just like decreeing an uprising at a moment when the people are not *genuinely* roused. Only people who have no faith in the proletariat's revolutionary activity, only intellectuals who are fond of using fancy words, could start inventing "new incentives for an uprising", in September 1905. One might think that we in Russia lack *genuine* incentives for an uprising and need farcical ones, that there are so few cases of genuine *unrest* among the masses that such a sentiment has to be staged or faked! Mock elections will never rouse the masses. However, a strike, a demonstration, mutiny in the armed forces, a serious students' outbreak, famine, mobilisation, or a conflict in the State Duma, etc., etc., etc., can really *rouse* the masses, constantly, at any hour. Not only is it the crassest stupidity to think of concocting "new incentives for an uprising", but the very thought of indicating in advance that this and no other will be the real incentive for the masses would be foolish. People who have the slightest degree of self-respect, who are in the least earnest in what they say, would never allow themselves to concoct "new incentives for an uprising".

What is lacking is not "new incentives", my most esteemed Manilovs, but a military force, the military force of

the revolutionary people (and not the people in general), consisting of 1) the armed proletariat and peasantry, 2) organised advance detachments of representatives of these classes, and 3) sections of the army that are prepared to come over to the side of the people. It is all this taken together that constitutes a *revolutionary army*. To talk of an uprising, of its force, of a natural transition to it, and to say nothing of a revolutionary army is folly and muddle-headedness—and the greater the degree of the counter-revolutionary army's mobilisation, the more that is so. To invent "new incentives for an uprising" at a time of uprisings in the Caucasus and on the Black Sea, in Poland and Riga means deliberately withdrawing into one's shell and isolating oneself from the movement. We are witnesses of the greatest unrest among the workers and peasants, of a series of insurrectionary outbreaks which have been steadily and with enormous speed spreading and becoming more forceful and more stubborn ever since January 9. No one can guarantee that these outbreaks will not repeat themselves tomorrow in any big city, or any military camp, or any village. On the contrary, everything goes to show that such outbreaks are probable, imminent, and inevitable. Their success depends, first of all, on the success of *revolutionary* agitation and organisation—revolutionary and not the "comprehensively democratic" agitation and organisation that *Iskra* prattles of, since among democrats there are many non-revolutionaries. In the second place, success depends on the might and preparedness of the revolutionary army. The first condition has long been acknowledged by all, and is being applied throughout Russia by all revolutionaries, at literally all meetings of study circles, group gatherings, impromptu and mass meetings. The second condition is as yet very little recognised. By reason of its class stand, the liberal bourgeoisie does not care to recognise it, and cannot afford to do so. As for the revolutionaries, only those who are hopelessly plodding along in the wake of the monarchist bourgeoisie are silent about it.

"Insurrection" is an important word. A call to insurrection is an extremely serious call. The more complex the social system, the better the organisation of state power, and the more perfected the military machine, the more

impermissible is it to launch such a slogan without due thought. And we have stated repeatedly that the revolutionary Social-Democrats have long been preparing to launch it, but have launched it as a direct call only when there could be no doubt whatever of the gravity, widespread and deep roots of the revolutionary movement, no doubt of matters having literally come to a head. Important words must be used with circumspection. Enormous difficulties have to be faced in translating them into important deeds. It is precisely for that reason that it would be unpardonable to dismiss these difficulties with a mere phrase, to use Manilovist inventions to brush aside serious tasks or to put on one's eyes the blinkers of sweet dreams of so-called "natural transitions" to these difficult tasks.

A revolutionary army are also important words. The creation of a revolutionary army is an arduous, complex, and lengthy process. But when we see that it has already begun and is proceeding on all sides—though desultorily and by fits and starts—when we know that a genuine victory of the revolution is *impossible* without such an army, we must issue a definite and direct slogan, advocate it, make it the touchstone of the current political tasks. It would be a mistake to think that the revolutionary classes are invariably strong enough to effect a revolution whenever such a revolution has fully matured by virtue of the conditions of social and economic development. No, human society is not constituted so rationally or so "conveniently" for progressive elements. A revolution may be ripe, and yet the forces of its creators may prove insufficient to carry it out, in which case society decays, and this process of decay sometimes drags on for very many years. There is no doubt that Russia is ripe for a democratic revolution, but it still remains to be seen whether the revolutionary classes have sufficient strength at present to carry it out. This will be settled by the struggle, whose crucial moment is approaching at tremendous speed—if the numerous direct and indirect indications do not deceive us. The moral preponderance is indubitable—the moral force is already overwhelmingly great; without it, of course, there could be no question of any revolution whatever. It is a necessary condition, but it *is not sufficient*. Only the outcome

of the struggle will show whether it will be translated into a material force sufficient to smash the very serious (we shall not close our eyes to this) resistance of the autocracy. The slogan of insurrection is a slogan for deciding the issue by material force, which in present-day European civilisation can only be military force. This slogan should not be put forward until the general prerequisites for revolution have matured, until the masses have definitely shown that they have been roused and are ready to act, until the external circumstances have led to an open crisis. But once such a slogan has been issued, it would be an arrant disgrace to retreat from it, back to moral force again, to one of the conditions that prepare the ground for an uprising, to a "possible transition", etc., etc. No, once the die is cast, all subterfuges must be done with; it must be explained directly and openly to the masses what the practical conditions for a successful revolution are at the present time.

We have by no means exhausted the list of mistakes in the *Iskra* resolution, which—to people who think and who do not confine themselves to "clutching at opportunities"—will long remain a sad memento of a vulgarisation of Social-Democracy's tasks. It seems to us more important to investigate the underlying source of the errors rather than to enumerate all, including even the comparatively petty manifestations of the basic fallacy. We shall therefore only note, in passing, the absurdity and reactionary nature of the idea of presenting "ultimatums" (a military term, which in the absence of a trained military force, sounds like vulgar bragging) *to the Duma*, of the endeavour to transform *this Duma* into a revolutionary assembly, and will

* If we prove strong in the impending decisive conflict with tsarism, the State Duma will inevitably turn to the left (at least its liberal section will do so—we are not speaking about its reactionary section), but to attempt to influence the State Duma seriously *without* destroying the rule of the tsar would be just as stupid as for Japan to present "ultimatums" to China or to attach much weight to Chinese assistance *without* destroying the military might of Russia. After March 18, 1848, the Prussian State Duma (the United Landtag) immediately affixed its signature to a paper providing for the convocation of a constituent assembly, but until that all "ultimatums"

pass on to the general meaning of the slogan: "revolutionary self-government of the people".

This slogan or rather its conversion into the focal slogan is at the root of all *Iskra*'s shilly-shallying. *Iskra* has attempted to defend it by referring to "dialectics"—the very same Plekhanov dialectics, by virtue of which *Iskra*'s "organisational vagueness" was first defended by Plekhanov, and then exposed by him!

Revolutionary self-government of the people, we have said, is not a prologue to an uprising, nor is it a "natural transition to it", it is its epilogue. There can be no serious talk of genuine and complete self-government unless the uprising is victorious. And we have added that the very idea of placing the main emphasis on state administration rather than on state organisation is reactionary, that to identify revolutionary self-government with a revolutionary army is the height of absurdity, that a victorious revolutionary army necessarily presupposes a revolutionary self-government, whereas a revolutionary self-government does not necessarily include a revolutionary army.

Iskra tried to defend the confusion in its deliberately chosen slogans by referring to the "dialectics" of the unconscious and spontaneous process. Life, it says, knows of no sharply defined boundaries. Labour exchanges exist even now (*Sotsial-Demokrat*,[124] No. 12)—here you have the elements of self-government. In a dialectical process of development, the prologue and the epilogue often intertwine, it says.

The latter consideration is quite true. Yes, the process of actual development is *always* tangled, with bits of the epilogue emerging before the true prologue. But does this mean that it is permissible for a leader of a class-conscious party to *jumble* the tasks of the struggle, to confuse the prologue with the epilogue? Can the dialectics of a jumbled and spontaneous process justify confusion in the logic of conscious Social-Democrats? Does not this imply substitution of dialectics *à la* Plekhanov for Marxist dialectics?

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of the revolutionaries, all their "endeavours" to influence the State Duma, all their threats, were hollow phrases to the Petrunkeviches, Rodichevs, Milyukovs, and their like, who sat in that State Duma.

To make our idea clearer, let us take an example. Let us assume that we are discussing not a democratic but a socialist revolution. The crisis is maturing, the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat is approaching. At this point the opportunists make the establishment of consumers' societies their central slogan, while the revolutionaries advance a slogan calling for the conquest of political power by the proletariat. The opportunists argue that consumers' societies constitute a real force for the proletariat, the conquest of a real economic position, and a genuine bit of socialism; you revolutionaries do not understand dialectical development, the evolution of capitalism into socialism, the penetration of nuclei of socialism into the very heart of capitalism, the purging of capitalism by giving it a new socialist content.

Yes, the revolutionaries answer, we agree that in a way consumers' societies do constitute a bit of socialism. In the first place, socialist society is one big consumers' society with production for consumption organised according to plan. In the second place, socialism cannot be achieved without a powerful, many-sided working-class movement, and consumers' societies will inevitably be one of these many sides. But that is not the point at all. While power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie, consumers' societies will remain a paltry fragment, ensuring no serious changes whatever, introducing no decisive alterations whatever, and sometimes even diverting attention from a serious struggle for revolution. No one disputes the fact that the habits acquired by the workers in consumers' societies are very useful. But only transfer of power to the proletariat can give full scope to these habits. Then the system of consumers' societies will have surplus-value at its disposal; at present the scope of this useful institution is bound to be paltry by reason of the paltry wages. Then it will become a consumers' union of really free workers; at present it is a union of wage-slaves, oppressed and stifled by capitalism. Thus the consumers' societies are a fragment of socialism. The dialectical process of development really does intrude elements of the new society, elements both material and spiritual, even under capitalism. But socialists should be able to distinguish the part from the whole; they should demand the *whole* in their

slogan, and not a part; they must contrapose to bits of patchwork, which often divert fighters from the truly revolutionary path, the basic requisites for a real revolution.

What is *Iskra*'s opinion, who is right in this dispute?

It is the same with the slogan calling for "revolutionary self-government" in the period of a democratic revolution. We are not against revolutionary self-government, we long ago gave it a certain modest place in our minimum programme (see the paragraph on extensive local self-government). We agree that it is a fragment of a democratic revolution, as has already been stated in No. 15 of *Proletary** with reference to the Smolensk Municipal Council. A democratic revolution would be impossible without a powerful and many-sided democratic movement, and the movement for self-government is one of those many sides. However, the democratic revolution would likewise be impossible without, for example, revolutionary schools, which are as much an indubitable sign of tsarism's actual disintegration as are labour exchanges, which exist despite the police ban, as the unrest among the clergy, as local self-government instituted in violation of the law, etc. Comrades of the *Iskra*, consider what conclusion should be drawn from all this! Is it that all these elements of disintegration should be summed up in an integral slogan of insurrection? Or that the slogan of insurrection should be mutilated by tying it down to one of the elements, namely, self-government?

"The organisation of revolutionary self-government, or, what amounts to the same, the organisation of popular forces for an uprising," wrote the audacious *Iskra* (No. 109, page 2, line 1). That is just like saying that organising revolutionary schools means organising forces for an uprising, that organising unrest among the clergy means organising forces for an uprising, or that organising consumers' societies means organising forces for a socialist revolution. No, you are poor dialecticians, comrades of the *Iskra*. You are unable to reason dialectically, although you are very well able to twist and squirm, like Plekhanov, when it comes to the question of the organisational and tactical vagueness of your views. You have overlooked the fact that,

* See pp. 221-22 of this volume.—*Ed.*

given victory of the uprising, all these fragments of revolution will inevitably merge in an integral and complete "epilogue" to the uprising, whereas if the uprising is not victorious these fragments will remain fragments, paltry, changing nothing, and satisfying only the philistines.

The moral is: 1) Both on the eve of a socialist revolution and on the eve of a democratic revolution, opportunists in the Social-Democratic movement have a bad habit of working themselves up over a single petty fragment of a big process, exalting this fragment to the status of the whole, and subordinating the whole to this fragment, thereby mutilating the whole, and thereby themselves becoming toadies to the inconsistent and cowardly reformists. 2) The dialectics of the spontaneous process, which is always and necessarily confused, does not justify confusion in logical conclusions and political slogans which are quite often (but not necessarily) confused.

P. S. This article was already in the page proofs when we received the resolutions of the Southern Constituent Conference, published abroad by *Iskra*. The text of the resolution on the State Duma differs somewhat from the one published in Russia, which we have reproduced above. But these differences are not essential, and do not affect our criticism in any way.

Proletary, No. 21, October 17 (4), 1905

Published according to the text in *Proletary*

NOTE TO M. BORISOV'S ARTICLE "ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE TASKS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY"[125]

It is with pleasure that we publish this article by a comrade engaged in practical work in Russia, since an all-round discussion of the trade union question is now on the order of the day. Only the experience of the whole Party, constantly illuminated by the theory of Marxism, can help work out the forms of Social-Democratic trade unions most suited to Russian conditions. It is likewise necessary to learn from the lessons given us by our enemies. The bourgeoisie of the whole world was jubilant over the "craft union" tendencies of the Cologne Congress, hoping to divert the workers from socialism to "pure", i.e., bourgeois, trade-unionism. In Russia, even *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* has learned to sing this tune. And once the bourgeoisie begins to praise any one of us for having "seen the light" or for "zeal" in respect of a "rational" trade union movement, it is a sure sign that there are shortcomings in our work. This is just how Comrade M. Borisov puts the question, namely, that we should fulfil our socialist duty in every respect, and by no means allow such shortcomings.

Proletary, No. 21,
October 17 (4), 1905

Published according to
the text in *Proletary*

ON THE DEATH OF TRUBETSKOI

The liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung* was highly indignant at the consistently revolutionary resolution adopted by the Moscow students, who demanded that a constituent assembly be convened not by the tsar, not by the State Duma, and not even (let not the comrades of the new *Iskra* get wrathful at this!) by a "democratic organisation of the people", but by a provisional revolutionary government. In this connection the liberal German stockbrokers bewailed the "immaturity" of the students, etc. This very same paper now carries a telegram about Trubetskoi's death (*Abendblatt*, October 13) and remarks: "It is possible that they had treated him (Trubetskoi) to a scene at the Ministry of Public Education." Poor Trubetskoi! To aim at liberty for the people and to die of a "scene" in a tsarist minister's antechamber.... We are prepared to admit that this is too cruel a punishment even for a Russian liberal. Only, would it not be better and more dignified, gentlemen, for the supporters of popular liberty to discontinue all dealings with the government of butchers and spies? Is it not better to fall in a straightforward, honest, open street fighting—fighting which enlightens and educates the people—against vipers without whose destruction genuine liberty is impossible, rather than to die of "scenes" while conversing with the Trepovs and their contemptible lackeys?

Written in mid-October 1905

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Published according to the manuscript

THE LESSONS OF THE MOSCOW EVENTS

The rising tide of revolutionary enthusiasm among the Moscow proletariat, so vividly expressed in the political strike and in the street fighting, has not yet subsided. The strike continues. It has to some extent spread to St. Petersburg, where the compositors are striking in sympathy with their Moscow comrades. It is still uncertain whether the present movement will subside and await the next rise of the tide, or whether it will be of a sustained character. But certain results of the Moscow events, and very instructive ones at that, are already apparent, and it would be worth while to dwell on them.

On the whole, the movement in Moscow did not attain the pitch of a decisive battle between the revolutionary workers and the tsarist forces. It consisted only of small skirmishes at the outposts, part perhaps of a military demonstration in the civil war, but it was not one of those battles that determine the outcome of a war. Of the two suppositions we advanced a week ago, it is apparently the first that is being justified, namely, that what we are witnessing is not the beginning of the decisive onslaught, but only a rehearsal. This rehearsal has nevertheless fully revealed all the characters in the historical drama, thus spotlighting the probable—and in part even inevitable—development of the drama itself.

The Moscow events were inaugurated by incidents which at first glance appear to have been of a purely academic character. The government conferred partial "autonomy", or alleged autonomy, on the universities. The professorate were granted self-government, and the students were granted the right of assembly. Thus a small breach was

forced in the general system of autocratic-feudal oppression. New revolutionary currents immediately swept into this breach with unexpected force. A miserable concession, a paltry reform, granted with the object of blunting the edge of the political antagonisms and of "reconciling" robbers and robbed, actually served to stimulate the struggle tremendously, and increase the number of its participants. Workers flocked to the students' gatherings, which began to develop into popular revolutionary meetings, where the proletariat, the foremost class in the struggle for liberty, predominated. The government was outraged. The "respectable" liberals who had received professorial self-government began to scurry back and forth between the revolutionary students and the government of police rule and the knout. The liberals made use of liberty in order to betray liberty, restrain the students from extending and intensifying the struggle, and appeal for "order"—this in the face of the bashi-bazouks and Black Hundreds, the Trepovs and the Romanovs! The liberals made use of self-government so as to do the work of the butchers of the people, and to close the University, that holy sanctuary of "science" permitted by the knout-wielders, which the students defiled by allowing the "rabble" to enter it for discussion of questions "unauthorised" by the autocratic gang. The self-governing liberals betrayed the people and liberty, because they feared carnage in the University. They were punished in exemplary fashion for their contemptible cowardice. By closing the revolutionary University they opened the way to revolution in the streets. Wretched pedants that they are, they were ready to jubilate in concert with rascals like Glazov over the fact that they had managed to extinguish the conflagration in the school. But as a matter of fact they only started a conflagration in a huge industrial city. These manikins on stilts forbade the workers to go to the students, but they only drove the students to the revolutionary workers. They appraised all political matters from the standpoint of their own chicken coop, which reeks of age-old hidebound officialism. They implored the students to spare this chicken coop. The first fresh breeze—the manifestation of the free and youthful revolutionary elements—was enough for the chicken coop to be forgotten, for the breeze freshened and grew into a

blast against the tsarist autocracy, the prime source of all officialism and all the humiliations heaped upon the Russian people. And even now, when the first danger has passed and the storm has clearly subsided, the lackeys of the autocracy still quake at the mere recollection of the chasm that yawned before them during the days of bloodshed in Moscow. "It is not yet a conflagration, but that it is arson is already beyond question," mutters Mr. Menshikov in the servile *Novoye Vremya* (of September 30). "It is not yet a revolution ... but it is already the prologue to a revolution." "'It is on the move,' [Mr. Menshikov] argued in April. And what frightful strides 'it' has since made! The popular element has been stirred to its very depths...."

Yes, the Trepovs and the Romanovs, together with the treacherous liberal bourgeoisie, have got themselves into a predicament. Open the University—and you provide a platform for popular revolutionary meetings, and render invaluable service to the Social-Democrats. Close the University down—and you open the way for a street struggle. And so our knights of the knout dash to and fro, gnashing their teeth. They reopen Moscow University, pretending that they want to allow the students to maintain order themselves during street processions; they turn a blind eye to revolutionary self-government of the students, who are dividing into Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc., thus bringing about proper political representation in the student "parliament" (and, we are confident, will not confine themselves to revolutionary self-government, but will immediately and in dead earnest set about organising and equipping contingents of a revolutionary army). Together with Trepov, the liberal professors are dashing to and fro, hastening one day to persuade the students to be more moderate, and the next day to persuade the knout-wielders to be more lenient. The scurryings of both of these give us the greatest satisfaction; they show that a fine revolutionary breeze must be blowing if the political commanders and the political turncoats are staggering about on the upper deck in such a lively manner.

But besides legitimate pride and legitimate satisfaction, true revolutionists must derive something else from the Moscow events—an understanding of the social forces oper-

ating in the Russian revolution and just how they operate, and a clearer idea of the forms they take when they operate. Call to mind the political sequence of the Moscow events, and you will see a remarkably typical picture of the whole revolution, one that is characteristic of the class relationships. Here is the sequence: a small breach is forced in the old order; the government tries to mend the breach with petty concessions, illusory "reforms", etc.; instead of calming down, the struggle becomes even more acute and widespread; the liberal bourgeoisie wavers and dashes from one thing to another, urging the revolutionists to desist from revolution, and the police to desist from reaction; headed by the proletariat, the revolutionary people arrive on the scene, and the open struggle gives rise to a new political situation; the conflict shifts to the newly won battlefield—a more elevated and broader field—a new breach is made in the enemy strongholds, and in that way the movement proceeds to an ever higher plane. A general retreat on the part of the government is taking place before our eyes, as *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* aptly remarked recently. A certain liberal newspaper[126] rather cleverly added: a retreat under cover of rearguard action. On October 3 (16) the St. Petersburg correspondent of the liberal Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* wired to his paper about his interview with Trepov's *chef de cabinet*. As the police underling told the correspondent: "You cannot expect the government to follow a consistent plan of action, since every day brings with it events that could not have been foreseen. The government is obliged to manoeuvre. Force cannot crush the present movement which may last for two months or two years."

Indeed the government's tactics have now become quite clear. They indubitably lie in manoeuvring and retreating under cover of rearguard action. Such tactics are quite correct from the standpoint of the autocracy's interests. It would be a grievous error and a fatal illusion for revolutionists to forget that the government can still continue to retreat for a very long time to come, without losing what is most essential. The example of the abortive, unfinished semi-revolution in Germany, in 1848—an example to which we shall return in the next issue of *Proletary*, and which we shall never tire of recalling—shows

that even if it retreats so far as to convoke a (*nominally*) constituent assembly, the government will still retain sufficient strength to defeat the revolution in the final and decisive battle. That is why, in studying the Moscow events, the most recent in a long series of conflicts in our civil war, we must soberly consider the developments, prepare with the maximum of energy and persistence for a long and desperate war, and be on our guard against such allies that are already turncoat allies. When absolutely nothing decisive has as yet been won, when the enemy still has an enormous area for further advantageous and safe retreats, when battles are becoming ever more serious—confidence in such allies, attempts to conclude agreements with them or simply to support them on certain conditions may prove not only stupid but even treacherous to the proletariat.

Indeed, was the liberal professors' behaviour before and during the Moscow events fortuitous? Was it an exception, or is it the rule for the entire Constitutional-Democratic Party? Does this behaviour express the individual peculiarities of a given group of the liberal bourgeoisie, or does it express the fundamental interests of this entire class in general? Among socialists there can be no two opinions on these questions, but not all socialists know how to consistently pursue genuinely socialist tactics.

For a clearer understanding of the gist of the matter, let us take the liberals' own exposition of their tactics. They avoid coming out against the Social-Democrats or even speaking directly about them in the columns of the Russian press. But here is an interesting report in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, which undoubtedly is more outspoken in its expression of the liberals' views:

"Extremely stormy student disturbances have reoccurred both in St. Petersburg and in Moscow since the very beginning of the academic year, although autonomy has been granted—belatedly, it is true—to the universities and other higher educational institutions. Moreover, in Moscow these disturbances are accompanied by a widespread workers' movement. These disturbances indicate that a new phase has begun in the Russian revolutionary movement. The course of the student meetings and their resolutions show that the students have adopted the watchword of the Social-Democratic leaders to convert the universities into popular meeting places, and thus spread

revolution among wide sections of the population. The Moscow students have already shown how this is being put into effect: they invited to the University premises such large numbers of workers and other persons who have no connection with the University that the students themselves were in a minority. It stands to reason that such a state of affairs cannot go on for long under the existing conditions. The government will close the universities rather than tolerate such meetings. This is so obvious that at first glance it appears inconceivable that the Social-Democratic leaders could have issued such a watchword. They knew perfectly well what this would lead to, but what they wanted was for the government to close the universities. For what purpose? Simply because they intend to hinder the *liberal* movement by all available means. They admit that they are not strong enough to effect any major political action with their own forces; therefore the liberals and radicals must not do anything either, for that would allegedly only harm the socialist proletariat. The latter must win its rights for itself. The Russian Social-Democratic Party may take great pride in these 'inflexible' (*unbeugsame*) tactics, but they must appear very short-sighted to any unprejudiced observer; they will scarcely lead Russian Social-Democracy to victories. It is quite incomprehensible what it will gain by the closing of the universities, which is inevitable if the present tactics continue. On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance to all progressive parties that there should be no interruption in the work of the universities and higher schools. The protracted strikes of students and professors have already caused great damage to Russian culture. It is imperative that academic work be resumed. Autonomy has enabled the professors to conduct their classes freely. That is why the professors of all universities and higher schools are agreed that it is necessary to start tuition once more and in energetic fashion. They are exerting all their influence to persuade the students to abandon their efforts to give effect to the Social-Democratic watchword."

