

**Vladimir
Ilyich
Lenin**

**Pages
from His Life**

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from His Life**

WITH REMINISCENCES OF HIS
ASSOCIATES

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Introduction

Here is another book about Vladimir Lenin, another story, this time in the form of a documentary chronicle, telling of a life that was brilliant, intense and eventful, dramatic and filled with struggle.

Lenin... perhaps there is no other individual in world history who has inspired so diverse and contradicting assessments, ranging from admiration and exaltation to fierce hostility. Yet despite all their differences, both Lenin's contemporaries and subsequent generations totally agree that Lenin's was, indeed, a unique personality. When he died both devoted associates and bitter adversaries, friends and foes alike realized that "...in Lenin the world has lost a personality who embodied genius more strikingly than any other great man of his day." These words, written by Maxim Gorky, are no exaggeration.

Politicians of a historic caliber are not merely the embodiment of society's current requirements. Their life and destiny are things that are intrinsically bound up with the past and the future. The significance of what they achieve and the uniqueness of their personality establish a standard by which coming generations gauge their own actions.

We may choose to disagree with people, even with those who are called great, we may argue over and question the truth of their ideas and the correctness of their actions, and we may seek to oppose these ideas and actions with our own. Yet one thing is quite impossible: we cannot consign a life which constituted an epoch of revolutionary activity to oblivion. Such was the life of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin.

To understand Lenin—the thinker, revolutionary, politician and the man—what we need more than anything else is to

acquaint ourselves not only with his intellectual and spiritual legacy but also with the main achievements of his life, not only with his convictions but also with what sort of man he was in everyday life and how he interacted with other people.

In this respect it is hard to overestimate the years of study made by historians from the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee. The result was a work published in 12 enormous volumes, 600-700 pages each, and entitled *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. A Biographical Chronicle. 1870-1924*. Years of painstaking work, beginning immediately after Lenin's death, led to the collection and chronological systematization of hundreds of thousands of facts recording Lenin's life with the impartiality of a document year by year, month by month, day by day and even hour by hour. What seem dry and pedantic documentary entries in fact bring to life all the details of an amazingly active life, of the persistent search for theoretical truths and the daily risks of revolutionary work; the immense prognostic power and tactical mistakes; victories and defeats; hope and despair, immense love for friends and irreconcilable aversion for enemies; modesty bordering on asceticism and ceaseless energy for life; the iron will of a fighter and the tender affection of a son, husband and brother. Through the dry lines of the chronicle one can feel the inconveniences of life in emigration, the terrible homesickness, the ardor of heated discussions and revolutionary passion.

In the life of an outstanding personality there are crucial points which testify to its significance and originality. It is important not to miss these points, not to get bogged down in the mass of facts and to determine what was of primary and what was of secondary importance. For instance, Lenin's chronicle has this entry: "Before September 14, 1888, Lenin writes a letter to N. G. Chernyshevsky." This single line records the fact that the 18-year-old youth, as he enters out into independent life, has addressed the patriarch of Russia's socialist thought, an outstanding revolutionary democrat, and by doing so determines much of the course of his future life. He has no doubt that it will be the road of struggle against a world of oppression and slavery.

Lenin never was a solitary hero, and always placed himself at the heart of events. His exuberant energy and strength of will charged both his political allies and his opponents. Another important characteristic was that even when away from his homeland he was tied to Russia by a thousand threads.

These inherent qualities of Lenin were invariably noted by all who met him, whether they were politicians, scientists or workers. Many of Lenin's associates have left their reminiscences of him, some of which have been included in this collection. Woven into the fabric of the dry chronological notes, they accentuate their veracity with first-hand impressions of the time and events and, most important for us, reconstruct the characteristic traits and details of both Lenin's life and his human image.

We believe that the reminiscences left by Lenin's relatives—his sisters Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova (1864-1935) and Maria Ulyanova (1878-1937), his brother Dmitri Ulyanov (1874-1943) and his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya (1869-1939)—by all those who were close to him at various periods of his life can today be considered genuine historical documents.

Our chronicle of the life of Vladimir Lenin consists of the following issues:

- The Road to Revolution (1870-1904);*
- The First Assault Against Tsarism (1905-1907);*
- Rallying Up Forces (1907-1917);*

For the First Time in History|Parts I and II| (1917-1924).

The first issue has been prepared to mark the 120th anniversary of Lenin's birthday.

Issue One:

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

The making of a revolutionary

its sluggish, sleepy life, their small joys and dramas, the newspapers invariably called *Gubernskiye Vedomosti* (Provincial News), the gardens around houses built by wealthy merchants to stand for ages, and the streets dusty in summer and muddy in autumn.