Thus, the struggle between bourgeois liberalism (the Constitutional-Democrats) and the Social-Democrats has taken definite shape. Do not hinder the liberal movement! Such is the slogan so splendidly expressed in the article quoted above. What does this liberal movement amount to? It is *a retrograde movement*, for the professors use and desire to use the freedom of the universities not for revolutionary propaganda, but for *counter-revolutionary* propaganda; not to fan the conflagration, but to extinguish it; not to extend the field of battle, but to draw the masses away from decisive struggle and induce them to collaborate peacefully with the Trepovs. With the struggle becoming more acute, the "liberal" movement (as we have seen in practice) has become marked by desertion from revolution to reaction. Of course,

the liberals are, in a way, useful to us, since they introduce vacillation into the ranks of the Trepovs and other lackeys of Romanov. This good, however, will be outweighed by the harm they cause by bringing vacillation into our ranks, unless we make a clean break with the Constitutional-Democrats, and brand every hesitant step they take. Their knowledge, or, more frequently, their sense of their dominant position in the existing economic system has led the liberals to aspire to dominate the revolution as well. They say that each step aimed at continuing, extending and intensifying the revolution and taking it farther than the most ordinary patchwork is a "*hindrance*" to the liberal movement. Fearful for the fate of the so-called freedom of the universities granted by Trepov, they are today fighting against revolutionary freedom. Fearful for the legal "freedom of assembly" which the government will grant tomorrow in a police-distorted form, they will hold us back from using these assemblies for genuinely proletarian aims. Fearful for the fate of the State Duma, they already displayed wise moderation at the September Congress, and continue to display it now by combating the idea of a boycott; why, they say, you must not hinder us from getting things done in the State Duma!

It must be confessed that, to the shame of Social-Democracy, there have been opportunists in its ranks who fell for this bait by reason of their doctrinaire and lifeless distortion of Marxism! They argue that the revolution is a bourgeois one and therefore ... therefore we must retrace our steps in the measure the bourgeoisie succeeds in obtaining concessions from tsarism. To this day the new-Iskrists have not seen the real significance of the State Duma, because they are themselves drawing back and therefore naturally do not notice the Constitutional-Democrats' regression. That the Iskrists have already retraced their steps since the promulgation of the State Duma Act is an indisputable fact. Prior to the State Duma Act they never thought of placing the question of an agreement with the Constitutional-Democrats on the order of the day. After the State Duma Act they (Parvus, Cherevanin and Martov) raised this question, and not merely as a matter of theory, but in an immediately practical form. Prior to the State

Duma Act they presented quite stringent conditions to the democrats (right up to co-operation in arming the people, etc.). After the State Duma Act they immediately reduced the conditions, confining themselves to a promise to convert the Black-Hundred or the liberal Duma into a revolutionary one. Prior to the State Duma Act the reply their official resolution gave to the question as to who should convoke the popular constituent assembly was: either a provisional revolutionary government or a representative institution. After the State Duma Act they deleted the provisional revolutionary government, and they now say: either "democratic" (like the Constitutional-Democrats?) "organisations of the people" (?), or ... or the State Duma. We thus see in fact *how* the new-Iskrists are guided by their magnificent principle: the revolution is a bourgeois revolution—therefore, comrades, watch out lest the bourgeoisie recoil!

The Moscow events, which for the first time since the State Duma Act have shown the *real* nature of the Constitutional-Democrats' tactics at grave political junctures, have also shown that Social-Democracy's opportunist appendage, which we have described, is inevitably being transformed into a mere appendage to the bourgeoisie. We have just said: a Black-Hundred or a liberal State Duma. To an *Iskra* supporter these words would appear monstrous, for he considers distinction between a Black-Hundred State Duma and a liberal State Duma highly important. But these selfsame Moscow events have disclosed the fallaciousness of this "parliamentary" idea, which had been so inappropriately advanced in a pre-parliamentary period. The Moscow events have shown that the liberal turncoat has actually played the part of a Trepov. The closing of the University, which would have been decreed by Trepov yesterday, has been carried out today by Messrs. Manuilov and Trubetskoi. Is it not clear that the "Duma" liberals will also scurry back and forth between Trepov and Romanov, on the one hand, and the revolutionary people on the other? Is it not clear that the slightest support for liberal turncoats is something befitting only political simpletons?

Under a parliamentary system it is often necessary to support a more liberal party against a less liberal one. But during a revolutionary struggle for a parliamentary system it

is treachery to support liberal turncoats who are "reconciling" Trepov with the revolution.

The events in Moscow have revealed in practice the alignment of social forces that *Proletary* has spoken of so many times: the socialist proletariat and the vanguard of revolutionary bourgeois democracy *have waged a struggle*, while the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie *has conducted negotiations*. Therefore, fellow-workers, study the lessons of the Moscow events, and do so most attentively. For it is in this way, and inevitably so, that matters will take their course throughout the whole of the Russian revolution. We must rally more solidly than ever in a genuinely socialist party, which shall consciously express the interests of the working class, and not drift along in the wake of the masses. In the struggle we must place reliance only on revolutionary democrats, permit agreements with them alone, and carry out these agreements only on the field of battle against the Trepovs and Romanov. We must bend every effort to rouse, in addition to the students, who are the vanguard of revolutionary democracy, also those broad masses of the people whose movement is not only democratic in a general way (today every turncoat calls himself a democrat), but a genuinely revolutionary movement—namely, the masses of the peasantry. We must remember that the liberals and Constitutional-Democrats, who are bringing vacillation into the ranks of supporters of the autocracy, will inevitably strive in every way to bring vacillation into our ranks as well. Only an open revolutionary struggle which consigns all liberal chicken coops and all liberal Dumas to the rubbish heap will be of serious and decisive consequence. Therefore, prepare for ever new battles, without losing a single moment! Arm as best you can; immediately form squads of fighters who will be prepared to battle with devoted energy against the accursed autocracy; remember that tomorrow or the following day events will certainly call you to rise in revolt, and the question now is only whether you will be able to take prepared and united action, or whether you will be caught off your guard and disunited!

The events in Moscow have once again and for the hundredth time confuted the sceptics. They have shown that we are still inclined to underestimate the revolutionary


Кавказскій Союзъ Росс. Соціальдемократической Рабочей Партіи.

БОРЬБА ПРОЛЕТАРІАТА

Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

ОРГАНЪ КАВКАЗСКАГО СОЮЗА РОССІЙСКОЙ СОЦІАЛЬДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ РАБОЧЕЙ ПАРТІИ.

№ 2. 15 (28) ІЮЛЯ 1905 г. № 2.

ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКІЯ ЗАДАЧИ РЕВОЛЮЦІОННАГО ПРОЛЕТАРІАТА.

Front page of the newspaper *Borba Proletariata*, No. 2, with Lenin's article "The Democratic Tasks of the Revolutionary Proletariat". 1905

Reduced

Печатать свои мнения
по свободному
выбору каждого

БОРЬБА

Периодическое
издание Парт.
Клуба

ОРГАНЪ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ СОЦІАЛЬНО-РЕВОЛЮЦІОННОЙ РАБОЧЕЙ ПАРТІИ.

№ 2. 15 ІЮЛЯ 1914 ГОДА. № 2.

ДЕЛЕГАТСКІЯ БЫДУТЪ РЕШАЮЩІЯ!

ПРЕДИСЛОВІЕ.

Большинство изъ читателей нашего органа, вѣроятно, уже знаетъ, что въ Россіи существуетъ Международная Рабочая Партія, которая ставитъ своей задачей организацію революціонныхъ силъ для борьбы съ капиталомъ и его государствомъ. Но, можетъ быть, не всѣ знаютъ, что Партія эта возникла не сразу, что она является результатомъ долгой работы, что ей предшествовали другія организаціи, которыя, выполнивъ свою задачу, должны были уступить мѣсто болѣе совершеннымъ.

Мы считаемъ необходимымъ, поэтому, въ первомъ же номерѣ нашего органа, дать краткій историческій очеркъ возникновенія Партіи, ея развитія и ея теперешняго положенія.

Первыя революціонныя организаціи, возникшія въ Россіи, были, какъ и вездѣ, организаціями интеллигентскими. Онѣ ставили своей задачей борьбу съ царскимъ правительствомъ, но, не имѣя никакой связи съ рабочими массами, не могли, конечно, вести ихъ за собой. Онѣ были, поэтому, очень малочисленны и, не имѣя никакой опоры въ народѣ, легко подавлялись царскимъ правительствомъ. Такъ, напримѣръ, погибла организація "Народной Воли", которая, несмотря на свою малочисленность, сумѣла, однако, нанести царскому правительству рядъ чувствительныхъ ударовъ.

Первыя революціонныя организаціи, возникшія среди рабочихъ, были, какъ и слѣдовало ожидать, организаціями экономическими. Онѣ ставили своей задачей борьбу съ капиталомъ, но, не имѣя никакой связи съ революціонными силами, не могли, конечно, вести ихъ за собой. Онѣ были, поэтому, очень малочисленны и, не имѣя никакой опоры въ народѣ, легко подавлялись царскимъ правительствомъ. Такъ, напримѣръ, погибла организація "Рабочей Мыс

activity of the masses. They will bring round many of those who have already begun to waver, who have begun to lose faith in the idea of an uprising after the conclusion of peace and the granting of a Duma. No, it is precisely now that the uprising is gaining ground and increasing in intensity with unparalleled rapidity. Let us all be at our posts when the imminent explosion comes, one in comparison with which both January 9 and the memorable Odessa days will seem mere child's play.

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Published according to
the text in *Proletary*

"THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT"[127]

In the article "Reply to *Sotsial-Demokrat*" we should like to mention the splendid way in which the problem of the celebrated "introduction of a consciousness from without" had been posed. The author divides the problem into four independent parts: 1) The philosophical problem of the relation of man's consciousness to his social being—social being determines consciousness. Corresponding to the existence of two classes, two kinds of consciousness are evolved—the bourgeois and the socialist. Socialist consciousness corresponds to the position of the proletariat. 2) "Who can and does evolve this socialist consciousness (scientific socialism)?" "Contemporary socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge" (Kautsky), i.e., its evolution "is a matter for a few Social-Democratic intellectuals who possess the necessary means and time". 3) How does this consciousness penetrate into the proletariat? "It is here that Social-Democracy (and not only Social-Democratic intellectuals) comes in, and introduces socialist consciousness into the working-class movement." 4) What does Social-Democracy meet with when it comes to the proletariat with the message of socialism? It meets with an instinctive *urge* towards socialism. "Together with the proletariat, a tendency towards socialism is of necessity engendered both among the proletarians themselves, and among those who adopt the viewpoint of the proletariat; this accounts for the birth of an urge towards socialism" (Kautsky). From this the Menshevik draws the following ridiculous conclusion: "Hence it is clear that socialism is not introduced into the proletariat from without, but, on the contrary, comes from the proletariat and enters the minds of those who adopt the views of the proletariat"!

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THE YOUTH ABROAD AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The letter from an out-of-the-way place, calling upon all to return to Russia from abroad (*Proletary*, No. 19) has evoked a reply from Comrade "Revolutionary", writing to *Proletary* from Berne. Comrade "Revolutionary" insists on importance of theory in the movement, the need to study, and the like. We of course fully agree with him in the matter, and that was just the sense of our reservation regarding the above-mentioned letter.[128] Comrade "Revolutionary" advises the Party to organise at some place, for example in Geneva, something in the nature of a university, for the youth to be able to engage in serious studies. There have been many such plans, but their implementation meets with too many practical difficulties.

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A LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

Geneva, October 27, 1905

Dear Comrade,

On June 28 you sent us Comrade Bebel's proposal concerning the differences in our Party.

On July 24 I wrote to you* that I could not give you a reply on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, as I am only one of the members of the Committee, and asked the Bureau to clear up a few points for me. In reply I received a letter from Citizen Huysmans, dated August 5, in which he writes that the Executive Committee's intervention is directed only towards moral suasion. I immediately informed the Central Committee of our Party of the exact nature of Bebel's proposal. I am now in receipt of a reply from the Central Committee, which accepts your offer and appoints as its representatives Comrades Vasilyev, Schmidt,[129] and Lenin. Comrade Schmidt is in Russia. We must therefore be informed in advance of the date fixed for the conference (at least three weeks ahead of time).

The other two delegates are in Switzerland.

Accept, etc.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

P. S. I have just received another letter informing me that Comrade Schmidt will soon leave for abroad (arriving probably in November) in order to settle a number of matters pertaining to our Party. It is therefore of the utmost impor-

* See pp. 142-45 of this volume.—*Ed.*

tance for me to obtain as soon as possible the reply of the other section of our Party concerning the date for the conference. It is extremely difficult for members of our Party working in Russia to go abroad, which makes it desirable that the date on which the conference is to be convened should be fixed now, in other words, that the other section and the members of the International Bureau advise us as early as possible when they propose to call this conference.

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THE ALL-RUSSIA POLITICAL STRIKE

Geneva, October 26 (13)

The barometer indicates a storm—that is what is stated in today's foreign newspapers, which carry telegraphic dispatches on the mighty growth of the *all-Russia political strike*.

Nor is it only the barometer that indicates a storm: everything has been dislodged by the mighty whirlwind of a concerted proletarian onslaught. The revolution is progressing at astonishing speed, unfolding an amazing wealth of events, and if we wanted to give our reader a detailed account of the last three or four days, we should have to write a whole book. However, we shall leave it to future generations to write detailed history. We are witnesses of thrilling scenes of one of the greatest of civil wars, wars for liberty, mankind has ever experienced, and we must live at higher tempo so as to devote all our energies to this war.

The storm has burst—and how insignificant do the liberal and democratic speeches, suppositions, conjectures and plans about the Duma seem now. How out-of-date have all our disputes about the Duma already become—in the space of a few days, a few hours! Some of us doubted whether the revolutionary proletariat was sufficiently strong to frustrate the infamous farce staged by police ministers; some of us were afraid to speak with all boldness about boycotting the elections. But, as it turns out, elections have not yet started everywhere, and already a mere wave of the hand has been enough to rock the whole house of cards. A mere wave of the hand has forced not only the liberals and

the craven *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry, but even Mr. Witte, head of the new "liberal" tsarist government, to talk (true, so far only to *talk*) of reforms that would undermine all the artful devices of the entire Bulygin farce.

This hand, whose wave brought such an upheaval in the Duma question, is that of the Russian proletariat. A German socialist song runs as follows: "*All the wheels stand still if your mighty arm so will.*" This mighty arm has now been raised. Our indications and predictions on the political mass strike's enormous importance to the armed uprising have been strikingly borne out. The *all-Russia political strike* has this time really involved the whole country, uniting *all the peoples* of the accursed Russian "Empire" in the heroic rising of a class that is the most oppressed and the most advanced. Proletarians of all nations of this empire of oppression and violence are now mustering in a great army—an army of liberty and an army of socialism. Moscow and St. Petersburg share the honour of having taken revolutionary proletarian initiative. Both capitals have gone on strike. Finland is striking. Headed by Riga, the Baltic provinces have joined the movement. Heroic Poland has again joined the ranks of the strikers, as if in mockery of the impotent rage of her enemies, who imagined that they could crush her with their blows and have, instead, only welded her revolutionary forces more closely together. The Crimea is rising (Simferopol), and also the South. In Ekaterinoslav barricades are being erected, and blood is being shed. The Volga region (Saratov, Simbirsk, Nizhni-Novgorod) is on strike, and the strike is spreading both to the central agricultural provinces (Voronezh) and to the industrial Centre (Yaroslavl).

A modest delegation of the Railwaymen's Union has taken the lead of this army of workers, many million strong and speaking many languages. On a stage where political comedies were played by the liberals, with their highflown and cowardly speeches to the tsar, and with their smirking and scraping to Witte—on this stage a worker suddenly makes an appearance and presents his *ultimatum* to Mr. Witte, the new head of the new "liberal" tsarist government. The railway workers' delegation refused to await that "board of burghers", the State Duma. The workers' delegation did not even care to waste valuable time on

"criticism" of this Punch-and-Judy show. The workers' delegation first prepared *criticism by deeds*—the political strike—and then declared to the buffoon of a minister: "There can be only one solution—the convocation of a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of universal and direct suffrage."

The buffoon-minister spoke, to use the apt expression of the railway workers themselves, "like a real hidebound bureaucrat, hedging as usual, and not committing himself to anything definite". He promised decrees on freedom of the press, but rejected universal suffrage; according to foreign press reports, he declared a constituent assembly "impossible at present".

The workers' delegation called a general strike. After leaving the Minister the workers' delegation went to the University, where political meetings attended by some ten thousand people were taking place. The proletariat made good use of the platform placed at its disposal by the revolutionary students. At the first systematic and free political mass meetings held in Russia, in all cities, at schools and factories, and in the streets, the answer given by the buffoon-minister was discussed, and speeches centred around the task of waging a resolute armed struggle, which would make the convocation of a constituent assembly both "possible" and *necessary*. The foreign bourgeois press, including even the most liberal newspapers, is horrified by the "terroristic and seditious" slogans proclaimed by speakers at the free popular meetings, as though the tsar's government, by all its policy of oppression, had not itself made insurrection imperative and inevitable.

The uprising is drawing near, is evolving from the all-Russia political strike before our very eyes. The appointment of a buffoon-minister, who assures the workers that a popular constituent assembly is impossible "at present" clearly shows the growth of the revolutionary forces, and the decline of the forces of the tsar's government. The autocracy is *no longer* strong enough to come out against the revolution openly. The revolution is *not yet* strong enough to deal the enemy a decisive blow. This fluctuation of almost evenly balanced forces inevitably engenders confusion among the authorities, makes for transitions from repression to

concession, to laws providing for freedom of the press and freedom of assembly.

Forward, then, to a new, still more widespread and persistent struggle—the enemy must not be given a chance to pull himself together! The proletariat has already performed wonders for the victory of the revolution. The all-Russia political strike has brought this victory tremendously closer, causing the enemy to toss about on his death-bed. However, we are very far indeed from having done everything that we can and must do for final victory. The struggle is approaching, but has not yet reached its real climax. At this very moment the working class is rising, mobilising and arming, on a scale hitherto unparalleled. And it will finally sweep away the abhorrent autocracy, send all the buffoons of ministers packing, set up *its own* provisional revolutionary government, and show all the peoples of Russia how "possible" and necessary it is, just "at present", to convoke a truly popular and truly constituent assembly.

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THE FIRST RESULTS OF THE POLITICAL ALIGNMENT

The account of the Conference of Social-Democratic Parties and Organisations in Russia published in our previous issue affords an opportunity of drawing certain conclusions, at least preliminary, regarding the present-day political alignment. The Conference of Social-Democratic Parties and Organisations (the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Bund, the Lettish Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Polish Social-Democratic Party, and the revolutionary Ukrainian Party) unanimously accepted the tactic of an active boycott of the State Duma. The necessity for increased agitation against the State Duma in the direct sense of that word, the necessity to agitate against all parties favouring participation in the State Duma, and, finally, the imperativeness of preparing for armed uprising have now, it may be said without exaggeration, been recognised by the entire revolutionary Social-Democratic movement, irrespective of national distinctions. The principles underlying the tactics adopted by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. and advocated by us in *Proletary*, beginning with No. 12 of our paper, i.e., for the last two and a half months, now underlie the tactics of practically the entire Social-Democratic movement in Russia, with one lamentable exception.

This exception, as the reader knows, is the *Iskra* and the "Minority", which has seceded from the R.S.D.L.P. The "Organising Committee"—its practical centre—was represented at the Conference. We do not know how its delegate voted, but it is a fact that the Organising Committee refused to endorse the Conference's resolution. This was to

be expected after the Southern "Constituent" Conference of new-Iskrists adopted its extremely unwise and fundamentally opportunist resolution on the State Duma, which we analysed in detail in *Proletary*, No. 21.*

In this way, the political alignment is quite clear. The question of the attitude towards the State Duma has occasioned what is probably the first joint discussion of political tactics by the opposition and the revolutionary parties, by the legal and the illegal press. This is a giant stride forward in comparison with the previous period in the movement. Formerly, a gulf separated the opposition from the revolutionaries, legal work from illegal work. The movement has made such tremendous progress during the last ten months or so that the gulf has in considerable measure been removed. The revolutionary struggle has carried the "legal" opposition on to the crest of the wave, almost to recognising that a revolution is on. Hitherto, strictly speaking, we could not even discuss tactics or the behaviour of political parties with representatives of the legal opposition, for in fact there were no parties except the revolutionary and illegal, and "political activities" coincided fully with those of "political offenders", if one disregards the "activities" of the autocracy and its henchmen. Now, the State Duma has naturally and inevitably become a subject of discussion for the mass of the people—for people of all shades of opinion, all tendencies and parties. The revolutionary struggle has cleared the road for revolutionary discussion in the legal press, at Zemstvo meetings, student assemblies, and workers' mass meetings.

Practically the first to start the discussion on the attitude to the State Duma were the Zemstvos and the radical intelligentsia, who are most directly concerned with the sop thrown by the tsar, and who were best informed of it—even prior to the publication of the Manifesto of August 6. The discussion then spread to the whole political press in Russia, both the free (i.e., illegal) press which gave frank and full expression to all its arguments and slogans, and to the legal press, which wrote in Aesopian language for a boycott, and openly against it.

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* See pp. 356-73 of this volume.—*Ed.*

The political alignment, that precursor of a demarcation between the political parties and classes of all the peoples of Russia, began to take shape on the boycott issue. Should the Duma be entered, or not? Should the Duma be nipped in the bud, or accepted? Should the struggle be waged within the Duma, on the basis of the Duma, or outside the Duma, apart from the Duma, against the Duma? That was the inescapable issue both for the privileged handful of the electorate and for the masses, "who had no rights". Today we have on this issue, which was of course tackled from a thousand various points of view and with thousands of variations and "dissenting opinions", the *returns* supplied by a "canvass" of public opinion as presented by the entire press and by the aggregate of the declarations made by all the various political organisations, political meetings, assemblies, etc.

These returns are as follows:

Views on the Duma fall into three clearly defined main categories, which fully correspond to the three main and basic social forces involved in the present revolution: the views of the *Black Hundreds* (the autocracy), of the *liberals* (the bourgeoisie), and of the *revolutionaries* (the proletariat). The Black Hundreds seized on the Duma as the best means, most likely the only possible or even conceivable means, of saving the autocracy. The liberals criticised the Duma adversely, but accepted it, being irresistibly drawn to lawful paths and to compromise with the tsar. Headed by the proletariat, the revolutionary people, denounced the Duma, proclaimed an active boycott of it, and by their deeds have already shown that they are striving to convert this active boycott into an armed uprising.

It would be worth our while to dwell on these three main categories in somewhat greater detail.

As regards the Black Hundreds, it might have been expected (and this expectation was expressed by people inclined to take the Duma in all earnest, even, if we are not mistaken, the *Iskra* group) that the supporters of the autocracy would directly or indirectly sympathise with a boycott, or absenteeism, as our servile press frequently puts it. These people might have been expected to say in effect: Let them boycott the Duma; so much the better for us, for in that case the Duma will be composed more completely of

Black-Hundred elements. Since there are conservative organs in Russia capable of denouncing tsarist ministers for excessive liberalism, and voicing discontent with "an excessively weak" government, such a view could easily be expressed just as clearly as many views held by constitutionalists, or even more clearly. But it was here that a mistake made itself felt, a mistake made by people who took the Duma seriously, and began to talk of a struggle on the basis of the Duma, of supporting a struggle in the Duma, etc. It could be seen immediately that the autocracy was terribly in need of a legal Duma opposition, that it was terribly afraid of a boycott. Why? The answer is very simple: because it had become absolutely clear that it was utterly impossible to govern the country without coming to terms with at least a section of the bourgeoisie as a class. It was impossible to govern the country, to obtain money, or to continue existing without coming to terms with the Right wing of the bourgeoisie. Irrespective of our autocracy's Asiatic savagery, and the many features of antediluvian barbarism it has retained in such an unusually pure form throughout the centuries, the autocratic government is nevertheless the government of a capitalist country, linked with Europe, with international markets and international capital by thousands of inseverable ties. The dependence of the autocracy on the bourgeoisie of All Russia is a supreme material dependence, which may be concealed behind hundreds of medieval annexes, or weakened by millions of bribes doled out to individuals or groups by the Court (titles, sinecures, concessions, sops, favours, etc., etc., etc.), but at every crisis in the people's life it must manifest itself with decisive force.

It is not a matter of mere chance that we now see Mr. Witte currying favour with the liberals, delivering liberal speeches, which are reported in the legal press, conducting "informal negotiations with Mr. Gessen", the leader of the Constitutional-Democrats (the cable from the St. Petersburg correspondent of *The Times*), or that we see the foreign press teeming with news about the tsar's liberal plans. Of course, there is no end of lies and intrigues in all this, but then the tsarist government, and for that matter any bourgeois government, cannot make a single step in its policies

without resorting to lies and intrigues. Of course, there is a great deal of the most shabby chicanery, occasioned by the arrival in St. Petersburg of representatives of French and German bankers to negotiate a new loan of 500,000,000 rubles of which the tsarist government stands in dire need. But then the entire system of governmental dependence on the bourgeoisie inevitably engenders cases of chicanery in connection with all the various deals and trickery accompanying this dependence.

It is imperative for the autocracy to "make peace" with the bourgeoisie, and it is obliged to exert itself to this end; naturally, in this connection it wants to dupe public opinion in Europe and Russia. And the State Duma is a splendid means for achieving this end. A legal bourgeois opposition in the Duma is just the façade for a state system recognised by the bourgeoisie, a façade that might help the autocracy to extricate itself from its predicament.

This explains why *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, that organ of conservative opposition to the government, speaks of the Duma boycott not with malicious joy or derision, but with a gnashing of teeth and the rage of despair. This explains why *Novoye Vremya*, organ of the Black Hundreds, attacks the "absentees" and tries to enlist even Bebel for the struggle against the idea of a boycott (*Proletary*, No. 20*). *The Black Hundreds are afraid of a boycott*, and only the blind or those out to justify the liberals can now deny that the boycott would be fully successful if it were endorsed by the leading figures of the Zemstvo and municipal congresses.

But the gist of the matter is that the liberal bourgeoisie's fundamental interests as a class incline it towards the monarchy, a two-chamber system, law and order, and moderation, towards a struggle against the "horrors" of an "uninterrupted revolution", the "horrors" of a revolution after the French model.... The turn taken by the liberal bourgeoisie, the *Osvobozhdeniye* adherents and the Constitutional-Democrats away from radical phrases about a boycott towards a determined war against it, is the *first* major political step by the Russian bourgeoisie as a class, a step which reveals its treacherous nature, its "criminal intent"—to perpetrate

* See p. 321 of this volume.—*Ed.*

treachery against the revolution. This is no mere intent (for which alone no law can hold one accountable, as some smart lawyer among the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry would probably object), but an actual attempt to commit this crime, and even a consummation of the crime. We are living at a very rapid pace now. The times have long gone when it was *necessary* for us to rouse the bourgeoisie to political awareness in general (though such times are quite recent according to ordinary chronology, which is inapplicable to revolution). Gone, even, are the times when it was *necessary* for us to help the bourgeoisie to organise itself into a political opposition. They are now awakened, have organised themselves, and an entirely different task stands on the order of the day, a great task which only the tremendous strides of the revolution have made real and possible—that of reaching an agreement with the tsar (the task of capital) and that of neutralising treacherous capital (the task of labour).

It is this task that the revolutionary proletariat, which is marching at the head of the revolutionary people, has assumed, while remaining true to its duty of awakening, encouraging and rousing its "mates" in the struggle against medievalism and serfdom, and at the same time passing on from less revolutionary to more revolutionary "mates". It is not the Duma that has been "taken in earnest" by the revolutionary proletariat under the guidance of Social-Democracy, but those words, promises and slogans about a Duma boycott which popped out of the mouths of the radical windbags of the bourgeoisie by reason of their levity, extreme youthfulness and exuberance. The proletariat has translated boycott talk into reality; it has done so by openly and unequivocally raising the standard of armed uprising; it has done so by inaugurating not only the broadest possible agitation, but open street fighting as well (in Moscow); it has done so by fraternising with the radical youth, the vanguard of the masses, the peasant masses in particular, whose class characteristics have not yet fully taken shape, but which are infinitely oppressed and exploited. Without entering into any agreements or concluding any pacts, the socialist proletariat has united with the awakened sections of revolutionary bourgeois democracy, for the accomplishment of a practical militant task. During the great Moscow

events (great as a portent, not in themselves), the proletariat and the revolutionary democrats did the fighting, while the liberals, the *Osvobozhdeniye* people and the Constitutional-Democrats conducted negotiations with the autocracy.

The political alignment has become quite clear: for the Duma, to preserve the autocracy; for the Duma, to limit the autocracy; against the Duma, to destroy the autocracy. In other words: for the Duma, to suppress the revolution; for the Duma, to halt the revolution; against the Duma, to bring the revolution to a victorious conclusion.

There was an exception—a sad and regrettable exception—which marred the distinctness of the class alignment (thereby, like all exceptions proving the general rule). This was the opportunist wing of the Social-Democratic movement, as represented by the new *Iskra*. However, this exception too—the narrow sphere of illegal organisations abroad—stemmed from a very important and very instructive logical development, which we predicted. The Conference which we mentioned above united the revolutionary Social-Democrats. *Iskra* remained *united*—not by virtue of an agreement, but by virtue of the course of events—with *Osvobozhdeniye*. In the illegal press, the revolutionary Social-Democrats and the extreme Left wing of the revolutionary bourgeois democrats came out for an active boycott. It was the opportunist Social-Democrats and the extreme Right wing of the bourgeois democrats who declared against the boycott.

Thus we have confirmation of what was shown in the analysis of the most important of the new-*Iskra* resolutions on tactics (see Lenin's *Two Tactics*),* namely, that *Iskra* is descending to the level of the liberal landlords, whereas *Proletary* is raising the masses of the peasants to its own level; *Iskra* is descending to the liberal bourgeoisie, whereas *Proletary* is raising the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie.

Anyone familiar with Social-Democratic literature knows the catch phrase long ago launched by *Iskra*—the Bolsheviks and *Proletary* have veered towards the Socialist-

* See p. 47 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Revolutionaries, towards the extreme bourgeois democrats. There is a grain of truth in this, as there is in all catch phrases. It does not express mere chagrin on the part of the Iskrists; it reflects an actual phenomenon, but does so as a concave mirror would reflect an object. This actual phenomenon is the *fact* that the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks represent respectively the opportunist and the revolutionary wings of the Russian Social-Democratic movement. Since the Iskrists turned to opportunism, they were bound to arrive at the conclusion that the Bolsheviks are "Jacobins" (to use a term of eighteenth-century political divisions). These accusations merely *confirm* our view on the Right and Left wings of the present-day Social-Democratic movement. These accusations by the opportunists are *just as flattering* to us as was the accusation hurled at us by *Rabochaya Mysl* in 1900 to the effect that we were following in the footsteps of Narodnaya Volya. The actual way in which political tendencies throughout Russia are grouped politically on a major question of tactics has proved in practice the correctness of our appraisal of *Iskra*'s stand ever since the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

The alignment of illegal parties effected at the Conference of all Social-Democrats thus naturally supplements the alignment of all parties on the Duma question. If the Iskrists have proved a regrettable exception, the fact that they are only an exception gives us new faith in the validity of the rule, in the victory of revolutionary Social-Democracy, in the realisation of the consistent slogans of the Russian revolution. Although the liberals' banality and the vulgarisation of Marxism by some Marxists may at moments of gloom seem an omen that our revolution too will turn out to be a banal, abortive, and incomplete revolution like the German Revolution of 1848, nevertheless the vitality of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy inspires us with a stimulating faith, and the actions of the heroic working class uphold that faith. The revolution draws a splendid line of division between political tendencies, serves as a splendid *reductio ad absurdum* of erroneous opinions. So far the revolution in Russia has been progressing in such a way as to justify the hopes for its complete victory inspired by the present situation at home and abroad. And the

sight of the autocracy's consternation and the liberals' confusion, the sight of the bold revolutionary energy of the proletariat, which is taking the peasantry in tow, lead us to believe that "our train will go as the German never did".[130]

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THE HYSTERICS OF THE DEFEATED

Our article, "The First Results of the Political Alignment", had already been written when we received No. 112 of *Iskra*, which contains a sort of overwrought, spiteful, tearful and fuming article full of conceits, entitled "The Fruits of Parochialism". What else can you call this article but a fit of hysterics. It is quite impossible to discern even the shadow of *reasoning* in this hysterical shriek. What has parochialism to do with it, dear *Iskra* comrades, when *you yourselves*, *of your own free will*, *attended* the Conference of the various Social-Democratic parties and organisations in Russia? Just give the matter a little thought, if you have not entirely lost the capacity to think; give it at least some thought when your fit of hysterics is over! Surely if you consented to attend the Conference, if your delegate was there, that means that you yourselves regarded this Conference as a serious matter, a Party matter of the utmost importance to the proletariat. You are only discrediting yourselves for good and all in the eyes of intelligent workers when you start fulminating *after* being defeated at a Conference you yourselves acknowledged as serious and necessary by your voluntary participation!

You are displeased with the fact that the Conference, in your opinion, condemned your tactics too sharply, by calling participation in the Duma treason to the cause of liberty? But were you not aware, dear *Iskra* comrades, that you were going to attend a Conference together with the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., and that *Proletary*, organ of this Central Committee, has for ever so long, both in pamphlets and in articles, been showing up your transformation

into toadies of the monarchist liberal party? You were perfectly well aware of that, dear *Iskra* comrades, and if you are now infuriated beyond all reason, we are really unable to help you. After all, it is an inescapable and indisputable fact that of all the illegal parties, organisations, tendencies and press organs of all the peoples of Russia, only you have remained in the company of *Osvobozhdeniye*. It is this *fact* that constitutes the severest indictment against you, an indictment so severe that history has rarely known its equal; yet you imagined that the *words* "treason to the cause of liberty" were the source of this severity!

You have lost your head so much that after your defeat at the Conference you have raised a hullabaloo about the harmfulness of federalism in organisation, such as is cherished by the Bund and other national Social-Democratic groups. How unwise this is of you, dear *Iskra* comrades, for you are thereby only *stressing* the gravity of your defeat. And, indeed, just think, dear *Iskra* comrades, who is it that for two years has been advocating organisational vagueness and amorphousness, the principles of compromise and decentralisation? You yourselves, the new-Iskrists. And it was the federalists of the Bund and of the Lettish and Polish Social-Democratic Labour Parties who at the time played up in the press all your disorganising catchwords against the so-called excesses of centralism, and so on and so forth. And, it is likewise a fact, an inescapable and indisputable fact, that *all* the federalists of the above-mentioned parties wrote and published articles in the spirit of the Minority! Just see, dear *Iskra* comrades, how inappropriately you have brought up the subject of federalism: you have thereby stressed the fact that your erstwhile well-wishers of the Social-Democratic Bund and the Lettish and Polish parties were forced to desert you, being unable to put up with the utter banality of your Duma tactics! No, dear *Iskra* comrades, if you just think matters over, after calming down, you will yourselves see what is obvious to all—it is not the "Majority" that has come over to federalism, but the Bund and the Lettish and Polish Social-Democrats who, influenced by the objective logic of the revolutionary events, have arrived at a standpoint that has always been upheld by the "Majority".

Of course, dear *Iskra* comrades, you have sustained a telling defeat. That, however, is not due to any spiteful machinations on the part of the Majority or the Polish Social-Democrats, etc., but rather to the hopeless muddle that manifested itself already in the resolutions on tactics adopted by the All-Russia Conference of Mensheviks. So long as you stand on the basis of these resolutions, you will inevitably find yourselves the "*sole companion*" of *Osvobozhdeniye*, against all Social-Democrats and even against all revolutionary democrats.

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REVOLUTIONARY RIGA'S ULTIMATUM

The German newspapers, which usually devote much attention to events in the Baltic provinces, have reported the following instructive fact. Things are happening at the Riga Polytechnic, as they are at all other higher educational institutions: student assemblies have turned into political meetings. The students are organising into a combatant force of the revolution. The liberal bigwigs are turning up their noses and muttering under their breath about the weakness of the government. But in Livonia, things have gone so hard with the landed gentry that they have energetically set about organising armed protection for their estates, without relying on the government, which cannot do anything with the peasants, or the workers, or the students. The Baltic barons are organising civil war in earnest: they are hiring whole squads, arming them with good magazine rifles, and posting them about their extensive estates. And now it turns out that part of the members of the German student corporations in the Baltic provinces have joined such squads! Naturally, the Lettish and Russian students have not only proclaimed a boycott against these Black Hundreds in student uniform, but have even appointed a special commission to investigate the participation of students in the landlord Black-Hundred bands. Two members of this commission were sent into the countryside to gather information from the peasants. Both were arrested by the government and sent to prison in Riga.

The Lettish and Russian students then rose. They called a huge meeting which passed a vigorous resolution. The head of the Polytechnic, who had been invited to attend, was called upon to take immediate measures to secure the

release of the arrested. The resolution ended with a direct ultimatum: if within three days the arrested persons were' not released at the time fixed, the students, with the aid of the Riga workers, would use every means in their power to effect that release.

The Governor was away from Riga at the time, for he had gone to St. Petersburg to obtain the powers of Governor General. The acting Governor funked, and diplomatically wriggled out of the situation. He summoned (so the *Vossische Zeitung* of October 20, N. S., reports) the head of the Polytechnic and the two arrested students, and asked the latter whether they were aware that their actions were unlawful. They, of course, replied that they saw nothing unlawful in them. The acting Governor, a Riga newspaper is said to have stated, then urged them to refrain from such unlawful acts, and—set both free.

"In the eyes of the students," the correspondent, who feels for the Baltic barons, gloomily adds, "and in the eyes of the masses who stand behind them, the government has bowed to the ultimatum. And even a non-partisan must have gained the same impression."

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THE PLANS OF A BUFFOON-MINISTER

To gain a better understanding of today's politics, it is sometimes worth while to look back at yesterday's. Here is what the usually well-informed correspondent of the London *Times* cabled from St. Petersburg on October 10 (23):

"From a high source I learn that the government has resolved to grant the four liberties demanded by the reformers subject however, to restrictions. It is hoped that this concession will rally the Moderates. Count Witte yesterday had a long conference on the subject with the tsar. Mr. Goremykin is drafting a measure for endowing peasants with state lands. This will be placed on the table when the Duma meets. It is thereby hoped to conciliate the peasant vote.

"Such briefly is the government's plan of campaign. It apparently excludes the intention of voluntarily granting a constitution before the meeting of the Duma, although some hope of this prevails among the Constitutional-Democrats. One of the principal points to be discussed at their Congress on Wednesday will be with regard to the action of the party in the event of a constitution's being granted on or before the assembling of the Duma—namely, whether the party shall consent in that case to work in the Duma or insist upon the convocation of a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage.

"The supporters of the bureaucracy hope that the concessions which will be granted by the government will at last check the constitutional movement without an extension of the suffrage or an endorsement of the legislative character of the Duma, but all the indications are the other way."

Indeed, the government's "plan of campaign" is clear. Equally clear to all people who have eyes to see is the "campaign" of the Constitutional-Democratic gentry, who are *bargaining* with the government. There is only one snag: the working class is stirring, and stirring in such a way that all the ingenious plans of both Mr. Witte and the Constitutional-Democrats are crumbling to dust.

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THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

It is under this headline that the Berlin liberal *Vossische Zeitung* has published the following interesting dispatch:

"It is with irresistible force that events are developing in the empire of the tsars. To every impartial observer it must be obvious that neither the government nor any of the opposition or revolutionary parties is in control of the situation. The late Prince Trubetskoi and other professors of the higher educational institutions made vain attempts to dissuade the Russian students from the dangerous path, which they had taken when they decided to convert the universities into places of political mass meetings. The students paid enthusiastic homage to the memory of Trubetskoi, marched in masses in the funeral procession, and turned the obsequies into an imposing political demonstration, but they did not follow his advice to keep outsiders out of the University. At the University of St. Petersburg, the Mining Academy and the Polytechnic mammoth meetings are being held, at which the students are often in the minority and which last from early morning till late at night. Impassioned and fiery orations are delivered and revolutionary songs are sung. Moreover, the liberals are roundly berated at these meetings, especially for their half-heartedness, which, it is claimed, is no accidental attribute of Russian liberalism, but a quality that has been conditioned by eternal historical laws.

"There is something profoundly tragic in these reproaches, which, despite the historical references adduced to substantiate them, are in fact absolutely unhistorical, if only because the liberals in Russia have never had the slightest opportunity of displaying any half-heartedness that could in any way prejudice the cause of emancipation which is so important for all parties. It is not their deeds, but rather their sufferings that handicap the liberals in their life course. The government is just as *helpless* [italics in the original] in the face of these events as it is in the face of the labour troubles and the general unrest. It is possible, of course, that it is planning a new blood-bath, and is only waiting for the moment when the movement becomes ripe for a Cossack attack. But even if that should be the case, none of the powers that be is certain that it will not lead to a still more violent outbreak of disaffection. Not even General Trepov has faith in his own cause. He does not conceal from his friends that he considers

himself a doomed man, and that he expects no favourable results whatever from his administration. 'I am merely fulfilling my duty, and shall fulfil it to the end,' he says.

"The tsar's throne must be in a sad way indeed if the head of the police arrives at such conclusions. And indeed it cannot but be recognised that despite all of Trepov's efforts, despite the feverish activity of endless commissions and conferences, the tension has not only failed to relax since last year, but has even become much more accentuated. Wherever one looks, the position everywhere has become worse and more threatening, everywhere the situation has become noticeably aggravated."

There is a great deal of truth in this appraisal, but at the same time a great deal of liberal stupidity. "The liberals could not display a half-heartedness prejudicial to the cause." Is that so? Why is it then that these poor liberals *could* nevertheless come forward more openly and freely than the other parties? No! The students are guided by a sound revolutionary instinct, enhanced by their contact with the proletariat, when they zealously disassociate themselves from the Constitutional-Democrats, and discredit these Constitutional-Democrats in the eyes of the people. The morrow will bring us great and epoch-making battles for liberty. It is possible that the champions of liberty will yet suffer more than one defeat. But defeats will only serve to stir up the workers and peasants ever more profoundly, will only render the crisis more acute, and will only make more formidable the inevitable ultimate victory of the cause of liberty. For our part, we shall bend every effort to prevent the bourgeois leeches of monarchist landlord liberalism from attaching themselves to this victory, and to prevent the gentlemen of the big bourgeoisie from deriving the main benefit from this victory, as has happened more than once in Europe. We shall bend all our efforts to bring this victory of the workers and peasants to its consummation, to bring about the utter destruction of all the loathsome institutions of autocracy, monarchy, bureaucracy, militarism and serf-ownership. Only such a victory will put a real weapon into the hands of the proletariat—and then we shall set Europe ablaze, so as to make of the Russian democratic revolution the prologue to a European socialist revolution.

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NOTES ON "THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS"[131]

1

This is how the matter stood: the Taff Vale Railway sued the railway workers' union for losses caused by the strike. Despite bitter resistance by the workers, the bourgeois judges awarded damages to the capitalists! Court injunctions instructing trade unions to compensate the capitalists for losses caused by a strike means in fact destroying the right to strike. Judges who play the lackey to the bourgeoisie know well how to nullify even constitutionally guaranteed liberties, when it comes to the struggle between labour and capital.

2

Unfortunately, the British working-class movement promises to serve for a long time to come as a sad example of how the labour movement's divorcement from socialism leads of necessity to its becoming shallow and bourgeois in character.

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AN EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES[132]

1) The result to date (Monday, October 30 [17]) is an equilibrium of forces, as we already pointed out in *Proletary* No. 23.

2) Tsarism is *no longer* strong enough, the revolution *not yet* strong enough, to win.

3) Hence the tremendous amount of vacillation. The terrific and enormous increase of revolutionary happenings (strikes, meetings, barricades, committees of public safety, complete paralysis of the government, etc.), on the other hand, the absence of resolute repressive measures. *The troops are wavering.*

4) The tsar's Court is wavering (*The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*) between dictatorship and a constitution.

The Court is wavering and *biding its time*. Strictly speaking, these are its correct tactics: the equilibrium of forces compels it to bide its time, *for power is in its hands.*

The revolution has reached a stage at which it is *disadvantageous for the counter-revolution to attack, to assume the offensive.*

For us, for the proletariat, for consistent revolutionary democrats, *this is not enough*. If we do not rise to a higher level, if we do not manage to launch an independent offensive, if we do not smash the forces of tsarism, do not destroy its actual power, then the revolution will stop halfway, then the *bourgeoisie will fool the workers.*

5) Rumour has it that a *constitution* has been decided upon. If that is so, then it follows that the tsar is heeding the lessons of 1848 and other revolutions: he wants to *grant* a constitution *without* a constituent assembly, *before* a constituent assembly, *apart* from a constituent assembly.

What kind of constitution? At best (for the tsar)=a Constitutional-Democratic constitution.

This implies: achievement of the Constitutional-Democrats' ideal, skipping the revolution; deceiving the people, for *all the same there will be no* complete and actual freedom of elections.

Should not the revolution skip this *granted* constitution?

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A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SWEETHEART

To acclamation from *Osvobozhdeniye*, Comrade Starover continues to repent in the new *Iskra* for the sins he committed (unwisely) by participating in the old *Iskra*. Comrade Starover very much resembles the heroine of a story by Chekhov entitled "Sweetheart". At first Sweetheart lived with an impresario and used to say: "Vanichka and I are staging serious plays." Later she lived with a timber merchant and would say: "Vasichka and I are indignant at the high duties on timber." Finally, she lived with a veterinary surgeon and used to say: "Kolechka and I doctor horses."—It is the same with Comrade Starover. "Lenin and I" abused Martynov. "Martynov and I" are abusing Lenin. Charming Social-Democratic Sweetheart! In whose embrace will you find yourself tomorrow?

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ON P. B. AXELROD'S PAMPHLET *THE PEOPLE'S DUMA AND A WORKERS' CONGRESS*

ANALYSIS OF THE PAMPHLET[133]

In connection with P. B. Axelrod's little pamphlet entitled *The People's Duma and a Workers' Congress*, the following should be noted:

This is the prototype of *all* of *Iskra*'s follies—both of a parallel parliament and a deal with the Constitutionalists-Democrats.

By and large, it is all *playing at parliamentarianism*—in the People's Duma, and in arranging a deal with the Constitutionalists-Democrats—in the parliamentary interpretation of a "Workers' Congress" with illustrations "from Lassalle" (who was working *in conditions of a constitution* ten years *after* it had been won by a revolution).

We have no end of ineptitudes here: "the first and primary foundation" (page 13) "of serious negotiations and agreements between our party and liberal organisations"... of *action*. What kind?

Comrade P. B. Axelrod is three years late! Can this be considered an agreement with *a political party*? It amounts to services rendered, technical in the first place, which were sufficient three years ago.

1) Material means ...
2) premises ...
3) *arms* ["delivery"]
4) influence on public institutions,
5) utilisation of connections in the bureaucracy and the military, in the interests of open political action.

"School-level pedagogy": even if the convoking of a *People's Duma* and *a Workers' Congress* is a failure

(page 12), "*the agitation and organisational work done will not have been lost*".

Compare with an insurrection—can organisational work in one "*have been lost*"? No. And agitation work? No, since an insurrection is in progress, is a fact. As for the *P e o p l e ' s D u m a*—that is a comedy, a phantom, a hollow phrase.

A saccharine approach to the workers.

Page 7: "of a constituent *popular* assembly, i.e., a really 'People's Duma'."

{Not "*i.e.*" and not "really"}

(page 7) "'The duties' of the People's Duma

I° 1) "to present to the State Duma the demand that a constituent assembly be convened, and that it declare [?—and?] itself non-competent, without the right to function."

2) ~"~ | !! ha-ha! and what about the "right" to convene a constituent assembly?

II° 3) "to serve as the centre and spokesman of the will of all democratic (page 7) sections of the population, and organiser of defensive and offensive action by these sections against the government and its allies."

Compare this nonsense with a provisional revolutionary government as the organ of insurrection.

A spate of meaningless words, and the reality of revolution.

The difficulty of an uprising = the difficulty of climbing Mt. Blanc.

The difficulty of a "People's Duma" under the autocracy = "the difficulty" of flying through the air on to the top of Mt. Blanc.

Note should be taken of confirmation of our Central Committee's opinion, as expressed in its leaflet, that *Iskra*'s plan is a piece of invention coming from abroad. Axelrod wants to *bring round to his point of view* his correspondent, who (a) (page 6) doubts whether the slogans of the People's Duma and a Workers' Congress will win over the mass of the people; (b) (page 14) has motivated the policy of an "active boycott" (page 15 and page 14 *in fine*).

Axelrod considers the policy of an active boycott
"reactionary and utopian".

— reaction?—a conference of Social-Democrats+*Osvobozhdeniye* have settled this question. A coalition with the Black Hundreds?—fear of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* and *Novoye Vremya*.

— utopia? Two "utopias": *insurrection* and *playing at parliamentarianism*.

Which of these is *being effected* is shown by the general strike and street fighting all over Russia.

The utter jumble of ideas about a "deal", an "agreement" (page 7) "*with the central organisations of liberal democracy*".

Complete inability to single out *revolutionary* democracy and indicate *concrete* slogans on a political agreement with the latter. Axelrod's slogans are all of an *Osvobozhdeniye* nature.

Regarding a "workers' congress".

The Third Congress: utilisation of open action so as to create *points d'appui* for the *Party*.[134]

(Clear and precise.)

With P. B. Axelrod one cannot make out anything.
An All-Russia workers' congress *sans phrase* (page 3)—or a "*phrase*"?
Quid est?

It would be best to have *two congresses*
1) a "General Congress" (page 4)
2) a "Social-Democratic congress" ("of members of a General Congress
?|| who share our programme, plus representatives of our Party organisations, for a reform of the whole Party". Page 4)

|The ridiculousness of a comparison with the Lassalle affair 1) there was already a *constitution* then. 2) Then Lassalle was *openly* appealed to, and his appeal was an open one. 3) Then the formation of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein* was a pretext for abuse of "workers' independent activity" against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party.|

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TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARY ARMY CONTINGENTS

1. Independent military action.
2. Leadership of the mass.

The contingents may be of any strength, beginning with two or three people.

They must arm themselves as best they can (rifles, revolvers, bombs, knives, knuckle-dusters, sticks, rags soaked in kerosine for starting fires, ropes or rope ladders, shovels for building barricades, pyroxylin cartridges, barbed wire, nails [against cavalry], etc., etc.). Under no circumstances should they wait for help from other sources, from above from the outside; they must procure everything themselves.

As far as possible, the contingents should consist of people who either live near each other, or who meet frequently and regularly at definite hours (preferably people of both categories, for regular meetings may be interrupted by the uprising). They must arrange matters so as to be able to get together at the most critical moments, when things may take the most unexpected turns. Therefore, each group must work out beforehand ways and means of joint action; signs in windows, etc., so as to find each other easily; previously agreed upon calls or whistles so that the comrades recognise one another in a crowd; previously arranged signals in the event of meetings at night, etc., etc. Any energetic person, with the aid of two or three comrades, could work out a whole series of such rules and methods, which should be drawn up, learned and practised beforehand. It must not be forgotten that the chances are 100 to 1 that events will take us unawares, and that it will be necessary to come together under terribly difficult conditions.

Even without arms, the groups can play a most important part: 1) by leading the mass; 2) by attacking, whenever a favourable opportunity presents itself, policemen, stray Cossacks (as was the case in Moscow), etc., and seizing their arms; 3) by rescuing the arrested or injured, when there are only few police about; 4) by getting on to the roofs or upper storeys of houses, etc., and showering stones or pouring boiling water on the troops, etc. Given sufficient push, an organised and well-knit combat group constitutes a tremendous force. Under no circumstances should the formation of the group be abandoned or postponed on the plea of lack of arms.

As far as possible members of combat groups should have their duties assigned in advance, leaders or chiefs of groups being sometimes selected in this way. It would be unwise, of course, to play at conferring ranks, but the enormous importance of uniform leadership and rapid and determined action should not be forgotten. Determination and push are three-quarters of success.

As soon as the groups are formed—i.e., right now—they must get down to comprehensive work—not only theoretical, but most certainly practical work as well. By theoretical work we mean a study of military science, an acquaintance with military problems, the arrangement of lecture meetings on military questions, talks by military men (officers, non-commissioned officers, etc., etc., including also workers who have served in the army); the reading, discussion and assimilation of illegal pamphlets and newspaper articles on street fighting, etc., etc.

Practical work, we repeat, should be started at once. This falls into preparatory work and military operations. The preparatory work includes procuring all kinds of arms and ammunition, securing premises favourably located for street fighting (convenient for fighting from above, for storing bombs and stones, etc., or acids to be poured on the police, etc., etc.; also suitable for headquarters, for collecting information, for sheltering fugitives from the police, for use as hospitals, etc., etc.). Further, preliminary activity includes the immediate work of reconnaissance and gathering information—obtaining plans of prisons, police stations, ministries, etc., ascertaining the routine in govern-

ment offices, banks, etc., and learning how they are guarded, endeavouring to establish contacts which could be of use (with employees in police departments, banks, courts, prisons, post- and telegraph-offices, etc.), ascertaining the whereabouts of arsenals, of all the gunsmiths' shops in the city, etc. There is a great deal of this sort of work to be done, and—what is more—it is work in which even those who are quite incapable of engaging in street fighting, even the very weak, women, youngsters, old people, and so on, can be of immense service. Efforts should be made immediately to get into combat groups absolutely all those who *want*. to take part in the uprising, for there is *no* such person, nor can there be one, who, provided he desires to work, cannot be of immense value, even if he is unarmed and is personally incapable of fighting.

Further, revolutionary army groups should under no circumstances confine themselves to preparatory work alone, but should begin military action as soon as possible so as to 1) train their fighting forces; 2) reconnoitre the enemy's vulnerable spots; 3) inflict partial defeats on the enemy; 4) rescue prisoners (the arrested); 5) procure arms; 6) obtain funds for the uprising (confiscation of government funds), and so on and so forth. The groups can and should immediately take advantage of every opportunity for active work, and must by no means put matters off until a general uprising, because fitness for the uprising cannot be acquired except by training *under fire*.

All extremes, of course, are bad. All that is good and useful, if carried to extremes, may become—and beyond a certain limit is bound to become—bad and injurious. Disorderly, unorganised and petty terrorist acts may, if carried to extremes, only scatter and squander our forces. That is a fact, which, of course, should not be forgotten. On the other hand, under no circumstances should it be forgotten that a slogan calling for an uprising *has already been issued*, that the uprising has already *begun*. To launch attacks under favourable circumstances is not only every revolutionary's right, but his plain duty. The killing of spies, policemen, gendarmes, the blowing up of police stations, the liberation of prisoners, the seizure of government funds for the needs of the uprising—such operations are already being carried

out wherever insurrection is rife, in Poland and in the Caucasus, and every detachment of the revolutionary army must be ready to start such operations at a moment's notice. Each group should remember that if it allows a favourable opportunity for such an operation to-slip by today, it will be guilty of *unpardonable inactivity*, of passivity—and such an offence is the greatest crime a revolutionary can commit at a time of insurrection, the greatest disgrace that can befall anyone who is striving for liberty in deed, and not in word alone.

As for the composition of these combat groups, the following may be said. Experience will show how many members are desirable in each group, and how their duties should be distributed. Each group must itself begin to acquire this experience, without waiting for instructions from outside. The local revolutionary organisation should, of course, be asked to send a revolutionary with military experience to deliver lectures, conduct discussions and give advice, but if such a person is not available it is absolutely incumbent upon the group to do this work itself.

As regards Party divisions, it is natural that members of the same Party will prefer to belong to the same group. But there should be no hard and fast rule debarring members of other parties from joining. It is precisely here that we must put into practice the alliance, the working agreement (without any merging of parties, of course), between the socialist proletariat and revolutionary democracy. Whoever wants to fight for liberty and proves in fact his readiness to do so may be regarded as a revolutionary democrat, and we must strive to carry on with such people the work of preparing for the uprising (provided, of course, the given person or group is quite trustworthy). All other "democrats" should be emphatically rejected as quasi-democrats, as liberal windbags who must not be relied on at all, and whom it would be criminal for a revolutionary to trust.

It is, of course, desirable for combat groups to unite their activities. It would be extremely useful to work out the forms and terms of joint action. Under no circumstances, however, should this be carried to the extreme of inventing complex plans and general schemes, or of postponing practical work for the sake of pedantic concoctions, etc. The

uprising will inevitably take place under circumstances in which the unorganised elements will outnumber the organised thousands of times over; there will inevitably be cases when it will be necessary to take immediate action, right then and there, in twos or even singly—and one must be prepared to act on one's own initiative, and at one's own risk. All delays, disputes, procrastination and indecision spell ruin to the cause of the uprising. Supreme determination, maximum energy, immediate utilisation of each suitable moment, immediate stimulation of the revolutionary ardour of the mass and the direction of this ardour to more vigorous and the most determined action—such is the prime duty of a revolutionary.

The fight against the Black Hundreds is an excellent type of military action, which will *train* the soldiers of the revolutionary army, give them their baptism of fire, and at the same time be of tremendous benefit to the revolution. Revolutionary army groups must at once find out who organises the Black Hundreds and where and how they are organised, and then, without confining themselves to propaganda (which is useful, but inadequate) they must act with armed force, beat up and kill the members of the Black-Hundred gangs, blow up their headquarters, etc., etc.

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WHAT THE LIBERALS EXPECT OF THE DUMA

The liberals are trying to make the public optimistic regarding the composition of the Duma. Here is what the *Frankfurter Zeitung* correspondent wrote from St. Petersburg on October 14 (New Style): "Consideration of the results of the pre-election meetings now taking place leads one to the conclusion that the composition of the Duma will not be as bad as it seemed before. It may now be foretold with a certain degree of probability that conservative elements proper will hardly make up one half of the Duma. The *moderate liberals* and the *liberals* have the best chances of being elected, whereas the radicals' prospects are far less favourable, though they may be called relatively good from the viewpoint of the pessimism with which the radicals regarded the future as recently as in August. There can hardly be any doubt that the radicals' representation in the Duma will not be too weak. The only question is in what degree they will be able to make the liberals and the moderate liberals follow in their wake, since only if these three elements present a solid front to the conservative core will a constituent assembly be ensured."

By radicals the correspondent undoubtedly means the Constitutional-Democrats. Their candidates in St. Petersburg are Nabokov, Kedrin, and Vinaver. The "moderate liberals" are not defined with any precision, but among their candidates mention has been made of Fyodorov (a conservative "proper", but "one who might be supported by the liberals as well"!), and Nikitin (a candidate of the Right, but at the same time also a moderate-liberal candidate).

So a constituent assembly is "ensured", with the liberals and moderate liberals subordinated to the leadership of the "radical" *Osvobozhdeniye* League members.... Indeed, here we have the liberal optimists "clutching at straws". What is most curious is their failure to see that even should a Duma majority vote for a constituent assembly, it will not be the latter that will be "ensured" in actual fact, but only a determined revolutionary struggle for one. The Constitutional-Democrats would like to have two irons in the fire—to have dealings with the autocracy (legal opposition in a legal Duma), and with the revolution ("we have done our bit" for a constituent assembly).

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THE FIRST VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

Geneva, November 1 (October 19)

Late Monday night the telegraph brought Europe the news of the tsar's Manifesto of October 17. The *Times* correspondent wired: "The people have won the day. The Emperor has surrendered. The autocracy has ceased to exist." Friends of the Russian revolution living in distant Baltimore (U.S.A.) expressed themselves differently in a cable they sent to *Proletary*: "Congratulations on the first great victory of the Russian revolution."

The latter appraisal of the events is undoubtedly far more accurate. We have every reason to be jubilant. The concession made by the tsar is indeed a great victory for the revolution, but this victory is still a long way from deciding the fate of the entire cause of liberty. The tsar is far from having surrendered. The autocracy has by no means ceased to exist. It has merely retreated, leaving the field of battle to the enemy; it has retreated after an exceedingly heavy battle, but it has not yet been defeated by a long way. It is mustering its forces, and the revolutionary people have still to solve many important military problems before they will be able to carry the revolution to real and final victory.

October 17 will go down in history as one of the great days of the Russian revolution. On this day the nation-wide strike, the like of which the world had never before seen, reached its climax. The mighty arm of the proletariat, which was raised in an outburst of heroic solidarity all over Russia, brought the entire industrial, commercial and

administrative life of the country to a standstill. It was the lull before the storm. Reports, one more alarming than the other, began pouring in from various big cities. The troops were wavering. The government refrained from taking repressive measures, the revolutionaries had not yet launched any serious open attacks, but insurrection was erupting on all sides.

At the eleventh hour the tsarist government decided to yield, realising that an explosion was inevitable, that already under no circumstances was it at all capable of gaining a full victory, but was very likely to suffer complete defeat. Trepov is reported as having said, "First there will be bloodshed, and then a constitution." The inevitability of a constitution could no longer be doubted, even if the uprising were suppressed, so the government decided that it was better to avoid the risk of serious and general bloodshed, for tsarist rule would be swept away altogether in the event of the victory of the people.

We know only an infinitesimal portion of that information possessed by the government on Monday, October 17, which compelled it to evade a desperate battle and yield. The local and central authorities strained every effort to hold up or curtail messages about the alarming progress of the uprising, but even the scanty, random and curtailed reports that found their way into the European press leave no doubt that this was a genuine uprising, capable of inspiring mortal fear in the tsar and his ministers.

The forces of tsarism and of the revolution are equally balanced, we wrote a week ago, on the basis of the first news of the country-wide political strike. Tsarism was no longer strong enough to crush the revolution; the revolution was not yet strong enough to crush tsarism. But with such an equilibrium of forces, all delay was fraught with the greatest danger to tsarism, for delay was bound to cause the troops to waver.

The uprising was spreading. Blood was already being spilt all over Russia. The people were fighting at the barricades, from Revel to Odessa, from Poland to Siberia. In isolated and small encounters the troops were victorious, but at the same time tidings of a new and unprecedented phenomenon began to come in, a phenomenon plainly testifying

to the *military* impotence of the autocracy. This was the news of the *negotiations* between the tsarist troops and the insurgent people (Kharkov), the news of the *withdrawal* of troops from cities (Kharkov, Revel) as the *only* way to restore tranquillity. Negotiations with the insurgent people, the withdrawal of troops—that is the beginning of the end. Better than any arguments it proves that the military authorities were aware of the extreme precariousness of their position. It shows that disaffection among the troops has spread to a truly formidable extent. Scattered news items and rumours seeped through to the foreign press. In Kiev soldiers who had refused to fire were arrested. Similar cases occurred in Poland. In Odessa the infantry were confined to their barracks, the authorities fearing to bring the men out into the streets. In St. Petersburg unrest was beginning to manifest itself in the navy, and it was reported that the guards regiments were totally unreliable. As for the Black Sea Fleet, it has been impossible to this very day to ascertain the whole truth. On October 17, telegrams were already reporting that rumours of a new mutiny in this fleet were very persistent, that all telegrams were being intercepted by the authorities, who resorted to every means in an attempt to prevent reports of the events from spreading.

If we bring together all these fragmentary reports we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that even from a purely military standpoint the autocracy's position was desperate. It was still suppressing isolated outbreaks, its troops were still taking barricades here and there, but these isolated encounters merely served to inflame passions, merely increased indignation, merely accelerated a mightier general outbreak, which the government particularly dreaded, since it could no longer rely on the army.

The enemy declined a pitched battle. He retreated, abandoning the battlefield to the revolutionary people—retreated to new positions, which he considers better fortified, and where he hopes to rally more reliable forces, weld them together and infuse a new spirit into them, and choose a better moment for an offensive.

This appraisal of the great day of October 17 is confirmed by a number of relatively "unbiased" reports in the European bourgeois press.

On the one hand, the European bourgeoisie is sighing with relief. The tsar's Manifesto promises a regular constitution; the Duma is invested with legislative powers; no law can come into force prior to approval by the people's representatives, ministerial responsibility has been granted; civil liberties have been granted—inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association. The stock exchange is hastening to express fuller confidence in Russia's finances. Russian securities, which have been falling for the last few days, are now going up. The foreign bankers who fled from revolutionary St. Petersburg are promising to return within a fortnight. In the constitution the European bourgeoisie sees a pledge of "peaceful" minor concessions, which will wholly satisfy the propertied classes without at the same time allowing the revolutionary proletariat to acquire "too much" freedom.

On the other hand, even the liberal bourgeois cannot but see that the tsar's Manifesto contains only hollow words, mere promises. Who nowadays will believe promises alone? Are not all these phrases about inviolability of the person and freedom of speech sheer mockery when the prisons are still packed with so-called political offenders, and the censorship is still operating? What kind of people will carry out the tsar's promise? The Witte government, which is rumoured to include Kuzmin-Karavayev, Kosich, Koni? This government will not even be one of the liberal bourgeoisie. It will only be a government of the liberal *bureaucracy*, which has so often been defeated by the reactionary Court clique. Can it be that the people have spilt their blood in the struggle for liberty only to have to rely on the liberal bureaucrats, who confine themselves to mere words and promises?!

No, tsarism is still far from having surrendered. The autocracy has by no means fallen as yet. Many great battles will still have to be fought by the revolutionary proletariat, and the first victory will help it to rally its forces and enlist new allies in the struggle.

"The very success of the cause of freedom," The *Times* correspondent wrote the day the Manifesto was proclaimed, "will only stimulate the reactionary elements to greater activity, and so long as the army remains under its present

chiefs Russia cannot be safe from the possibility of a *pronunciamento*." "It is ... doubtful whether the forced surrender of the government in the very midst of a revolutionary upheaval can be regarded otherwise than as a signal for further strife." "It is not known whether the bureaucracy has been ousted from its citadel or whether it has merely retreated from its advance positions," say the bourgeois optimists, although the facts show clearly that the "citadel" of the autocracy is still quite intact.

The enforced nature of the concession is what most of all disturbs the moderate bourgeois. *Le Temps*, organ of the ruling money-bags of France, waxed highly indignant over "anarchy", and showered abuse and slander on the organisers of the all-Russia political strike and its participants. Though satisfied by the tsar's constitutional promises as such, this newspaper now remarks with concern: "Instead of acting on his own initiative, the tsar contended himself with signing the 'instructions' of the liberal opposition. This is a poor method, lending the subsequent reforms an enforced nature, the nature of something fragmentary and sudden. This method places the government at odds with itself and sets a premium on violence. Unfortunately, it is only too clear that matters had reached a point where there was no other way out of the impasse into which the government had been led. Let us pass a wet sponge over the nature of this capitulation—capitulation not only to the constitutionalists, moderate souls, who should have been heeded sooner, but capitulation to a strike and revolution."

No, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, the workers will never forget the enforced nature of the tsar's capitulation! The workers will never forget that it was only by force, by the force of their organisation, their unanimity and their mass heroism, that they wrested from tsarism a recognition of liberty in a paper manifesto; and only in this way will they win real liberty for themselves.

We stated above that the enemy retreated, abandoning the battlefield to the revolutionary proletariat. We must add now: the retreating enemy is being hard pressed. On Monday, October 17, the tear's Manifesto was issued. On Tuesday, October 18, according to a Wolff Press Agency report, a Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour

Party was issued in St. Petersburg in a huge number of copies. It declares that the struggle of the proletariat will by no means cease as a result of the tsar's Manifesto. It must be the proletariat's tactics to take advantage of rights granted under the force of its blows, to arrange workers' meetings to decide the question of the continuation of the strike, to organise a militia to protect revolutionary rights, and to put forward the demand for a full amnesty. At mass meetings Social-Democratic speakers are urging the convocation of a constituent assembly. According to telegrams, the Strike Committee[135] is demanding an amnesty and the immediate convocation of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal and direct suffrage.

Their revolutionary instinct at once prompted the St. Petersburg workers to adopt the right slogan—energetic continuation of the struggle, and utilisation of the newly-won positions for a continued onslaught and the actual destruction of the autocracy. The struggle continues. Meetings are being held ever more frequently and are being attended by larger number of people. The joy and the legitimate pride evoked by the first victory are not hampering the new organisation of forces for the purpose of carrying the revolution to completion. Its success depends on still broader sections of the people being won over to the side of liberty, on their enlightenment and organisation. The working class has shown its titanic might in the all-Russia political strike, but there is still much to be done among the backward sections of the urban proletariat. While establishing a workers' militia—the only bulwark of the revolution—while preparing ourselves for new and even more determined struggles, while upholding our old slogans, we must also pay special attention to the army. The tsar's enforced concession was bound to give rise to the greatest wavering in its ranks, and now we must attract the soldiers to workers' meetings, intensify our agitation in the barracks, extend our liaisons with officers, creating, alongside of the revolutionary army of workers, cadres of class-conscious revolutionaries among the troops as well, troops which only yesterday were most loyal to the tsar and are now on the verge of becoming a people's army.

The revolutionary proletariat has succeeded in neutralising

the army, after paralysing it in the great days of the general strike. It must now work to bring the army completely over to the side of the people.

The revolutionary proletariat has brought about the first great victory of the urban revolution. It must now broaden and deepen the foundations of the revolution by extending it to the countryside. To raise the peasantry to the level of conscious defence of the cause of liberty, to demand that serious measures be taken in the interests of the peasantry, and to prepare in the countryside a movement which, in conjunction with the advanced urban proletariat, will deal the final blow at the autocracy and win complete and genuine liberty—such is Russian Social-Democracy's next task.

The success of the revolution depends on the size of the proletarian and peasant masses that will rise in its defence and for its consummation. Revolutionary war differs from other wars in that it draws its main reserves from the camp of its enemy's erstwhile allies, erstwhile supporters of tsarism, or people who blindly obeyed tsarism. The success of the all-Russia political strike will have a greater influence over the minds and hearts of the peasants than the confusing words of any possible manifestoes or laws.

When the Russian revolution was just getting under way, the liberal bourgeoisie occupied the whole political foreground; such was the situation a year ago.

The revolution asserted itself when the urban working class appeared on the scene on January 9.

The revolution won its first victory when the proletariat of all the nations of Russia rose as one man and made the tsar's throne tremble, the throne that had caused such incalculable distress to all the nations, and most of all to the toiling classes of all the nations.

The revolution will deal the enemy the final blow and sweep the throne of the blood-thirsty tsar from the face of the earth, when the workers rise once more, with the peasantry following their lead.

And further, the Russian revolution has another reserve. Gone are the times when nations and states could live isolated from one another. Look—Europe is already stirring. Its bourgeoisie is disconcerted and prepared to give millions

and billions to stop the conflagration in Russia. The rulers of the militarist European powers are contemplating military assistance for the tsar. Kaiser Wilhelm has already dispatched several cruisers and destroyers to establish direct links between the German militarists and Peterhof. European counter-revolution is holding out a hand to Russian counter-revolution.

Just you try, citizen Hohenzollern! We too have a European reserve of the Russian revolution. This reserve is the international socialist proletariat, the international revolutionary Social-Democratic movement. The workers of the whole world are hailing the victory of the Russian workers with enthusiasm and, conscious of the close links between the various contingents of the international army of socialism, are themselves preparing for the great and decisive struggle.

You are not alone, workers and peasants of all Russia! If you succeed in overthrowing, crushing and destroying the tyrants of feudal, police-ridden, landlord and tsarist Russia, your victory will serve as a signal for a world struggle against the tyranny of capital, a struggle for the complete, economic as well as political emancipation of the toilers, a struggle for the deliverance of humanity from destitution, and for the realisation of socialism.

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THE LATEST NEWS

Geneva, November 4 (October 22)

Nicholas the Bloodstained's "Constitutional" Manifesto has been followed by countless new killings organised by Trepov and his thugs. The ferocity of the Cossacks, the anti-Jewish pogroms, the shooting down in the streets of freshly "amnestied" political offenders, the pillage conducted by the Black Hundreds with the aid of the police—everything has been brought into play so as to crush the revolutionary struggle.

The tsar has given the revolutionaries excellent help by confirming their appraisal of his false concession, their appraisal of the vile comedy of a "liberal" manifesto. The tsar is out to provoke a new and determined struggle. So much the better! All of Social-Democracy's activities, the entire energy of the proletariat will now be directed towards preparing for the next onslaught and destroying the monster of tsarism, which, in its death throes, is trying for the last time to arouse evil instincts in the ignorant mob. The greater Trepov's display of zeal, the more certain is the complete downfall of the entire Trepov set-up and of all the Romanovs.

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NIKOLAI ERNESTOVICH BAUMAN

Today? November 3 (New Style), the news arrived by telegraph that N. E. Bauman, veterinary surgeon and member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, has been murdered in Moscow by the tsar's soldiers. A demonstration was held at his graveside, at which the widow of the deceased, also a member of our Party, delivered a speech calling on the people to rise in arms. We are unable as yet to give a detailed biography of our fallen comrade. For the time being, we shall merely enumerate the main events in his life. He started work in the Social-Democratic organisation in St. Petersburg in the nineties. He was arrested, spent twenty-two months in the Peter and Paul Fortress, and was then exiled to Vyatka Gubernia. He escaped from his place of exile, went abroad, and in 1900 participated in the organisation of *Iskra*. From its very inception he was one of the principal practical leaders of this enterprise, making frequent secret visits to Russia. He was arrested in February 1902 in Voronezh (betrayed by a doctor) in connection with the organisation of *Iskra*, and was imprisoned in Kiev. In August 1902, he escaped together with ten other Social-Democratic comrades. He was a delegate of the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Congress of the Party (under the assumed name of Sorokin). He took part in the Second Congress of the League[136] (under the assumed name of Sarafsky). Following this he became a member of the Moscow Committee of the Party. He was arrested on June 19, 1904, and was held at Taganka Prison. He must have been released from prison only a few days ago.

May the memory of this fighter in the ranks of the Russian Social-Democratic proletariat never die! May the memory

of this revolutionary, who has fallen in the first days of the victorious revolution, live for ever! May the honours paid to his remains by the people who have risen in revolt be a pledge of the complete victory of the uprising and the complete destruction of accursed tsarism!

The murder of N. E. Bauman clearly shows how correct the Social-Democratic speakers in St. Petersburg were when they described the Manifesto of October 17 as a trap, and the conduct of the government after publication of the Manifesto as provocative. What are all these promised liberties worth, so long as power and armed force remain in the hands of the government? Is not this "amnesty" actually a trap, when those who are released from prison are shot down in the streets by Cossacks?

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PETTY-BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM[137]

Of the various socialist doctrines, Marxism is now predominant in Europe, the struggle for the achievement of a socialist order being almost entirely waged as a struggle of the working class under the guidance of the Social-Democratic parties. This complete predominance of proletarian socialism grounded in the teachings of Marxism was not achieved all at once, but only after a long struggle against all sorts of outworn doctrines, petty-bourgeois socialism, anarchism, and so on. Some thirty years ago, Marxism was not predominant even in Germany, where the prevailing views of the time were in fact transitional, mixed and eclectic, lying between petty-bourgeois and proletarian socialism. The most widespread doctrines among advanced workers in the Romance countries, in France, Spain and Belgium, were Proudhonism, Blanquism and anarchism, which obviously expressed the viewpoint of the petty bourgeois, not of the proletarian.

What has been the cause of this rapid and complete victory of Marxism during the last decades? The correctness of the Marxist views has been confirmed to an ever greater extent by all the development of contemporary societies, both politically and economically, and by the whole experience of the revolutionary movement and of the struggle of the oppressed classes. The decline of the petty bourgeoisie inevitably led, sooner or later, to the extinction of all kinds of petty-bourgeois prejudices, while the growth of capitalism and the intensification of the class struggle within capitalist society were the best agitation for the ideas of proletarian socialism.

Russia's backwardness naturally accounts for the firm footing that various obsolete socialist doctrines gained in our country. The entire history of Russian revolutionary thought during the last quarter of a century is the history of the struggle waged by Marxism against petty-bourgeois Narodnik socialism. While the rapid growth and remarkable successes of the Russian working-class movement have already brought victory to Marxism in Russia too, the development of an indubitably revolutionary peasant movement—especially after the famous peasant revolts in the Ukraine in 1902—has on the other hand caused a certain revival of senile Narodism. The Narodnik theories of old, embellished with modish European opportunism (revisionism, Bernsteinism, and criticism of Marx), make up all the original ideological stock-in-trade of the so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries. That is why the peasant question is focal in the Marxists' controversies with both the pure Narodniks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

To a certain extent Narodism was an integral and consistent doctrine. It denied the domination of capitalism in Russia; it denied the factory workers' role as the front-line fighters of the entire proletariat; it denied the importance of a political revolution and bourgeois political liberty; it preached an immediate socialist revolution, stemming from the peasant commune with its petty forms of husbandry. All that now survives of this integral theory is mere shreds, but to understand the controversies of the present day intelligently, and to prevent these controversies from degenerating into mere squabbles, one should always remember the general and basic Narodnik *roots* of the errors of our Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The Narodniks considered the muzhik the man of the future in Russia, this view springing inevitably from their faith in the socialist character of the peasant commune, from their lack of faith in the future of capitalism. The Marxists considered the worker the man of the future in Russia, and the development of Russian capitalism in both agriculture and industry is providing more and more confirmation of their views. The working-class movement in Russia has won recognition for itself, but as for the peasant movement, the gulf separating Narodism and Marxism is

to this day revealed in their different *interpretations* of this movement. To the Narodniks the peasant movement provides a refutation of Marxism. It is a movement that stands for a direct socialist revolution; it does not recognise bourgeois political liberty; it stems from small-scale, not large-scale, production. In a word, to the Narodnik, it is the peasant movement that is the genuine, truly socialist and immediately socialist movement. The Narodnik faith in the peasant commune and the Narodnik brand of anarchism fully explain why such conclusions are inevitable.

To the Marxist, the peasant movement is a democratic, not a socialist, movement. In Russia, just as was the case in other countries, it is a necessary concomitant of the democratic revolution, which is bourgeois in its social and economic content. It is not in the least directed against the foundations of the bourgeois order, against commodity production, or against capital. On the contrary, it is directed against the old, serf, pre-capitalist relationships in the rural districts, and against landlordism, which is the mainstay of all the survivals of serf-ownership. Consequently, full victory of this peasant movement will not abolish capitalism; on the contrary, it will create a broader foundation for its development, and will hasten and intensify purely capitalist development. Full victory of the peasant uprising can only create a stronghold for a democratic bourgeois republic, within which a proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie will for the first time develop in its purest form.

These, then, are the two contrasting views which must be clearly understood by anyone who wishes to examine the gulf in principles that lies between the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Social-Democrats. According to one view, the peasant movement is socialist, while according to the other it is a democratic-bourgeois movement. Hence one can see what ignorance our Socialist-Revolutionaries reveal when they repeat for the hundredth time (see, for example, *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, No. 75) that orthodox Marxists have ignored the peasant question. There is only one way of combating such crass ignorance, and that is by repeating the ABC, by setting forth the old consistently Narodnik views, and by pointing out for the hundredth or the

thousandth time that the real distinction between us does not lie in a desire or the non-desire to reckon with the peasant question, in recognition or non-recognition of it, but in our *different appraisals* of the present-day peasant movement and of the present-day peasant question in Russia. He who says that the Marxists ignore the peasant question in Russia is, in the first place, an absolute ignoramus since all the principal writings of Russian Marxists, beginning with Plekhanov's *Our Differences* (which appeared over twenty years ago), have in the main been devoted to explaining the erroneousness of the Narodnik views on the Russian peasant question. Secondly, he who says that the Marxists ignore the peasant question thereby proves his desire to avoid giving a complete appraisal of the actual difference in principles, giving the answer to the question whether or not the present-day peasant movement is democratic-bourgeois whether or not it is objectively directed against the survivals of serfdom.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries have never given, nor will they ever be able to give, a clear and precise answer to this question, for they are floundering hopelessly between the old Narodnik view and the present-day Marxist view on the peasant question in Russia. The Marxists say that the Socialist-Revolutionaries represent the standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie (are ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie) for the very reason that they cannot rid themselves of petty-bourgeois illusions and of the Narodnik imaginings in appraising the peasant movement.

That is why we have to go over the ABC once again. What is the present-day peasant movement in Russia striving for? For land and liberty. What significance will the complete victory of this movement have? After winning liberty, it will abolish the rule of the landlords and bureaucrats in the administration of the state. After securing the land, it will give the landlords' estates to the peasants. Will the fullest liberty and expropriation of the landlords do away with commodity production? No, it will not. Will the fullest liberty and expropriation of the landlords abolish individual farming by peasant households on communal, or "socialised", land? No, it will not. Will the fullest liberty and expropriation of the landlords bridge the deep gulf that

separates the rich peasant, with his numerous horses and cows, from the farm-hand, the day-labourer, i.e., the gulf that separates the peasant bourgeoisie from the rural proletariat? No, it will not. On the contrary, the more completely the highest *social-estate* (the landlords) is routed and annihilated, the more profound will the *class* distinction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat be. What will be the objective significance of the complete victory of the peasant uprising? This victory will do away with all survivals of serfdom, but it will by no means destroy the bourgeois economic system, or destroy capitalism or the division of society into classes—into rich and poor, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Why is the present-day peasant movement a democratic-bourgeois movement? Because, after destroying the power of the bureaucracy and the landlords, it will set up a democratic system of society, without, however, altering the bourgeois foundation of that democratic society, without abolishing the rule of capital. How should the class-conscious worker, the socialist, regard the present-day peasant movement? He must support this movement, help the peasants in the most energetic fashion, help them throw off completely both the rule of the bureaucracy and that of the landlords. At the same time, however, he should explain to the peasants that it is not enough to overthrow the rule of the bureaucracy and the landlords. When they overthrow that rule, they must at the same time prepare for the abolition of the rule of capital, the rule of the bourgeoisie, and for that purpose a doctrine that is fully socialist, i.e., Marxist, should be immediately disseminated, the rural proletarians should be united, welded together, and organised for the struggle against the peasant bourgeoisie and the entire Russian bourgeoisie. Can a class-conscious worker forget the democratic struggle for the sake of the socialist struggle, or forget the latter for the sake of the former? No, a class-conscious worker calls himself a Social-Democrat for the reason that he understands the relation between the two struggles. He knows that there is no other road to socialism save the road through democracy, through political liberty. He therefore strives to achieve democratism completely and consistently in order to attain the ultimate goal—socialism. Why are the conditions for the

democratic struggle not the same as those for the socialist struggle? Because the workers will certainly have different allies in each of those two struggles. The democratic struggle is waged by the workers together with a section of the bourgeoisie, especially the petty bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the socialist struggle is waged by the workers against the whole of the bourgeoisie. The struggle against the bureaucrat and the landlord can and must be waged together with all the peasants, even the well-to-do and the middle peasants. On the other hand, it is only together with the rural proletariat that the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore against the well-to-do peasants too, can be properly waged.

If we keep in mind all these elementary Marxist truths, which the Socialist-Revolutionaries always prefer to avoid going into, we shall have no difficulty in appraising the latter's "latest" objections to Marxism, such as the following:

"Why was it necessary," *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (No. 75) exclaims, "first to support the peasant in general against the landlord, and then (i.e., at the same time) to support the proletariat against the peasant in general, instead of at once supporting the proletariat against the landlord; and what Marxism has to do with this, heaven alone knows."

This is the standpoint of the most primitive, childishly naïve anarchism. For many centuries and even for thousands of years, mankind has dreamt of doing away "at once" with all and every kind of exploitation. These dreams remained mere dreams until millions of the exploited all over the world began to unite for a consistent, staunch and comprehensive struggle to change capitalist society in the direction the evolution of that society is naturally taking. Socialist dreams turned into the socialist struggle of the millions only when Marx's scientific socialism had linked up the urge for change with the struggle of a definite class. Outside the class struggle, socialism is either a hollow phrase or a naïve dream. In Russia, however, two different struggles of two different social forces are taking place before our very eyes. The proletariat is fighting against the bourgeoisie wherever capitalist relations of production exist (and they exist—be it known to our Socialist-Revolutionaries—even in the peasant commune, i.e., on the land which from

their standpoint is one hundred per cent "socialised"). As a stratum of small landowners, of petty bourgeois, the peasantry, is fighting against all survivals of serfdom, against the bureaucrats and the landlords. Only those who are completely ignorant of political economy and of the history of revolutions throughout the world can fail to see that these are two distinct and different social wars. To shut one's eyes to the diversity of these wars by demanding "at once", is like hiding one's head under one's wing and refusing to make any analysis of reality.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries, who have lost the integrity of the old Narodnik views, have even forgotten many of the teachings of the Narodniks themselves. As the selfsame *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* writes in the same article: "By helping the peasantry to expropriate the landlords, Mr. Lenin is unconsciously assisting in building up petty-bourgeois economy on the ruins of the more or less developed forms of capitalist agriculture. Is not this a 'step backward' from the standpoint of orthodox Marxism?"

For shame, gentlemen! Why, you have forgotten your own Mr. V. V.! Consult his *Destiny of Capitalism*, the *Sketches* by Mr. Nikolai—on,[138] and other sources of your wisdom. You will then recollect that landlord farming in Russia combines within itself features both of capitalism and of serf-ownership. You will then find out that there is a system of economy based on labour rent, which is a direct survival of the corvée system. If, moreover, you take the trouble to consult such an orthodox Marxist book as the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, you will find that nowhere could the corvée system develop, and nowhere did it develop, and turn into capitalist farming except through the medium of petty-bourgeois peasant farming. In your efforts to scatter Marxism to the winds, you resort to methods too primitive, methods too long ago exposed; you ascribe to Marxism a grotesquely oversimplified conception of large-scale capitalist farming directly succeeding to large-scale farming based on the corvée system. You argue that since the yield on the landlords' estates is higher than on the peasant farms the expropriation of the landlords is a step backward. This argument is worthy of a fourth-form schoolboy. Just consider, gentlemen: was it not a "step backward" to separate the low-

yielding peasant lands from the high-yielding landlords' estates when serfdom was abolished?

Present-day landlord economy in Russia combines features of both capitalism and serf-ownership. Objectively, the peasants' struggle against the landlords today is a struggle against survivals of serfdom. However, to attempt to enumerate all individual cases, to weigh each individual case, and to determine with the precision of an apothecary's scales exactly where serf-ownership ends and pure capitalism begins, is to ascribe one's own pedantry to the Marxists. We cannot calculate what portion of the price of provisions bought from a petty shopkeeper represents labour-value and what part of it represents swindling, etc. Does that mean, gentlemen, that we must discard the theory of labour-value?

Contemporary landlord economy combines features of both capitalism and serfdom. But only pedants can conclude from this that it is our duty to weigh, count and copy out every minute feature in every particular instance, and pigeon-hole it in this or that social category. Only utopians can hence conclude that "there is no need" for us to draw a distinction between the two different social wars. Indeed, the only actual conclusion that does follow is that both in our programme and in our tactics we must combine the purely proletarian struggle against capitalism with the general democratic (and general peasant) struggle against serfdom.

The more marked the capitalist features in present-day landlord semi-feudal economy, the more imperative is it to get right down to organising the rural proletariat separately, for this will help purely capitalist, or purely proletarian, antagonisms to assert themselves the sooner, whenever confiscation takes place. The more marked the capitalist features in landlord economy, the sooner will democratic confiscation give an impetus to the real struggle for socialism—and, consequently, the more dangerous is false idealisation of the democratic revolution through use of the catchword of "socialisation". Such is the conclusion to be drawn from the fact that landlord economy is a mixture of capitalism and serf-ownership relations.

Thus, we must combine the purely proletarian struggle with the general peasant struggle, but not confuse the two.

We must support the general democratic and general peasant struggle, but not become submerged in this non-class struggle; we must never idealise it with false catchwords such as "socialisation", or ever forget the necessity of organising both the urban *and the rural* proletariat in an entirely independent class party of Social-Democracy. While giving the utmost support to the most determined democratism, that party will not allow itself to be diverted from the revolutionary path by reactionary dreams and experiments in "equalisation" under the system of commodity production. The peasants' struggle against the landlords is now a revolutionary struggle; the confiscation of the landlords' estates at the present stage of economic and political evolution is revolutionary in every respect, and we back this revolutionary-democratic measure. However, to call this measure "socialisation", and to deceive oneself and the people concerning the possibility of "equality" in land tenure under the system of commodity production, is a reactionary petty-bourgeois utopia, which we leave to the socialist-reactionaries.

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THE DENOUEMENT IS AT HAND

The forces are in equilibrium, we wrote a fortnight ago,* when the first news of the all-Russia political strike came in, and it was becoming evident that the government dare not make immediate use of its military forces.

The forces are in equilibrium, we repeated a week ago,** when the Manifesto of October 17 was the latest in the political news, betokening to the whole people and to the world at large that tsarism was in the grip of irresolution, and was in retreat.

However, equilibrium of forces in no way precludes a struggle; on the contrary it makes the struggle more acute. The sole purpose of the government's retreat is, as we have already said, to enable it to choose what it considers a new and a more favourable situation for a battle. The proclamation of the "liberties" that adorn the scrap of paper known as the Manifesto of October 17 is merely an attempt to prepare the moral conditions for a struggle against the revolution, while Trepov, at the head of the all-Russia Black Hundreds, prepares the material conditions for that struggle.

The denouement is at hand, the new political situation is taking shape at breath-taking speed, one that marks only revolutionary epochs. In words, the government has begun to fall back, but in deed it has immediately begun to prepare for an offensive. Promises of a constitution have been followed by the most brutal and ugly acts of violence, which have seemed purposely designed to give the people a still more striking object lesson of the real significance of the

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* See pp. 394-95 of this volume.—*Ed.*

** See p. 428 of this volume.—*Ed.*

autocracy's real power. The contrast between promises, words and scraps of paper, on the one hand, and the facts of reality on the other has become infinitely more manifest. Events have begun to provide telling confirmation of a truth we long ago proclaimed to our readers, and shall repeat over and over again, namely, that until tsarism's actual power is overthrown, all its concessions, and even a constituent assembly, are a phantom, a mirage, a piece of deception.

The revolutionary workers of St. Petersburg made this perfectly clear in one of those daily bulletins[139] that have not yet reached us, but are being referred to more and more frequently by foreign newspapers, astounded and frightened by the might of the proletariat. "We have been granted freedom of assembly," the strike committee has written (we are translating from the English back into the Russian, so some inaccuracy is of course inevitable in the rendering), "but our meetings are surrounded by soldiers. We have been granted freedom of the press, but censorship continues. Freedom of learning has been promised, but the University is occupied by troops. Inviolability of the person has been promised, but the prisons are packed with arrested people. We have been granted Witte, but Trepov still exists. We have been granted a constitution, but the autocracy still exists. We have been granted everything, but we have nothing."

The "Manifesto" has been suspended by Trepov. The constitution has been held up by Trepov. The real significance of the liberties granted has been clarified by the selfsame Trepov. The amnesty has been mangled by Trepov.

But who is this Trepov? Is he some extraordinary personality, whose removal is of special significance? Nothing of the kind. He is just a most ordinary policeman, who is doing the autocracy's everyday work, with the military and the police at his disposal.

Why is it that this most ordinary policeman and his routine "job" have suddenly acquired such extraordinary importance? It is because the revolution has made immense progress, and had brought the denouement closer. Led by the proletariat, the people are becoming politically more mature with every day, nay with every hour, or, if you will, not by the year but by the week. While to a people that was

politically asleep, Trepov was just a most ordinary policeman, to a people that has grown aware that it is a political force, he has become insufferable, for he personifies all the brutality, criminality and senselessness of tsarism.

Revolution teaches. It provides all classes of the people and all the nations of Russia with excellent object lessons on the subject of *the nature of a constitution*. Revolution teaches by bringing to the fore the immediate and pressing political tasks, in their most manifest and compelling forms; it compels the masses to realise these tasks, and makes the people's very existence impossible, without fulfilment of these tasks; it unmasks the worthlessness of all and sundry pretences, evasions, promises and acknowledgements. "We have been granted everything, but we have nothing." Indeed, we have been "granted" only promises, since we have no real power. We have come close to liberty, have compelled all and sundry, even the tsar, to acknowledge the need for liberty. What we want, however, is not recognition of that need, but liberty itself. What we want is not a scrap of paper with promises of legislative powers for the people's representatives, but actual sovereignty of the people. The closer we approach that sovereignty, the more intolerable its absence becomes. The more tempting the tsar's manifestoes are, the more unbearable is his rule.

The struggle is approaching its denouement, the answer to the question whether actual power is to remain with the tsar's government. As for recognition of the revolution, it has now been generally recognised. It was recognised quite long ago by Mr. Struve and the *Osvobozhdeniye* gentry. It is now recognised by Mr. Witte and by Nicholas Romanov. "I promise you anything you wish," says the tsar, "only let me retain power, let me fulfil my own promises." That is the gist of the tsar's Manifesto, and it obviously had to spark off a determined struggle. "I grant you everything except power," tsarism declares. "Everything is illusory except power," the revolutionary people reply.

The real significance of the seeming senselessness into which Russian affairs have fallen lies in tsarism's desire to deceive the people and evade revolution by striking a bargain with the bourgeoisie. The tsar is making ever greater promises to the bourgeoisie, in the hope that the propertied

classes, to the man, will at last turn towards "law and order". However, whilst that "law and order" is exemplified in the excesses of Trepov and his Black Hundreds, the tsar's appeal seems likely to remain a voice crying in the wilderness. The tsar stands in need of both Witte and Trepov in equal measure—Witte to attract some, and Trepov to intimidate others; Witte for promises, and Trepov for action; Witte for the bourgeoisie, and Trepov for the proletariat. Before our eyes there is again unfolding, only this time on a far higher level of development, a scene the same as that witnessed at the beginning of the Moscow strikes—the liberals are doing the negotiating, while the workers are doing the fighting.

Trepov has an excellent understanding of his role and his real significance. He may have been somewhat too precipitate for the diplomatic Witte, but then he has been afraid of being left behind by the rapid development of the revolution. He has been even obliged to make haste, for he realises that the forces at his disposal are on the wane.

Simultaneously with its Manifesto on the Constitution, the autocracy has begun to take steps to preclude a constitution. The Black Hundreds have got down to work in a way Russia has never seen before. Reports of massacres, pogroms, and acts of unparalleled brutality are pouring in from all parts of the country. The white terror is rampant. Wherever they can, the police are inciting and organising the dregs of capitalist society for pillage and violence, plying the scum of the urban population with liquor, staging anti-Jewish pogroms, exhorting to violence against "students" and rebels, and helping in "giving a lesson" to Zemstvo members. Counter-revolution is working at full blast. Trepov has proved worthy of his salt. Machine-guns are opening fire (Odessa), eyes are being put out (Kiev), people are being hurled from the upper storeys into the streets below, houses are being taken by assault and then sacked, fires are started and nobody allowed to put them out, and those who dare offer resistance to the Black Hundreds are being shot down. From Poland to Siberia, from the shores of the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea—the picture is the same.

But simultaneously with this spate of Black-Hundred brutality, this orgy staged by the autocracy, these last

convulsions of the tsarist monster, fresh onslaughts are being launched by the proletariat, which, as always, only appears to quieten down after each upsurge of the movement. In actual fact, it is only mustering its forces and preparing to deal a decisive blow. For reasons already mentioned, police atrocities in Russia have acquired a character quite different from that of the past. Parallel with the outbursts of Cossack vengeance and Trepov's vindictiveness, the power of the tsar is disintegrating apace. This is to be seen in the provinces, in Finland, and in St. Petersburg; it is apparent in places where the people are the most downtrodden and the least developed politically, in the marginal areas with a non-Russian population, as well as in the capital, which promises to become a scene of the revolution's greatest drama.

Indeed, compare the following two telegraph messages, which we quote from a Vienna bourgeois liberal newspaper[140]: "*Tver*. The premises of the Zemstvo were attacked by a mob in the presence of Governor Sleptsov. After a siege the mob set fire to the building. The firemen refused to extinguish the flames, while the troops stood by without taking any measures to curb the ruffians." (Of course we cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy of this particular report, but it is an undeniable fact that similar things, and others a hundred times worse, are being perpetrated on all sides.) "*Kazan*. The police have been disarmed by the people. Arms taken from the police have been distributed among the population. A people's militia has been set up. Perfect order prevails."

Is not a comparison of these two reports instructive? In one case there is vengeance, atrocities, and pogroms; in the other, the tsar's authority has been overturned and a victorious uprising organised.

Finland presents a similar picture, only on a far greater scale. The tsar's viceroy has been expelled, and the lackey-senators removed by the people. The Russian gendarmes are being driven out and are trying to take reprisals (a telegram from Haparanda, dated November 4, N. S.) by damaging railway communications. In such cases armed detachments of the people's militia are sent to arrest the disorderly gendarmes. A meeting of Tornio citizens has decided

to organise the import of weapons and free literature. Thousands and tens of thousands in town and countryside are enrolling in the Finnish militia. The Russian garrison of a strong fortress (Sveaborg) are reported to have expressed sympathy with the insurgents, and turned the fortress over to the people's militia. Finland is rejoicing. The tsar is making concessions. He is prepared to summon the Diet, has repealed the unlawful manifesto of February 15, 1899, and has accepted the "resignation" of the senators ousted by the people. Meanwhile, *Novoye Vremya* is advising the government to blockade all Finnish ports, and to crush the uprising by armed force. According to foreign press reports, numerous Russian troops have been quartered in Helsingfors (it cannot be ascertained to what extent they can be relied on to crush the uprising). There are reports that Russian warships have entered the inner harbour of Helsingfors.

St. Petersburg. Here Trepov is wreaking vengeance for the rejoicings of the revolutionary people (over the concessions wrested from the tsar). Atrocities are being perpetrated by the Cossacks, and massacres are on the increase. The police are openly organising the Black Hundreds. The workers intended to hold a gigantic demonstration on Sunday, November 5 (October 23), to pay public homage to their heroes, their comrades who had fallen in the struggle for liberty. For its part, the government prepared a gigantic blood-bath. It was preparing for St. Petersburg something similar to what had already taken place on a smaller scale in Moscow (the massacre at the funeral of Bauman, the workers' leader). Trepov wanted to take advantage of the situation before his forces were weakened by part of them being dispatched to Finland, and while the workers were preparing to demonstrate, not to fight.

The St. Petersburg workers saw through the enemy's scheme, and the demonstration was called off. The workers' committee decided that the final battle should not take place at the time Trepov deigned to choose. The committee were quite right in thinking that a number of reasons (including the uprising in Finland) made postponement of the struggle disadvantageous to Trepov and advantageous to us. Meanwhile arming of the people has proceeded apace, and propaganda in the army has met with remarkable

success. A hundred and fifty ratings of the 14th and the 18th Naval Depots are stated to have been arrested, and during the last week and a half ninety-two reports are said to have been submitted concerning sympathy for revolutionaries shown by officers. Handbills calling on soldiers to go over to the side of the people are being distributed even among patrols "guarding" St. Petersburg. Freedom of the press, which was promised within limits prescribed by Trepov, is being extended to a greater degree by the mighty arm of the revolutionary proletariat. According to messages in the foreign press, only those St. Petersburg newspapers came out on Saturday, October 22 (November 4), which accepted the workers' demand that they ignore the censorship. Two St. Petersburg German-language papers that wished to remain "loyal" (i.e., servile) could not come out. From the moment the St. Petersburg strikers' union, but not Trepov, began to determine the bounds of legality, the "legal" papers began speaking up in extremely bold tones. "The strike has been only suspended," reads a cable to the *Neue Freie Presse* of October 23 (November 5). "The strike, it is reported, will be resumed when the time for a final blow at the old order arrives. Concessions no longer make the least impression on the proletariat. The situation is highly dangerous. Revolutionary ideas are gaining an increasing hold on the masses. The working class feels that it is master of the situation. Those who are afraid of impending disaster are beginning to leave the city [St. Petersburg]."

The denouement is at hand. The victory of the people's uprising is not far off now. Revolutionary Social-Democracy's slogans are being put into effect with unexpected rapidity. Let Trepov go on dashing to and fro between revolutionary Finland and revolutionary St. Petersburg, between the revolutionary marginal areas and the revolutionary provinces. Let him try to choose a single safe place for untrammelled military operations. Let the tsar's Manifesto be circulated more widely; let the news of the events in the revolutionary centres become more widespread—that will win us new supporters, and bring fresh vacillation and disintegration into the dwindling ranks of the tsar's adherents.

The all-Russia political strike has performed its tasks excellently by furthering the uprising, by inflicting frightful

wounds on tsarism, and by frustrating the disgusting comedy of the disgusting State Duma. The general rehearsal is over. The indications are that we are now on the eve of the drama itself. Witte is wallowing in a spate of words, while Trepov is wallowing in rivers of blood. The tsar is running short of promises he might yet make, while Trepov is running short of Black-Hundred forces he might send into the final battle. The ranks of the army of revolution are swelling all the time. Its forces are being steeled in individual engagements, and the red flag is rising higher and higher over the new Russia.

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INSERTS TO V. KALININ'S ARTICLE "THE PEASANT CONGRESS"[141]

1

We see, consequently, that consistent socialists must unequivocally support the revolutionary struggle of any section of the peasantry, even the well-to-do, against the bureaucracy and the landlords; however, consistent socialists must make it clearly understood that the "general redistribution" desired by the peasants is still not socialism. Socialism demands the abolition of the power of the money-bag, the power of capital, the abolition of all private ownership of the means of production, the abolition of commodity economy. Socialism demands that the land and the factories should pass into the hands of all the working people, who, following an all-over plan, will organise large-scale—and not scattered and small-scale—production.

The peasants' struggle for land and freedom is a big step towards socialism, but one that is very, very far from socialism.

2

The resolution on tactics as adopted by the Congress is amazing in its feebleness. We are inclined to think that here one of the peasantry's well-wishers (the liberals) has again been giving some kind of "explanation".

Here is the resolution:

"The activities of the Peasant Union may be public or secret (underground), this depending on local conditions. All members of the Union must propagate their views and give effect to their demands, making use of all available

methods, and disregarding opposition from Rural Superintendents, the police, or other authorities. It is also insistently advised that use be made of the right to draw up public resolutions at village and volost gatherings and private conferences, regarding improvements in the organisation of the State, and in the welfare of the people."

A resolution like this is most unsatisfactory. Instead of the organisation of a revolutionary party, the resolution organises merely an extension to the liberal party. The course of the movement itself must of necessity and inevitably bring about a split between the liberal landowners and the revolutionary peasants, and we, Social-Democrats, will try to accelerate that split.

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BETWEEN TWO BATTLES

Geneva, November 15 (N. S.)

The big battle in which the proletariat has engaged tsarism is over. The all-Russia political strike seems to have come to an end almost everywhere. The enemy has made the biggest withdrawal on one flank (Finland), but he has dug himself in on the other (martial law in Poland). In the centre, the enemy has fallen back very little, but holds a strong new position, and is preparing for an even more bloody and more decisive battle. Clashes are taking place along the whole battle line. Both sides are hastening to make good their losses, rally their ranks, get properly organised, and arm themselves as best they can for the next battle.

Such, approximately, is the state of things at present in the theatre of the struggle for freedom. Civil war naturally differs from other kinds of warfare in that the forms of the fighting are far more varied, the strength and the composition of the combatants on both sides are harder to estimate and fluctuate far more, and attempts to conclude peace, or at least an armistice do not originate in those engaged in the fighting, and are most fantastically interwoven with the pattern of military operations.

Lulls in the fighting have a most encouraging effect on the initiative of the "conciliators". Witte is doing his utmost to pose as such a "conciliator", both directly and through the agency of the servile press, and is covering up in every possible way his role of tsarism's diplomatic servant. To the delight of naïve liberals, a government report has acknowledged the participation of the police in Black-Hundred outrages. Press organs that fawn upon the government (*Novoye Vremya*, for example) are making a pretence of condemning the extremes the reactionaries have gone to, and, of course, the "extremes" of the revolutionaries. Displeased

with the petty stakes involved, extremist representatives of reaction (Pobedonostsev, Vladimir, and Trepov) are leaving the scene. It is partly because of their obtuseness that these people do not realise the importance of this game for the preservation of the greatest power for tsarism, another reason is that they assume—and rightly so—that it is more convenient for them to acquire a free hand, and take part in the same game, but only in another role—that of "independent" fighters for the might of the monarchy, the role of "free" avengers for the "insulted national sentiments of the Russian people"—insulted by the revolutionaries—or, in other words, the role of leaders of the Black Hundreds.

Witte is rubbing his hands in delight at the sight of the "great" successes of the amazingly shrewd game he is playing. He is preserving liberalism's innocence by pressing ministerial posts upon leaders of the Constitutional-Democrats (even upon Milyukov, as telegraphed by the *Temps* correspondent), by addressing in his own handwriting a letter to Mr. Struve with an invitation to return to Russia, and by trying to present himself as a "White", who is equally far removed from both the "Reds"' and the "Blacks". At the same time, he is acquiring, together with innocence, a tidy amount of capital, for he remains head of the tsar's government, which retains full power and is only awaiting a suitable opportunity to go over to a decisive offensive against the revolution.

Our qualification of Witte, as given in *Proletary*, is being borne out in full. He is a minister-buffoon in his methods, "talents", and the ends to which he has been put. With regard to the real forces till now at his disposal, he is a minister of the liberal bureaucracy, since he has not yet been able to strike a deal with the liberal bourgeoisie. True, the haggling is making gradual progress. The chafferers are bawling out their rock-bottom prices, calling it a deal, but putting off the final agreement until the Zemstvo Congress, which is to meet in a few days, makes its decisions. Witte is trying to win over the bourgeois intelligentsia by extending their voting rights in the Duma elections, providing educational qualifications and even making paltry concessions to the workers (who are supposed to content themselves

with 21st place in the system of indirect elections "on behalf of the workers"!!); he avers that if only the Duma meets, and if only that body—or at least a minority in it—comes out for universal suffrage, his support for this demand will be fully ensured.

Till now the haggling has led nowhere. The two sides are conducting their talks with no regard for those who are doing the actual fighting, and this cannot but paralyse the efforts of our "honest brokers". For their own part, the liberal bourgeoisie would willingly accept the State Duma—they were willing to accept it even in a "consultative" variant, and already in September rejected an active boycott. However, the essence of the matter is that the revolution has made a tremendous stride forward in the two months that have since elapsed, the proletariat has given important battle, and at once scored its first big victory. The State Duma, that vile and despicable travesty of popular representation, has been buried. It was shattered by the first blow delivered by the mighty onslaught of the proletariat. In the space of a few weeks, the revolution has shown up the short-sightedness of those who wanted to enter the Bulygin Duma, or support those who wanted to do so. The tactics of an active boycott received the most striking confirmation that the tactics of political parties can receive in the thick of a struggle—confirmation in deed, verification in the course of events, recognition as an indubitable fact of that which but yesterday seemed to short-sighted people and cowardly chafferers to be too bold a "leap into the unknown".

The working class has given a good fright to the Duma comedians, such a fright that the latter are afraid to set foot on this rickety and unreliable bridge, are afraid even to test the strength of the "latest", hasty repairs made by the state botchers. The roles have changed somewhat. Only yesterday Comrades Parvus, Cherevanin and Martov wanted to obtain a revolutionary pledge from those who were about to mount this bridge—a pledge that, in the Duma, they would demand a constituent assembly. Today the place of these Social-Democrats has been taken by Count Sergei Yulyevich Witte, President of the Council of Ministers, who is already giving a "revolutionary" pledge to support

any deputy to the Duma, even if he is the only one, who will demand that a constituent assembly be convoked.

So disgraceful was the showing the liberal bourgeois—the Constitutional-Democrats—made the first time that they were unwilling to repeat the unpleasant experience. They had already got the "election campaign" under way, had our good parliamentarians of *Osvobozhdeniye* and *Russkiye Vedomosti*; they had already elected a central committee to give guidance to that campaign; they had even set up a law office to advise the public as to whether the Rural Superintendent has the right to disperse peasant electors on his own initiative, or whether he must first ask the governor for permission. In a word, they were making ready to lay themselves down to sleep on the sofa graciously provided to all Russian Oblomovs,[142] when suddenly ... when suddenly the proletariat squared its shoulders and impolitely shook off the Duma and the entire Duma campaign. It is therefore not surprising that the liberal bourgeois are now disinclined to give credence to "revolutionary pledges" made by the suave Count. It is not surprising that they are even less inclined to accept the hand the Count is holding out to them, that they are more and more often glancing leftwards, though their mouths are literally watering at the sight of the wonderful iced cake known as the Duma.

Without any doubt, Witte's talks with leaders of the liberal bourgeoisie are of serious political significance, but only in the respect that they reconfirm the affinity of the would-be-liberal bureaucracy to those who are defending the interests of capital—only in the respect that they once again show who is out to *bury* the Russian revolution, and how. These negotiations and deals, however, are not succeeding, for the simple reason that the revolution lives on. The revolution is not only alive, but it is stronger than ever, and is very, very far from having said its last word; it is only beginning to deploy all the forces of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry. That is why the buffoon-minister's talks and deals with the bourgeoisie are so pointless; they cannot acquire serious significance at the height of the struggle, when the hostile forces are confronting each other between two decisive battles.

At such a time, the policy of the revolutionary proletariat,

which is conscious of its historic aims, is striving not only for the political but also for the economic emancipation of the working people, without, however, forgetting its socialist aims—the policy of the proletariat must be most firm, clear and definite. To the vicious lies of the minister-buffoon and the obtuse illusions of the liberal and bourgeois democrats regarding a constitution, it must contrapose, more resolutely than ever before, its slogan of the overthrow of the tsar's rule by means of an armed uprising of the whole people. The revolutionary proletariat abhors all cant, and is fighting relentlessly against all and any attempts to obscure the actual state of affairs. In present-day talk about a constitutional regime there is not a single word but that reeks of cant, and not a single sentence that is not a repetition of the old bureaucratic falsehood aimed at saving some remnant or other of the autocratic, serf-owning Russia.

There is talk of liberty, of popular representation; some hold forth on a constituent assembly, but what is being constantly, hourly and minutely lost sight of is that, without serious guarantees, all these fine things are but hollow phrases. A serious guarantee can be provided *only* by a victorious rising of the people, *only* by the complete domination of the armed proletariat and the peasantry over all representatives of tsarist power, who, under pressure by the people, have retreated a pace but are far from having yielded to the people, and far from having been overthrown by the people. Until *that* aim is achieved there *can be no* real liberty, no genuine popular representation, or a really *constituent* assembly with the power to set up a new order in Russia.

What is a constitution? A sheet of paper with the people's rights recorded on it. What is the guarantee of these rights being really recognised? It lies in the *strength* of those classes of the people that have become aware of those rights, and have been able to win them. Let us then not allow words to delude us—that befits only babblers for bourgeois democracy—let us not for a moment forget that *strength* is proved *only* by victory in the struggle, and that we are as yet far from having achieved complete victory. Let us not believe handsome phrases, for we are living through times when an open struggle is going on, when all phrases and promises at once are tested in action, when words, manifestoes,

and promises of a constitution are being used to *fool* the people, weaken its forces, scatter its ranks, and induce it to disarm. Nothing can be more false than such promises and phrases, and it is with pride that we can say that the proletariat of Russia has matured for the struggle both against brute force and against liberal-constitutional cant. This is borne out by the appeal made by the railwaymen, recently reported in the foreign press (unfortunately we are not in possession of the original). "Collect arms, comrades," the appeal says, "organise yourselves for the struggle tirelessly, with multiplied energy. It is only by arming and rallying our ranks that we shall be able to defend what has been won, and achieve complete satisfaction of our demands. The time will come when we shall again rise as one man in a new and still more stubborn struggle for full liberty."

Such are our sole guarantees. Such is the only genuine *constitution* of a free Russia! Indeed, consider the Manifesto of October 17 and the facts of Russian life: can anything be more instructive than the contrast between this *recognition* of a constitution *by the tsar* on paper, and the actual "constitution", the actual application of the *tsar's power?* On the face of it, the tsar's Manifesto holds out promises of an unequivocally constitutional character. But we have been shown the price of these promises. The person of the individual has been declared inviolate, yet those who are not to the liking of the autocracy remain in prison, in exile or in banishment. Freedom of assembly has been declared, yet the universities, which were the first to create actual freedom of assembly in Russia, have been closed, and their entrances are under police and military guard. The press is free, so therefore the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*,[143] spokesman for the interests of the workers, has been confiscated for having published the programme of the Social-Democrats. The places of Black-Hundred ministers have been taken by ministers who have declared that they stand for the rule of law, yet the Black Hundreds are "operating" ever more intensely in the streets with the aid of the police and the military, and citizens of a free Russia who are not to the liking of the autocracy are being shot, beaten up and mauled freely and with impunity.

With such edifying examples before one's eyes, one must

be blind, or else blinded by class selfishness, to attach any really serious significance at the present time to whether Witte promises universal suffrage, or whether the tsar will sign a manifesto on the convocation of a "constituent" assembly. Even if these "acts" were to take place, they would not decide the outcome of the struggle; nor would they create actual freedom of election agitation, or ensure that a popular assembly of representatives would have a genuinely constituent character. A constituent assembly should give legal shape and parliamentary form to the structure of a new Russia, but before the victory of the new over the old can be consolidated, and to give due form to this victory, actual victory has to be won, the power of the old institutions has to be broken, and the latter have to be swept away, the old edifice has to be levelled to the ground, and the possibility destroyed of any serious resistance on the part of the police and its gangs.

Full freedom of election, and full power for a constituent assembly can be ensured only by the complete victory of the uprising, the overthrow of tsarist rule, and its replacement by a provisional revolutionary government. To this end all our efforts must be directed; the organisation and preparation of an uprising must absolutely stand in the foreground. Only in the measure in which the rising is victorious and in which victory leads to the decisive destruction of the enemy—only in that measure will an assembly of the people's representatives be a popular one not only on paper, and constituent not only in name.

Down with all cant, all falseness, and all equivocation! War has been declared, fighting has flared up, and what we are now experiencing is but a lull between two battles. There is no half-way. The party of the "Whites" is sheer deception. He who is not for revolution is one of the Black Hundreds. It is not only we that say so. The designation has not been devised by us. The blood-stained stones cry out these words in the streets of Moscow and Odessa, in Kronstadt and the Caucasus, in Poland and Tomsk.

He who is not for revolution is one of the Black Hundreds. He who does not wish to put up with Russian freedom becoming freedom for the police to use violence, subornation, vodka, and treacherous attacks upon unarmed people,

must arm himself and immediately get ready for battle. We must win genuine freedom, not promises of freedom, not scraps of paper about freedom. We must achieve not merely humiliation of the tsar's power, not only recognition of the people's rights by that power, but the destruction of that power, since the power of the tsar means the power of the Black Hundreds over Russia. That conclusion does not belong to us either. It has been drawn by the facts of life itself; it is the lesson taught by the events of the times. It is the voice of those who till now have stood aside from any revolutionary doctrine and dare not make a single free step or say a single free word in the street, at a meeting, or at home, without running the imminent and terrible risk of being crushed, tormented or torn to pieces by some gang of adherents of the *tsar*.

Finally, the revolution has obliged *this* "popular force" to come into the open—the force of the tsar's adherents. It has revealed to the general view whom the tsar's rule banks on, and who really supports that rule. There you have it, this army of ferocious policemen, martinet-trained, half-witted soldiers, priests run wild, brutal shopkeepers, and the vodka-dazed riffraff of capitalist society. It is they that now *reign* in Russia, with the connivance or direct support of nine-tenths of all our governmental institutions. Here it is—the Russian Vendée,[144] which resembles the French Vendée in the same measure that the "lawful" monarch Nicholas Romanov resembles the adventurer Napoleon. Our Vendée has not yet said its last word either—make no mistake on that score, citizens. It, too, is just beginning to deploy its forces properly. It, too, has its "reserves of combustibles", accumulated during centuries of ignorance, oppression, serfdom, and police omnipotence. It combines within itself unmitigated Asiatic backwardness with all the loathsome features of the refined methods used to exploit and stultify those that are most downtrodden and tormented by the civilisation of the capitalist cities, and been reduced to conditions worse than those of wild beasts. This Vendée will not vanish at any manifesto from the tsar, or messages from the Synod, or at changes in the upper or lower ranks of the bureaucracy. It can be smashed only by the strength of an organised and enlightened proletariat, for only the proletar-

iat, exploited as it is, is capable of rousing all that stand below it, awaken in them a sense that they are human beings and citizens, and show them the path of deliverance from all exploitation. Only the proletariat can create the nucleus of a mighty revolutionary army, mighty both in its ideals, its discipline, its organisation, and its heroism in the struggle, a heroism no Vendée can stand up to.

Guided by Social-Democracy, the proletariat has everywhere begun forming that revolutionary army. Its ranks should be joined by all who do not wish to be in the army of the Black Hundreds. Civil war knows no neutrals. Those who stand aside in it are thereby rendering support, by being passive, to the jubilant Black Hundreds. The armed forces, too, are dividing into a Red army and a Black army. Only a fortnight ago we wrote of the speed with which they are being drawn into the struggle for freedom. The example of Kronstadt was ample proof of this. The government of the scoundrel Witte may have put down the Kronstadt mutiny[145]; it is now shooting down hundreds of sailors who have again raised the red flag—but that flag will fly much higher, for it is the flag of all working people and all the exploited the world over. Let the servile press, like *Novoye Vremya*, bawl about the troops being neutral; this foul and hypocritical lie will vanish like smoke at every misdeed of the Black Hundreds. The troops cannot be, have never been, and will never be neutral. Today, they are rapidly splitting up into troops that stand for freedom, and troops that stand for the Black Hundreds. We shall accelerate the process. We shall brand all those who are irresolute and vacillating, all those who balk at the idea of the immediate formation of a people's militia (according to the latest reports in the foreign press, the Municipal Council of Moscow has rejected plans for the creation of a people's militia). We shall multiply our agitation among the masses, and our organisational activities to set up revolutionary detachments. Then the army of the conscious proletariat will merge with the Red detachments of the Russian fighting forces—and then we shall see whether the police's Black Hundreds will be able to vanquish all the new, young and free Russia!

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November 25 (12), 1905

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the text in *Proletary*

NOTES

[1] *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* was written by Lenin in Geneva, in June-July 1905. The book was published in late July 1905, in Geneva, by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. It was twice republished in Russia in the same year, once by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., and the second time by the Moscow Committee of the Party, this time in 10,000 copies.

The book was illegally distributed throughout the country—particularly in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Tiflis and Baku. On February 19, 1907 it was banned by the St. Petersburg Press Department, and on December 22 of the same year the St. Petersburg Court issued an injunction for its destruction.

In 1907 Lenin had *Two Tactics* published in the miscellany *Twelve Years*, supplementing the book with new notes. The material prepared by Lenin for this book, his plans, précis, and other notes, were published in *Lenin Miscellany V*, pp. 315-20, and *XVI*, pp. 151-56. p. 15

[2] *The mutiny on the armoured cruiser Potemkin.* The mutiny broke out on June 14 (27), 1905. The crew brought the warship to the Port of Odessa, where a general strike was in progress. However, the favourable conditions that had arisen for joint action by the *Odessa* workers and the sailors of the *Potemkin* were not utilised. Numerous arrests of its members had weakened the Odessa Bolshevik organisation and it lacked unity. The Mensheviks were opposed to an armed uprising and held the workers and sailors back from taking offensive action. The tsarist government ordered the entire Black Sea Fleet to crush the *Potemkin*, but the crews refused to open fire on the cruiser. The officers were compelled to withdraw their ships. After eleven days of cruising in the Black Sea the crew of the *Potemkin* were forced by shortage of food and coal to take their vessel to a Rumanian port and surrender to the authorities. Most of the sailors remained abroad. Those who returned to Russia were arrested and court-martialled.

The *Potemkin* mutiny was unsuccessful, but the fact that the crew of a big naval vessel had joined the revolution marked an important stage in the development of the struggle against the autocracy. Lenin called it "the attempt to form the *nucleus of a revolutionary army*" (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 562). p. 17

[3] *Proletary* (*The Proletarian*)—the name of an illegal Bolshevik weekly, official organ of the R.S.D.L.P. It was founded in accord-

ance with a resolution of the Third Congress of the Party. Lenin was appointed editor-in-chief of *Proletary* by a decision of a plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee, on April 27 (May 10), 1905.

Proletary was published in Geneva from May 14 (27) till November 12 (25), 1905, a total of twenty-six issues being brought out. Active in the work of the editorial board were V. Vorovsky, A. Lunacharsky, and M. Olminsky. *Proletary* continued the policy of the old, Leninist *Iskra*, and maintained full continuity with the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*.

In all, Lenin wrote about 90 articles and items for *Proletary* his articles being reprinted in local Bolshevik periodicals, and also published in the form of leaflets.

Publication of *Proletary* was discontinued shortly after Lenin's departure for Russia in November 1905, the last two issues (Nos. 25 and 26) being edited by V. Vorovsky. p. 17

[4] *The Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries*—the Socialist-Revolutionaries (S.R.s) was the name by which a petty-bourgeois party in Russia was known. It came into being in late 1901 and early 1902 as a result of the merging of various Narodnik groups and circles, such as *The Union of Socialist-Revolutionaries*, the *Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries*, etc. Its views found official expression in the newspaper *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (*Revolutionary Russia*), published between the years 1900 and 1905, and the journal *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* (*Herald of the Russian Revolution*)—1901-05. The S.R.s saw no class distinctions between the proletarian and the petty proprietor, glossed over the class stratification and the contradictions within the peasantry, and rejected the proletariat's guiding role in the revolution. Their views were an eclectic mixture of the ideas of Narodism and revisionism. As Lenin put it, they tried to mend "the rents in the Narodnik ideas" with "bits of fashionable opportunist 'criticism' of Marxism" (see p. 310 of this volume). Advocated by the S.R.s as the chief method of struggle against the autocracy, the tactic of individual terrorism was greatly detrimental to the revolutionary movement, and hampered organisation of the masses for the revolutionary struggle.

The agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries envisaged the abolition of private ownership of the land, which was to be transferred to the village commune on the basis of the labour principle and equalitarian tenure, and also the development of co-operatives. There was nothing socialist in this programme, which the S.R.s termed "socialisation of the land", since, as Lenin pointed out, the preservation of commodity production and private farming of communal land cannot do away with the domination of capital, or rid the working peasantry of exploitation and impoverishment. Neither can co-operatives be the salvation of the small peasant in conditions of capitalism, for they serve only to enrich the rural bourgeoisie. At the same time, the demand for equalitarian tenure of the land, though

not socialist in character, was, as Lenin pointed out, of progressive, revolutionary-democratic significance, inasmuch as it was spearheaded against landlordism.

The Bolshevik Party unmasked the S.R.s' attempts to pass themselves off as socialists, waged an unrelenting struggle against them for influence over the peasantry, and revealed the injurious effects of their tactic of individual terrorism on the working-class movement. At the same time, on certain conditions, the Bolsheviks entered into temporary agreements with the Socialist-Revolutionaries for the struggle against tsarism.

The absence of class homogeneity in the peasantry was the reason of the political and ideological instability in the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, and of its constant vacillation between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat. During the first Russian revolution there was a split in the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, its Right wing forming the legal "Toilers' Popular Socialist Party", whose views were close to those of the Constitutional-Democrats (Cadets), and the Left wing, taking shape as the semi-anarchist league of "Maximalists". During the period of the Stolypin reaction, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party underwent a complete breakdown in respect of ideology and organisation, and during the First World War most of its members took a social-chauvinistic stand.

Following the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the Socialist-Revolutionaries together with the Mensheviks and the Constitutional-Democrats, were the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois-landlord Provisional Government, such leaders of the party as Kerensky, Avksentyev and Chernov becoming members of that government. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party discontinued its support of the peasants' demand that landlord ownership of the land be abolished, on the contrary it came out for maintenance of that ownership, the S.R. members of the Provisional Government authorising punitive action against peasants who had seized land belonging to landlords.

Late in November 1917, the Left wing of the S.R. Party formed an independent party of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, who in an effort to preserve their influence among the peasant masses, formally recognised Soviet rule and entered into an agreement with the Bolsheviks. However, they soon began a struggle against the Soviets.

During the years of foreign intervention and civil war, the S.R.s carried on counter-revolutionary, subversive work, gave active support to the interventionists and White generals, took part in counter-revolutionary plots, and organised terroristic acts against leaders of the Soviet state and the Communist Party. After the conclusion of the Civil War the S.R.s continued their hostile anti-Soviet acts within the country and in the camp of the White émigrés. p. 18

[5] *Osvobozhdeniye* (*Emancipation*)—a fortnightly journal published abroad from June 18 (July 1), 1902 until October 5 (18), 1905,

under the editorship of P. Struve. Mouthpiece of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie, it consistently expressed the ideas of moderate monarchist liberalism. In 1903 the *Osvobozhdeniye* League developed around the journal, taking definite shape in January 1904, and existing until October 1905.

Together with the Zemstvo constitutionalists, the *Osvobozhdeniye* group formed the nucleus of the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets) which came into being in October 1905, and became the chief party of the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. p. 19

[6] The reference is to the new, Menshevik *Iskra*. Following the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the Mensheviks gained control of *Iskra*, with the connivance of Plekhanov, and from November 1903, beginning with number 52, *Iskra* became the organ of the Mensheviks. It came out until October 1905. p. 19

[7] *The Bulygin Commission*—created by an imperial ukase in February 1905 and headed by Minister of the Interior Bulygin—hence its name—drafted a bill for the establishment of a State Duma with advisory powers, and the Regulations on the Duma elections. The Bill and the Regulations were made public together with the tsar's Manifesto of August 6 (19), 1905. An active boycott of the Bulygin Duma was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks, and the government's attempt to convene the Duma failed under the impact of the revolution. For information on the boycott of the Bulygin Duma see pages 179-87 of this volume. p. 21

[8] *The Constitutional-Democratic Party* (Cadets)—was the leading party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. Founded in October 1905, its membership was made up of representatives of the bourgeoisie, Zemstvo leaders of the landowning class, and bourgeois intellectuals. To hoodwink the working people, the Cadets hypocritically called themselves "the party of the people's freedom", while in actual fact they did not go beyond the demand for a constitutional monarchy. They considered it their primary task to wage a struggle against the revolutionary movement, and were out to share power with the tsar and the feudal landlords. During the First World War they actively supported the tsarist government's predatory foreign policy, and did their best to save the monarchy during the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917. They held leading posts in the bourgeois Provisional Government, conducting a counter-revolutionary policy opposed to the interests of the people. When the Great October Socialist Revolution was victorious, the Cadets became irreconcilable enemies of the Soviets, and took part in all armed counter-revolutionary acts and campaigns of the interventionists. They continued their anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary activities when they fled abroad after the rout of the interventionists and white-guards. p. 21

[9] *Millerandism*—an opportunist trend named after the French socialist-reformist Millerand, who in 1899 entered the reactionary bourgeois government of France, in which the post of war minister was held by General Gaston Galliffet, butcher of the Paris Commune. p. 30

[10] *The Ninth of January*—it was on this day that, by order of the tsar, a peaceful demonstration of St. Petersburg workers was brutally shot down by the troops. Led by the priest Gapon, the demonstrators were marching towards the Winter Palace to present a petition to the tsar. This cold-blooded massacre of unarmed workers started a wave of mass political strikes and demonstrations all over Russia, under the slogan of "Down with the autocracy!" The events of January 9 marked the beginning of the revolution of 1905-07. p. 32

[11] *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published in Cologne from June 1, 1848 until May 19, 1849. It was managed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Marx being editor-in-chief. Following the appearance of No. 301, the paper ceased publication because of its persecution by the reactionaries. Regarding *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. II, pp. 328-37. p. 33

[12] *Sotsial-Demokrat* (*The Social-Democrat*)—a Menshevik Georgian-language newspaper published in Tiflis between April and November 1905.

The article "The Zemsky Sobor and Our Tactics" was written by N. Jordania, leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks. It was criticised in detail by Lenin in Chapter Seven of *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (see pp. 61-65 of this volume). p. 35

[13] *The Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs formed by the tsarist police to fight against the revolutionary movement. They assassinated revolutionaries, organised attacks on progressive intellectuals, and carried out anti-Jewish pogroms. p. 36

[14] *A constitution à la Shipov*—Lenin's name for the draft of state structure drawn up by D. Shipov, a moderate liberal leader of the Zemstvos' Right wing. In an attempt to curb the sweep of the revolution and also to obtain certain concessions from the tsarist government in favour of the Zemstvos, Shipov proposed the creation of an advisory representative body under the tsar. By a deal of this kind the moderate liberals wanted to deceive the masses, preserve the monarchy, and at the same time win certain political rights for themselves. p. 37

[15] *Russkaya Starina* (*The Russian Antiquary*) a monthly journal of history published in St. Petersburg from 1870 to 1918. p. 43

[16] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. II, p. 405. p. 43

[17] *Russkiye Vedomosti* (*Russian Recorder*)—a newspaper published in Moscow from 1863 onwards by a group of Moscow University liberal professors and Zemstvo leaders. It was the mouthpiece of liberal landowners and bourgeoisie. In 1905 it became the organ of the Right wing of the Constitutional-Democrats. After the October Revolution it ceased publication, together with other counter-revolutionary papers. p. 51

[18] *Syn Otechestva* (*Son of the Fatherland*)—a liberal daily published in St. Petersburg from 1856 to 1900, and after November 18 (December 1), 1904. Its contributors represented the *Osvobozhdeniye* trend and various shades of Narodism. Following November 15 (28), 1905, it became the organ of the S.R.s. It was suppressed on December 2 (15), 1905. p. 51

[19] *Nasha Zhizn* (*Our Life*)—a liberal daily newspaper that appeared in St. Petersburg, with intervals, from November 6 (19), 1904 to July 11 (24), 1906. p. 51

[20] *Nashi Dni* (*Our Days*)—a liberal daily published in St. Petersburg from December 18 (31), 1904 to February 5 (18), 1905. Publication was resumed on December 7 (20), 1905, but only two issues came out. p. 51

[21] *The man in the muffler*—chief character in Chekhov's story of the same name, a man typifying the narrow-minded philistine who abhors all innovations or initiative. p. 53

[22] Lenin is referring to the book *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle. Herausgegeben von Franz Mehring*, Band III, Stuttgart 1902, S. 211. See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. I, p. 67. p. 59

[23] The reference is to the resolution tabled by Starover (pseudonym of the Menshevik A. N. Potresov) on the attitude towards the liberals, which was adopted at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., and was criticised by Lenin in the article "Working-Class and Bourgeois Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 72-82). p. 60

[24] The reference is to the naval engagement near the Island of Tsushima, which took place on May 14-15 (27-28), 1905, and ended in the defeat of the tsar's fleet. p. 62

[25] The expression "parliamentary cretinism", which is often met in Lenin's writings, was coined by Marx and Engels. As Engels wrote, "parliamentary cretinism" is an incurable disease, an ailment "whose unfortunate victims are permeated by the lofty conviction that the whole world, its history and its future are

directed and determined by a majority of votes of just that very representative institution that has the honour of having them in the capacity of its members".

This expression was applied by Lenin to those opportunists who considered the parliamentarian system all-powerful, and parliamentarian activities the sole form of political struggle. p. 64

[26] Differences of opinion were revealed during the discussion of the draft agrarian programme at the Breslau Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, 1895. p. 66

[27] *Rabocheye Dyelo* (*The Workers' Cause*)—an Economist journal appearing irregularly in Geneva between April 1899 and February 1902 as the organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. For a criticism of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* group see Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529). p. 70

[28] The reference is to Nadezhdin's press attack on the plan of the Leninist *Iskra* (Nadezhdin was the pseudonym of Y. O. Zelensky). Lenin criticised this attack as far back as 1902, in his *What Is To Be Done?* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529). p. 70

[29] *The Frankfurter Zeitung*—a bourgeois daily that spoke for the big financial interests of Germany. It was published in Frankfort on Main from 1856 to 1943. It resumed publication in 1949 under the title of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, as the mouthpiece of the West-German monopolists. p. 73

[30] *Bernsteinism*—an anti-Marxist trend in international Social-Democracy. It arose towards the close of the nineteenth century and bore the name of the Social-Democrat Eduard Bernstein, who tried to revise Marx's theory of revolution in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism. In Russia this trend was represented by the "legal Marxists", the Economists, the Bundists, and the Mensheviks. p. 76

[31] The reference is to Lenin's articles entitled "Social-Democracy and the Provisional Revolutionary Government", and "The Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry", which were published in issues 13 and 14 of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod* (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 275-303). p. 78

[32] Lenin has in view the programme published in 1874 by the London Blanquist group of former members of the Paris Commune (see F. Engels, "Flüchtlingsliteratur. II. Programm der blanquistischen Kommuneflüchtlinge", *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat*, Berlin 1957, S. 47-56).

The *Blanquists* were adherents of the trend in the socialist movement of France headed by the outstanding revolutionist and representative of utopian communism Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-81).

The Blanquists, as Lenin wrote, expected "that mankind will be emancipated from wage slavery, not by the proletarian class struggle, but through a conspiracy hatched by a small minority of intellectuals" (see present edition, Vol. 10, "The Congress Summed Up"). They took no account of the concrete situation required for an uprising to be victorious, and showed their disdain for ties with the masses by substituting for a revolutionary party activities by a handful of plotters. p. 80

[33] *The Erfurt Programme* of German Social-Democracy was adopted in October 1891 at a congress held in Erfurt. For a criticism of this programme see F. Engels, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programmentwurfes 1891", *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. XX, 1901, B. II, H. 1 and Lenin's *The State and Revolution*. p. 86

[34] In July 1905 Lenin wrote a note to Chapter Ten of *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. This note was not published in the first edition of the book, and first appeared in 1926, in *Lenin Miscellany V*. p. 87

[35] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow 1953, pp. 551-55. p. 87

[36] "Lenin has in view the article "On the Provisional Revolutionary Government" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 461-81), and also the article by F. Engels, *Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den Aufstand in Spanien im Sommer 1873*, in which he criticises the Bakuninist resolution Lenin is referring to (see *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 105, 106, 107, 1873). p. 93

[37] *Credo* was the name given to a manifesto issued in 1899 by a group of Economists (S. Prokopovich, Y. Kuskova, and others, who later became Constitutional-Democrats). This manifesto was a most outspoken expression of Russian Economism's opportunism. Lenin countered the Credo with a trenchant protest denouncing the Economists' views (*A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats*, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 167-82). p. 95

[38] *Rabochaya Mysl* (*Workers' Thought*)—organ of the Economists, which was published in 1897-1902. The views of this newspaper as a Russian variety of international opportunism were criticised by Lenin in the article "A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy", and in his work *What Is To Be Done?* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 255-85 and Vol. 5, pp. 347-529) and also in articles published in *Iskra*. p. 95

[39] The reference is to Marx's words in his *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilolophie*, MEGA, 1. Abt., Bd. 1, S. 614. p. 96

[40] *L'Humanité*—a daily paper founded in 1904 by Jean Jaurès as the organ of the French Socialist Party. Soon after the split

in the Socialist Party at the Tours Congress (December 1920) and the formation of the Communist Party of France, the paper became the latter's organ. It now appears in Paris as the central organ of the C.P.F. p. 97

[41] *Varlin, Louis-Eugène* (1839-71)—French worker and leader of the First International, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune of 1871. p. 108

[42] The reference is to the "*Rules of Organisation*" adopted at the Geneva Menshevik Conference in 1905. The "Rules" were also criticised by Lenin in the article "A Third Step Back" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 544-54) and in "Preface to the Pamphlet *Workers on the Split in the Party*" (see pp. 163-68 of this volume). p . 110

[43] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. I, p. 217. p. 113

[44] The *Hirsch-Duncker Trade Unions*—founded in 1865 in Germany by two bourgeois liberals—Hirsch and Duncker who, like the bourgeois economist Brentano, advocated "the harmony of class interests", distracted the workers from the revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie, and limited the role of the trade unions to the bounds of mutual aid societies and educational activities. p. 120

[45] Engels's article *Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den Aufstand in Spanien im Sommer 1873* was translated into Russian under Lenin's editorship and in 1905 was published in Geneva by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in the form of a pamphlet. A second edition came out in 1906 in St. Petersburg (see *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 105, 106, 107, 1873).

Written by Marx and Engels in March 1850, the *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League* was published in Russian in 1906 in the supplement to Marx's pamphlet *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, which was brought out by the *Molot* Publishers in St. Petersburg (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. I, pp. 106-17). p. 122

[46] The following passage, as far as the words "We have shown that the *Osvobozhdeniye* people..." (see page 129) was omitted in the first edition of the book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. The passage was first published in the newspaper *Pravda* in No. 112 of April 22, 1940. p. 127

[47] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. I, pp. 473-545. p. 127

[48] *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (*Moscow Recorder*)—a newspaper founded in 1756. From the sixties of the nineteenth century it voiced the views

of the most reactionary monarchist sections of the landlords and the clergy. In 1905 it became a leading organ of the Black Hundreds, and was banned following the October Revolution of 1917. p. 128

[49] *Franz Mehring* (1846-1919)—a leading Left-winger in German Social-Democracy, historian, and publicist. He was one of the founders of the revolutionary Spartacus League, and then joined the Communist Party of Germany. p. 130

[50] See K. Marx and F. Engels, MEGA, 1. Abt., Bd. 7, Moskau, 1935, S. 362. p. 131

[51] *Ibid*., S. 28. p. 132

[52] *Ibid*., S. 28-29. p. 132

[53] *Ibid*., S. 8. p. 133

[54] *Ibid*., S. 50-51. p. 134

[55] *Ibid*., S. 260-61. p. 135

[56] The organ of the Cologne Workers' League was originally called *Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereins zu Köln*, with the subtitle *Freiheit*, *Bruderlichkeit*, *Arbeit* (*Freedom*, *Brotherhood*, *Labour*). Forty issues came out between April and October 1848, and another 23 between October 1848 and June 1849, during which period the subtitle became the paper's title. p. 137

[57] *The Communist League*—the first international organisation of the revolutionary proletariat, was founded in London in the summer of 1847 by a congress of delegates of revolutionary proletarian organisations. The League was organised and guided by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who, on instructions from the League, wrote its programme—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. It existed until 1852, its foremost members subsequently playing a leading part in the First International. See the article by F. Engels, *On the History of the Communist League* (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. II, pp. 338-57). p. 138

[58] *Tovarishch* (*The Comrade*)—a daily that was published in St. Petersburg from March 1906 till January 1908. Though formally not the organ of any particular party it was in fact the mouthpiece of the Left Constitutional-Democrats, and published contributions from Mensheviks. p. 139

[59] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. II, p. 352. p. 140

[60] *Khlestakov*—the leading character in Gogol's comedy *The Inspector-General*, an arrant boaster and liar. p. 140

[61] The article "The Paris Commune and the Tasks of the Democratic Dictatorship" was published in *Proletary*, No. 8 of July 17 (4), 1905. Its author, who is not known, provided a historical note on the activities of the Paris Commune and the composition of its government, which, besides representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, included socialist workingmen prominent in the labour movement. The article was directed against the tactics of the Mensheviks, who denied the possibility of Social-Democrats participating in a provisional revolutionary government. The article was edited by Lenin, who changed the title, made a number of changes in the wording, and wrote the conclusion. p. 141

[62] *Bureau of Majority Committees*—the Bolsheviks' organisational centre, was formed on Lenin's initiative to prepare for the R.S.D.L.P.'s Third Congress. It was elected at the close of 1904 at three regional conferences—the Southern, the Caucasian, and the Northern. p. 143

[63] The conciliator members of the Central Committee who were arrested at its session on February 9 (22), 1905 in Moscow were: *Ma*—V. A. Noskov, *Bem*—M. A. Silvin; *Vladimir*—L. Y. Karpov; *Innokenty*—I . F . Dubrovinsky; *Andrei*—A . A . Kvyatkovsky; *Voron*—L. Y. Galperin. p. 144

[64] On May 7 (20), 1905 the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. appointed Plekhanov its representative in the International Socialist Bureau (the executive body of the Second International), on the condition that he recognise the decisions of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Third Congress as binding. Plekhanov did not accept this condition, upon which his appointment was cancelled. In October 1905 the Central Committee appointed Lenin its representative in the International Socialist Bureau. Regarding the R.S.D.L.P.'s representation in the Bureau see also this volume, pp. 332-34. p. 144

[65] *The Leipziger Volkszeitung*—organ of the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, was founded in 1894. p. 145

[66] Lenin is referring to the article by Rosa Luxemburg *Organisationsfragen der Russischen Sozialdemokratie*, written by her at the request of the Mensheviks, and published in July 1904 in the Menshevik *Iskra* and in *Die Neue Zeit*. A refutal of this article was contained in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Reply by N. Lenin to Rosa Luxemburg* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 472-83) which was sent to *Die Neue Zeit*. Kautsky, who supported the Mensheviks, refused to publish the reply. p. 145

[67] See F. Engels, "Flüchtlingsliteratur. II. Programm der blanquistischen Kommuneflüchtlinge", *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat*, Berlin 1957, S. 50. p. 156

[68] *Posledniye Izvestia* (*News*)—a periodical published abroad by the Bund from 1901 till 1906. It expressed the Bundists' bourgeois-nationalist views. p. 160

[69] This document is the original draft of Lenin's introduction to the pamphlet *Workers on the Split in the Party*, which was published in Geneva in August 1905. One of the variants of the title of the pamphlet was *The Voice of the Workers and the Split in the Party*. The title of the document has been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Central Committee, C.P.S.U. p. 161

[70] *An Open Letter to the Mensheviks' Organising Committee from the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee* was to have been published in No. 10 of *Proletary*, but was actually published in No. 11, August 9 (July 27), 1905. The letter proposed negotiations on problems of uniting the Party on the basis of the Programme and Rules adopted by the Third Congress. The first and second conferences of representatives of the Central Committee and the Organising Committee took place in July, and the third in September 1905. The conferences showed that by their schismatic action the Mensheviks were wrecking unification of the Party. p. 161

[71] *Manilovism*—from Manilov, a character in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, whose name has come to typify smug complacency, empty and saccharine prattle, and pipe-dreaming. p. 163

[72] Lenin is referring to *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* (*Diary of a Social-Democrat*)—a non-periodical organ published by Plekhanov in Geneva from March 1805 till April 1912. In all, sixteen issues were brought out, at considerable intervals. Publication was resumed in Petrograd in 1916, but only one issue appeared.

In the first eight issues (1905-06) Plekhanov advocated extremely Right-wing, Menshevik and opportunist views, defended a bloc between Social-Democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie, rejected the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, and condemned the December insurrection.

In Nos. 9-16 (1909-12) he came out against the Menshevik liquidators, who wanted to disband underground party organisations. In the basic questions of tactics, however, he remained on a Menshevik platform. In No. 1 for 1916, Plekhanov's social-chauvinist views found full expression.

Plekhanov's opportunism and departure from revolutionary Marxism were roundly criticised by Lenin. p. 168

[73] *The Union of Unions*—a political organisation of liberal bourgeois intellectuals, founded in May 1905 at the first congress of representatives of 14 unions, such as lawyers, writers, medical men, engineers, teachers, and the like. In 1905 the Union favoured a boycott of the Bulygin Duma, but soon changed its stand, deciding to take part in the Duma elections. It fell apart towards the close of 1906.

Regarding the attitude of Social-Democracy towards the liberal unions see pp. 281-82 in this volume. p. 169

[74] *Slovo* (*The Word*)—a bourgeois daily published in St. Petersburg from 1903 till 1909. Originally a Right-wing Zemstvo organ, it became the mouthpiece of the Octobrist Party from November 1905 till July 1906, when it ceased publication. Publication was resumed on November 19 (December 2), 1906, when the paper became the organ of the constitutional monarchist party of "Peaceful Renovation", which in essence in no way differed from the Octobrists. p. 170

[75] *Rural Superintendent* (*Zemsky Nachalnik*)—an administrative post instituted in 1889 by the tsarist government with the aim of strengthening the landlords' authority over the peasants. Rural Superintendents were selected from among the local landed nobility, and were given very great powers not only of an administrative character, but also judicial, which included the right to arrest peasants and administer corporal punishment. p. 171

[76] *Suvorin, A. S.*—editor of the reactionary newspaper *Novoye Vremya* from 1876 till 1912. p. 172

[77] *Until the Greek calends*—a translation of the Latin *ad calendas graecas*. The *calends* was the name given in the Roman calendar to the first day of each month. The Greek calendar had no calends, so the expression means "never". p. 173

[78] *Le Matin*—the name of a French bourgeois daily paper that was founded in 1884. p. 176

[79] *The conference of R.S.D.L.P. organisations abroad* (of Bolshevik and Menshevik representatives) was held in the summer of 1905. Party branches in South Germany were represented at the conference, whose resolution spoke of the need for a unity congress of the Party to be called, so as to resolve the problem of unification with the seceding section of the R.S.D.L.P. (the Mensheviks). The resolution was published in No. 12 of *Proletary*, with a note "from the Editors" written by Lenin. p. 188

[80] *Uchitel* (*Teacher*) was the pseudonym used by M. N. Pokrovsky. The article "The *Osvobozhdeniye* People at Work" was written by V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich. p. 189

[81] The present article is a reply to a letter from *A Worker* from Dvinsk. The writer posed the following questions to the Editorial Board of *Proletary*, with reference to the decisions of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Third Congress: "1) What role will be played by a provisional government; will it guide or rule the country, or do neither? 2) Under what circumstances is participation of proletarians in a provisional government possible? 3) What is all this agitation and propaganda about an insurrection?" p. 190

[82] *Marshal of the Nobility*—the elected representative of the nobility of a gubernia or uyezd, who was in charge of all the nobles' affairs in the area represented. He held a position of influence in the administration, and took the chair at Zemstvo meetings. p. 193

[83] *Burenin, V. P.*, worked on the staff of the reactionary newspaper *Novoye Vremya*, engaged in libelling and besmearing representatives of all progressive public and political trends. Lenin uses his name as a synonym for dishonest methods of conducting polemics. p. 202

[84] *The Bund* (The General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia) came into being in 1897 at the founding Congress of Jewish Social-Democratic groups in Vilna. In the main, it comprised semi-proletarian Jewish artisans in the west of Russia. At the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898, the Bund joined the latter "as an autonomous organisation, independent only in respect of questions affecting the Jewish proletariat specifically". (*The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, Russ. ed., Moscow 1954, Part 1, p. 14.)

The Bund was an expression of nationalism and separatism in the Russian working-class movement. In April 1901 the Bund's Fourth Congress decided to alter the organisational ties with the R.S.D.L.P., as established by the latter's First Congress. In its resolution, the Bund Congress declared that it regarded the R.S.D.L.P. as a federation of national organisations, and that the Bund should enter the R.S.D.L.P. as a federal section. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. turned down the Bund's demand that it should be recognised the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, the Bund left the Party, but rejoined it in 1906 on the basis of a decision of the Fourth (Unity) Congress.

Within the R.S.D.L.P. the Bund constantly supported the Party's opportunist wing (the Economists, Mensheviks, and Liquidators), and waged a struggle against Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks. To the latter's programmatic demand for the right of nations to self-determination the Bund contraposed the demand for autonomy of national culture. While the Stolypin reaction was raging, the Bund took a liquidationist stand, and was active in the formation of the August anti-Party bloc. During the First World War the Bundists held a social-chauvinist stand, and in 1917 they supported the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government and sided with the enemies of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the foreign military intervention and the Civil War the Bund's leaders made common cause with the forces of counter-revolution. Meanwhile there was a turn among the Bund's rank and file for collaboration with the Soviets. In March 1921 the Bund decided to dissolve itself, part of the membership joined the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the basis of the general rules of admission. p. 203

[85] *Proletariatis Brdzola* (*The Struggle of the Proletariat*)—an illegal Bolshevik newspaper, organ of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P. It was published between April-May 1903 and October 1905, twelve issues coming out in all. The paper was published in Georgian, Armenian and Russian. The editorial board was in close touch with Lenin and the Bolshevik centre abroad, and systematically published reprints of articles by Lenin, and material from the Leninist *Iskra*, and later from *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. p. 205

[86] P. Nikolayev's pamphlet *The Revolution in Russia* was published by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905 in Geneva. Lenin wrote the present note on the Bulygin Duma while he was amending the manuscript of the pamphlet. The note refers to the passage that reads, "Minister for the Interior Bulygin intends to set up a State Duma... etc." Also extant is the manuscript, written in Lenin's hand, on the title page of the pamphlet, with the inscription, "P. Nikolaew. *Die Revolution in Russland*. Workers of All Countries, Unite! Published by the Central Committee" (*Lenin Miscellany XXVI*, p. 345). p. 211

[87] *S. S.*—the pseudonym of P. N. Milyukov, leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. p. 216

[88] *The third element*—an expression used to designate the Zemstvo democratic intelligentsia. p. 217

[89] The Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*—a daily newspaper that was the central organ of Austrian Social-Democracy. It was founded by V. Adler in Vienna in 1889.

In 1905 the paper reflected the militant temper of the workers and the toiling masses of Austria-Hungary who under the influence of the first Russian revolution were fighting for the introduction of universal suffrage in their country.

During the First World War the paper took a social-chauvinist stand, for which Lenin called it the newspaper of "The Viennese traitors to socialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, "Heroes of the Berne International"). Banned in 1934, the paper resumed publication in 1945 as the central organ of the Socialist Party of Austria. p. 224

[90] *D. F. Trepov*—Governor General of St. Petersburg, who was active in the suppression of the first Russian revolution. p. 226

[91] The reference is to an item "Our Khlestakovs" by Lenin, published in No. 9 of *Proletary*, July 26 (13), 1905, which quoted a message sent by the Menshevik *Iskra* to a French socialist newspaper, containing exaggerated and false figures about the number of its adherents among the organised workers (see *Lenin Miscellany XVI*, pp. 128-29). p. 228

[92] Issue No. 10 of *Proletary*, August 2 (July 20), 1905, published a resolution of the Saratov Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., which held a conciliatory stand; the resolution had been adopted on a report on the Third Congress of the Party and the Mensheviks' Conference. *Proletary* published the resolution with an epilogue by Lenin (see *Lenin Miscellany XVI*, p. 130). p. 230

[93] *Winter hiring*—the hiring of peasants for summer work, practised by the landlords and kulaks during the winter, when the peasants were particularly in need of cash, and would agree to extortionate terms. p. 233

[94] An expression from Gogol's *Diary of a Madman*. p. 247

[95] *Die Vossische Zeitung*—a moderate liberal newspaper published in Berlin between 1704 and 1934. p. 253

[96] *Ledru-Rollin*, *Alexandre-Auguste* (1807-1874)—French politician, representative of the petty-bourgeois democrats. p. 257

[97] *Cavaignac*, *Louis-Eugène*—French general; Minister for War in the provisional government following the February revolution of 1848. During the June days of 1848, he was in charge of the suppression of the Paris workers' uprising.

Thiers, *Louis-Adolphe*—French bourgeois politician and bitter enemy of the working class. In 1871 he was head of the government and displayed great brutality in putting down the uprising of the Paris Communards. p. 260

[98] *Jacoby*, *Johann* (1805-1877)—German bourgeois democrat, participant in the revolution of 1848. Became a Social-Democrat after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. p. 261

[99] The reference is to the following works: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Revue*, *Mai bis October*, 1850; K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *Werke*, Berlin 1960, Band 7, S. 440-41 and Band 8, S. 412-13). p. 273

[100] *The Liberal Unions and Social-Democracy*—an insert written by Lenin to an article by V. V. Vorovsky, which was published under the same title in *Proletary*, No. 18, September 26 (13), 1905. p. 281

[101] *Sergei*—the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich Romanov, the tsar's uncle, Governor General of Moscow and one of the most reactionary representatives of the tsarist autocracy. Assassinated by the Socialist-Revolutionary Kalyaev on February 4 (17), 1905. p. 283

[102] *Rabochy* (*The Worker*)—an illegal and popular Social-Democratic newspaper, which was published in Moscow by the R.S.D.L.P.'s

Central Committee in 1906 by decision of the Party's Third Congress. Four issues came out between August and October. p. 289

[103] *The Cologne Congress of German Trade Unions* took place in May 1905. p. 292

[104] The present draft of the article was not completed by Lenin. p. 295

[105] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow 1958, Vol. I, p. 251. p. 296

[106] *The Conference of Social-Democratic Organisations in Russia* was held in Riga on September 7-9 (20-22), 1905. For the resolutions passed by the Conference see *The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, Russ. ed., Moscow 1953, Part 1, pp. 91-94.
In a letter to members of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. dated September 7, 1905 Lenin spoke of the close ties between the "Armenian Social-Democratic Workers' Organisations" and the Bund (see *Lenin Miscellany V*, p. 493). p. 300

[107] The reference is to the Mensheviks' plan of support for the "Zemstvo campaign" which was conducted by bourgeois liberals between the autumn of 1904 and January 1905. The campaign consisted of a series of conferences public meetings, and banquets arranged by Zemstvo leaders. At these affairs speeches were made and resolutions passed in support of moderate constitutionalist demands. Lenin sharply criticised the "plan of the Zemstvo campaign" in an article entitled "The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra*'s Plan" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 495-516). p. 306

[108] *The Shidlovsky Commission*, which was headed by Senator Shidlovsky, was set up by an imperial ukase of January 29 (February 11), 1905 ostensibly "to enquire without delay into the causes of discontent among the workers in the city of St. Petersburg and its suburbs". The commission was made up of officials, the heads of government-owned factories, and factory owners. The intention was also to include elected representatives of the workers. The Bolsheviks, who considered this manoeuvre on the part of the tsarist regime an attempt to distract the workers from the revolutionary struggle, proposed that elections to the commission be used to present political demands to the tsar's government (see the book *Leaflets of the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks*, Vol. 1, 1939, pp. 197-202). When the demands were rejected by the government the electors refused to nominate their representatives to the commission, and called upon the St. Petersburg workers to strike. On the following day mass political strikes began, and on February 20 (March 5) the authorities were obliged to abolish the commission. p. 306

[109] The reference is to Benjamin Disraeli. p. 307

[110] *David, Eduard*—German economist and adherent of Bernstein. A criticism of his views is given by Lenin in *The Agrarian Question and the* "*Critics of Marx*". p. 311

[111] *Szarwark*—statute labour for the repair and construction of roads, bridges and other, mostly military, structures, imposed on the peasants in Poland. p. 311

[112] *Demesnes*—lands belonging to members of the tsar's family. p. 312

[113] *Cut-off lands* (*otrezki*)—land which the landlords "cut-off", i.e., took away from the peasants, when serfdom was abolished in Russia in 1861. p. 314

[114] *Novoye Vremya* (*New Times*)—a newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to October 1917. Moderately liberal at the outset, it became, after 1876, the organ of reactionary circles of the nobility and the bureaucracy. The paper was hostile not only to the revolutionary movement, but even to the liberal-bourgeois. Following 1905 it became an organ of the Black Hundreds. Lenin called *Novoye Vremya* the acme of venality in the press. p. 318

[115] *Balalaikin*—a character in Saltykov-Shchedrin's *Modern Idyll*, a liberal windbag, adventurer and liar. p. 324

[116] *On the Question of Party Unity*—it was under this headline that *Proletary*, No. 20 of October 10 (September 27), 1905 published the following documents: minutes of the third conference of representatives of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee and the Mensheviks' Organising Committee as elected at the Geneva Conference, and the Central Committee's comments on these minutes. In its appraisal of the Mensheviks' behaviour at the joint conference and the demands presented by them, the Central Committee pointed out that their policy was the same as it had been prior to the Third Congress, and that it was leading to "the greatest chaos and anarchy, to the disintegration of the Party".

The documents were published with a note "From the Editorial Board" written by Lenin. p. 327

[117] *The Southern Russian Constituent Conference of the Mensheviks* was held in Kiev in August 1905. Its decisions were criticised by Lenin also in the article "The Latest in *Iskra* Tactics, or Mock Elections as a New Incentive to an Uprising" (see pp. 356-73 of this volume). p. 330

[118] The Kostroma Committee, which adhered to the Bolshevik stand, opposed the appointment of Plekhanov as representative to the International Socialist Bureau. p. 334

[119] "*Talks with Our Readers*" is the editor's introduction to a letter, published by *Proletary* in excerpts, from the Bolshevik S. Gusev, who in the second half of 1905 was the secretary of the Odessa Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. In his letter Gusev expressed his opinion of the Bolsheviks' tactics in the 1905 Revolution, reported on the explanatory work among the masses that was being conducted on these questions, and criticised the decisions of the Geneva Conference of the Mensheviks. Replying to Gusev on September 7 (20), 1905, Lenin wrote that he was instituting contacts between the Central Organ and practical workers, and that the editorial board intended publishing his letter in part. "On the whole we are in agreement and hold the same opinions (your ideas coincide with mine in *Two Tactics*)," Lenin wrote (*Collected Works*, Vol. 34, "A Letter to S. I. Gusev"). p. 335

[120] *Days of Bloodshed in Moscow* is a draft of the article "The Political Strike and the Street Fighting in Moscow", which is published in this volume on pages 347-55. p. 336

[121] *The Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike*, which began at the end of May and lasted till early August in 1905, involved about 70,000 workers of both sexes. Leadership was provided by the Northern Committee of the Bolsheviks. During the strike the workers formed a Council of Workers' Representatives which in fact was one of the earliest Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Russia. p. 336

[122] The police fired on Tiflis workers who had gathered on August 29 (September 11), 1905 in the building of the City Council to discuss the elections to the State Duma. By order of the tsarist authorities, the police and the Cossacks surrounded the building, broke into the hall where over 2,000 persons were assembled, and fell upon them. Sixty people were killed and about 300 injured.

All over the Caucasus—in Tiflis, Kutaisi, Sukhumi, etc.—political demonstrations and strikes took place in protest against the crimes perpetrated by the tsarist regime. Leaflets calling for an armed uprising against the autocracy were published by the Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and No. 18 of *Proletary* dated September 26 (13), 1905 carried a special bulletin signed by the Caucasian League Committee regarding the events in Tiflis. p. 337

[123] *Vorwärts*—central organ of German Social-Democracy, was published from 1876 onwards, under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht and others. In its columns Frederick Engels waged a struggle against all manifestations of opportunism. From the middle nineties, after the death of Engels, the paper began systematic publication of writings by the opportunists dominant in German Social-Democracy and the Second International. p. 349

[124] *Sotsial-Demokrat* (*The Social-Democrat*)—a Menshevik newspaper published in Geneva from October 1904 till October 1905. p. 370

[125] The article signed *M. Borisov* was first published in *Proletary*, and then republished in the St. Petersburg Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (*New Life*), No. 7 of November 8 (21), 1905. p. 374

[126] The reference is to the liberal-bourgeois newspaper Rus which came out at intervals in St. Petersburg between 1903 and 1908 under various names, such as *Rus* (*Russia*), *Molva* (*Hearsay*), and *Dvadtsaty Vek* (*The Twentieth Century*). p. 379

[127] No. 22 of *Proletary*, October 24 (11), 1905 carried a review of No. 3 of the Russian language edition of *Borba Proletariata*, organ of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P. Part of the review published in this volume was written by Lenin, and contains an appraisal of the article by J. Stalin entitled "Reply to *Sotsial-Demokrat*". p. 388

[128] No. 19 of *Proletary*, October 3 (September 20), 1905 published "An Open Letter to Comrades Abroad" from a group of Social-Democrats working in Kazan, Simbirsk and Nizhni-Novgorod gubernias. The letter described the difficult conditions of underground work in Russia and the shortage of Party forces, and called upon the youth to remain in Russia to work there. The letter was accompanied by the following editorial note: "We are publishing this statement by 'comrades from out-of-the-way places' so as to enable them to express in our columns their frame of mind and their opinion of Party work. While we do not share the author's too extreme opinion regarding the uselessness of 'studies' abroad we do however think it necessary more often to remind our comrades abroad and the Party as a whole of the out-of-the-way places in Russia." It has not been established who used the pseudonym of "Revolutionary". p. 389

[129] *Vasilyev*—the Bolshevik F. Lengnik; *Schmidt*—the Bolshevik P. Rumyantsev. The latter left the Party during the period of the Stolypin reaction. p. 390

[130] Lenin is quoting from the poem by N. Dobrolyubov *In a Prussian Railway Carriage*, signed "Konrad Lilienschwager" and published in 1862 in No. 8 of *Svistok* (*The Whistle*), a supplement to *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*) magazine. p. 404

[131] The article "The British Labour Movement and the Trade Union Congress" was published without the author's signature in No. 23 of *Proletary*, October 31 (18), 1905. The manuscript of the translation of this article was edited by Lenin, who attached two notes to it—one on the Taff Vale case, mentioned in the article, and the second on the concluding part of the article. p. 413

[132] *An Equilibrium of Forces* was completed several hours before the telegraph brought the news to Geneva that the tsar's Manifesto of

October 17 (30) has been made public. The questions touched upon in *An Equilibrium of Forces* were developed in detail in the article "The Denouement Is at Hand" (see pp. 447-54 of this volume). p. 414

[133] Lenin's pamphlet on this subject was not published. p. 417

[134] The reference is to the resolution written by Lenin and adopted by the Third Congress of the Party. It was worded, "On the Question of Open Political Action by the R.S.D.L.P." (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 377-78). p. 419

[135] The reference is to the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which arose as the united strike committee during the (October All-Russia political strike. On October 13 (26), St. Petersburg workers elected their representatives to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies so as to give leadership to the strike. In point of organisation the Soviet took shape on October 17 (30), when the provisional executive committee was elected.

The first Soviets of Workers' Deputies arose out of the strike movement even prior to the October general strike. In May 1905 a Soviet was formed in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, and a month later in Kostroma, while in September Soviets of Deputies were formed in Moscow by workers in individual trades, such as printers and tobacco workers. These first Soviets were already marked by a trend towards functions wider than those of strike committees, so that when the October strike broke out and a Soviet was formed in St. Petersburg they gave an impetus to the appearance of Soviets in other parts of the country. Shortly before the December insurrection in Moscow, the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies came into being, the example being followed in Kiev, Kharkov, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, Nikolayev, Ekaterinoslav, Vladikavkaz, Revel, Novorossiisk, Saratov, Chita, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Baku, and elsewhere.

In defiance of all the institutions of the tsar's government, the Soviets issued their own decrees, orders and instructions, and on their own authority they introduced the eight-hour working day and instituted democratic liberties.

The Bolsheviks everywhere entered the Soviets, and wherever they succeeded in gaining dominant influence the Soviets became militant centres for the mobilisation of revolutionary forces, where preparations for an insurrection were made and carried out. Thus, the Moscow Soviet was the headquarters of the December insurrection, and in Krasnoyarsk and Novorossiisk the Soviets took over power. The St. Petersburg Soviet "was weakest as an organ of the new power" (Lenin). Leadership in that Soviet was seized by the Mensheviks, so that it could not perform its main task—become the organ of an armed uprising and of the struggle for the overthrow of the autocracy.

Lenin, who developed the theory of the Soviets, regarded them as a mass political organisation of the working class, as organs of insurrection, and embryos of a new revolutionary system of rule.

The Bolsheviks differed sharply from the Mensheviks on the question of the role and significance of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. The Mensheviks belittled the role of the Soviets, reducing them merely to organs of local self-government. In their practical activities, the Mensheviks limited the functions of the Soviets to the defence of the workers' economic interests.

The Soviets of 1905, one of the greatest historic gains of the working class, were the prototype of Soviet power as established in 1917.

On the Soviets of Workers' Deputies see the following articles by Lenin: "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies"; "Resolution of the Executive Committee of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies on Measures for Counteracting the Lockout, Adopted on November 14 (27), 1905"; "The Provocation that Failed"; "The Dying Autocracy and New Organs of Popular Rule"; "Socialism and Anarchism", "The Socialist Party and Non-Party Revolutionism"; "The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party", etc. p. 432

[136] *The Second Congress of the "League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad"* was held on October 13-18 (26-31), 1903 in Geneva. It was convened by demand of the Mensheviks, who wished to contrapose it to the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Expressing himself against the congress of the League Abroad, Lenin wrote, "A League congress *at present* will provide everything for a squabble but nothing for practical purposes, i.e., for work abroad" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, "Letter to G. D. Leiteizen", October 10, 1903). p. 436

[137] The article "Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism" was reprinted in No. 9 of the Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* of November 10 (23), 1905. p. 438

[138] *V. V.*—pseudonym of V. Vorontsov, author of the book *The Destiny of Capitalism in Russia*; *Nikolai—on*—pseudonym of N. Danielson, author of the book *Sketches on Our Post-Reform Social Economy*. Both men were ideologists of liberal Narodism of the 1880s and 1890s. p. 444

[139] Lenin is referring to *Izvestia Sovieta Rabochikh Deputatov* (*Bulletin of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies*)—official organ of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, published from October 17 (30) till December 14 (27), 1905. It was made up and printed by the workers at the print-shops of various bourgeois newspapers. In all, ten issues appeared, the eleventh being confiscated by the police while it was being printed. p. 448

[140] The reference is to the *Neue Freie Presse*, a liberal-bourgeois newspaper, published in Vienna from 1864 onwards. p. 451

[141] This insert was written by Lenin while he was editing the article, "The Peasant Congress" by V. Kalinin (pseudonym of V. Karpinsky), which was published in No. 25 of *Proletary*, November 16 (3), 1905. p. 455

[142] *Oblomov*—the main character in the novel *Oblomov* by the writer I. Goncharov. The name has come to signify routine stagnation and incapacity for action. p. 460

[143] *Novaya Zhizn* (*New Life*)—the first legal Bolshevik newspaper, published as a St. Petersburg daily from October 27 (November 9) to December 3 (16), 1905. Lenin took over the editorship upon his return to Russia in early November. *Novaya Zhizn* was the actual central organ of the R.S.D.L.P. Closely associated with the paper were V. Vorovsky, M. Olminsky, and A. Lunacharsky, while Maxim Gorky contributed articles and gave the paper financial aid.

No. 9 of the paper, which appeared on November 10 (23), carried Lenin's first article "On the Reorganisation of the Party", which was followed by more than ten articles from his pen. The paper's circulation reached 80,000, though it was constantly persecuted. Of the 27 issues, 15 were confiscated. It was banned after publication of No. 27 on December 2 (15), No. 28 coming out illegally. p. 462

[144] *Vendée*—a department in France where, during the French bourgeois revolution, a counter-revolutionary insurrection of the ignorant and reactionary peasantry took place, directed against the revolutionary Convention. Staged under religious slogans, the uprising was directed by the counter-revolutionary clergy and landlords. p. 464

[145] The mutiny of soldiers and naval ratings in Kronstadt began on October 26 (November 8), 1905. The following demands were put forward by the rebels: convening of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal suffrage; establishment of a democratic republic; freedom of speech, assembly and association; improvement of the conditions of soldiers and ratings. The uprising was put down on October 28 (November 10). p. 465

THE LIFE AND WORK OF

V. I. LENIN

Outstanding Dates
(*June-November 1905*)

1905

June-July	Lenin writes *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.
June 28 (July 11)	In a letter to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., Lenin proposes that political guidance of Party organisations should be improved by means of regular publication of leaflets and bulletins by the Central Committee.
June 29 (July 12)	Lenin writes a letter to the Central Committee regarding the terms of G. Plekhanov's appointment as the R.S.D.L.P.'s representative to the International Socialist Bureau.
July 11 (24)	In a letter to the International Socialist Bureau Lenin exposes the Mensheviks' schismatic tactics.
July 13 (26)	Lenin's articles "Revolution Teaches" and "Wrathful Impotence" are published in No. 9 of *Proletary*.
July, following 13 (26)	Lenin writes the preface to *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.
July 15 (28)	In a letter to the Central Committee, Lenin advises cancellation of the Central Committee's decision to appoint Plekhanov as the R.S.D.L.P.'s representative to the International Socialist Bureau.
July 20 (August 2)	Lenin's article "While the Proletariat Is Doing the Fighting the Bourgeoisie Is Stealing Towards Power" is published as the leading article in No. 10 of *Proletary*.
July 27 (August 9)	No. 11 of *Proletary* carries a report of the publication of Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.
July	Lenin writes the preface to the pamphlet *Workers on the Split in the Party*.

July-August — Lenin edits the Russian translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France* for the second edition which was brought out in 1905 by the *Burevestnik* Publishers in Odessa.

August 1 (14) — In a letter to the Central Committee, Lenin criticises the conciliatory stand taken by Central Committee members in Russia (Bogdanov, Krasin and others), and demands that the decisions of the Party's Third Congress be unswervingly applied in solving the problem of unification with the break-away section of the R.S.D.L.P. (the Mensheviks).

August 3 (16) — Lenin's article "The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma, and Insurrection" is published as a leader in No. 12 of the newspaper *Proletary*.

August 9 (22) — No. 13 of *Proletary* carries Lenin's article "Reply from the *Proletary* Editorial Board to Questions Put by Comrade Worker" and his note on M. N. Pokrovsky's article "The Professional Intelligentsia and the Social-Democrats".

August 16 (29) — No. 14 of *Proletary* carries the following articles by Lenin: "'Oneness of the Tsar and the People, and of the People and the Tsar'" (leading article), "The Black Hundreds and the Organisation of an Uprising", "Are the Zemstvo 'Liberals' Already Turning Back?", and an editorial epilogue to the article, "The Third Congress on Trial Before the Caucasian Mensheviks", the latter republished from No. 1 of the newspaper *Borba Proletariata*.

August — Lenin writes the preface to the third edition of the pamphlet, *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*.

He writes the plan of his pamphlet, *The Working Class and Revolution*.

Publication of Lenin's pamphlet *The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx"* (reprint of the first four chapters).

August 23 (September 5) — No. 15 of *Proletary* carries the following articles by Lenin: "In the Wake of the Monarchist Bourgeoisie, or in the Van of the Revolutionary Proletariat and Peasantry?" (leading article), "A Most Lucid Exposition of a Most Confused Plan", and "Keeping International Social-Democracy Informed of Our Party Affairs".

August 25 (September 7) — In a letter to members of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee in Russia, Lenin protests against their conciliatory stand in matters of tactics and categorically insists on the Editorial Board of the Central Organ, *Proletary*, being kept abreast of the Central Committee's activities.

September 1 (14) — No. 16 of *Proletary* carries the following articles by Lenin: "Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement" (leading article), "What Our Liberal Bourgeois Want, and What They Fear" and "The Theory of Spontaneous Generation".

In a letter to P. A. Krasikov, Lenin gives instructions on the consolidation of R.S.D.L.P. local committees and on the need to establish closer relations between the St. Petersburg Committee and the *Proletary* Editorial Board.

September 2 (15) — In a letter to the Central Committee, Lenin insists on being informed in time of the Central Committee's activities in Russia.

September 3 (16) — In a letter to the International Socialist Bureau, Lenin informs the latter of the consent of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee to a conference proposed by the Bureau in connection with differences within the R.S.D.L.P.

September 7 (20) — In a letter to S. I. Gusev Lenin writes of the need for Party workers from Russia to apply to the *Proletary* Editorial Board on matters of Bolshevik tactics and their implementation.

Following September 10 (23) — Lenin delivers a paper to Russian emigrants in Switzerland on the subject of Party tactics towards the Bulygin Duma.

September 13 (26) — No. 18 of *Proletary* carries the following articles by Lenin: "Friends Meet" (leading article), "Argue About Tactics, but Give Clear Slogans!", "Playing at Parliamentarianism", "From the Defensive to the Offensive", "On the Current Moment", and an insert to V. V. Vorovsky's article "The Liberal Unions and Social-Democracy".

Middle of September — *Rabochy*, mass organ of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., publishes in issue No. 2 an appeal to all Party organisations, written by Lenin and entitled "From the Editorial Board of the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P."

September 20 (October 3)

Lenin's article, "The Zemstvo Congress" is published in No. 19 of *Proletary*.

Lenin writes two letters to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. with instructions on preparations for the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and stresses the importance of political literature in giving leadership to Party work.

September 25 (October 8)

In a letter to the Central Committee, Lenin communicates the decision of the Southern Russian Conference of the Mensheviks regarding Plekhanov being empowered to act as the Mensheviks' representative to the International Socialist Bureau, and proposes that V. Vorovsky should represent the Bolsheviks.

September, prior to the 27th (October 10)

Lenin writes the articles: "No Falsehood! Our Strength Lies in Stating the Truth!", and "The Jena Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party".

September 27 (October 10)

No. 20 of *Proletary* carries the following articles by Lenin: "Socialism and the Peasantry" (leading article), "A Replete Bourgeoisie and a Craving Bourgeoisie", "The Landlords on the Boycott of the Duma", "On the Question of Party Unity", "An Irate Reply", "A New Menshevik Conference" and "Representation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the International Socialist Bureau".

He writes the article "Days of Bloodshed in Moscow".

September 30 (October 13)

In a letter to S. I. Gusev Lenin writes of the need to strengthen Party leadership in the trade unions.

End of September

Lenin writes the draft of the article "The Bourgeoisie Awakened from Its Slumber".

September-October

Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution is illegally republished in Russia by the Central Committee, and separately by the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

Lenin's pamphlet To the Rural Poor is illegally republished by the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., and legally by the *Molot* Publishers in St. Petersburg, under the title of *The Needs of the Countryside* (*To the Rural Poor*).

Early October — Lenin writes an item against A. N. Potresov (Starover) entitled "A Social-Democratic Sweetheart".

October 3 (16) — In a letter to the Combat Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin gives directions on the formation of combat groups and contingents of the revolutionary army for an insurrection.

October 4 (17) — The following articles by Lenin are published in No. 21 of *Proletary*: "The Political Strike and the Street Fighting in Moscow" (leading article), "The Latest in *Iskra* Tactics, or Mock Elections as a New Incentive to an Uprising".

Between October 4 and 11 (17 and 24) — The draft decisions of the Party's Third Congress, which were written by Lenin, and the reports and speeches Lenin delivered at the Congress are published for the first time in the book *The Third Regular Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Full Text of the Minutes*, which was brought out in Geneva by the Central Committee.

October 7 (20) — Lenin writes the Rules of the Business Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee.

October 11 (24) — No. 22 of *Proletary* carries the following: Lenin's article "The Lessons of the Moscow Events"; his note "The Youth Abroad and the Russian Revolution", and his review of the article "Reply to *Sotsial-Demokrat*" which was published in No. 3 (in Russian) of the newspaper *Borba Proletariata*.

October 12 (25) — In a letter to the Central Committee, Lenin acknowledges notification of his appointment as the R.S.D.L.P.'s representative to the International Socialist Bureau.

October 13 (26) — Lenin writes "The All-Russia Political Strike", which is published as the leading article in No. 23 of *Proletary*, October 31 (18).

A letter is sent by Lenin to M. M. Essen in St. Petersburg, regarding the need to build up preparations for an insurrection, and the formation of hundreds and thousands of combat groups.

October 14 (27)	Lenin writes to the International Socialist Bureau, informing it that F. Lengnik, P. Rumyantsev and he have been appointed to represent the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. at the conference proposed by the Bureau.
The second half of October	Lenin writes the articles "Tasks of Revolutionary Army Contingents" and "What the Liberals Expect of the Duma".
	Lenin draws up the plan of a pamphlet criticising P. Axelrod's *The People's Duma and a Labour Congress* (1905).
October 17 (30)	Lenin writes an outline of the article "An Equilibrium of Forces".
October 18 (31)	The following articles by Lenin are published in No. 23 of *Proletary*: "The First Results of the Political Alignment", "The Hysterics of the Defeated", "Revolutionary Riga's Ultimatum", "The Plans of a Buffoon-Minister", and "The Aggravation of the Situation in Russia".
October 19 (November 1)	Lenin writes the article "The First Victory of the Revolution", on the occasion of the Manifesto of October 17. This article is published as the leader in No. 24 of *Proletary*, November 7 (October 25).
October 20 (November 2)	At a meeting of Russian Social-Democrats in Geneva Lenin delivers a report on the recent political events in Russia.
October 25 (November 7)	No. 24 of *Proletary* publishes Lenin's articles "Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism", and "Nikolai Ernestovich Bauman" (an obituary).
Late October	Lenin leaves Geneva for Russia via Stockholm.
November 2 (15)	Lenin writes the article "Between Two Battles", which is subsequently published as the leading article in No. 26 of *Proletary*, November 25 (12).
November 3 (16)	Lenin's "The Denouement Is at Hand" is published as the leading article in No. 25 of *Proletary*.

В. И. ЛЕНИН
СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 9

На английском языке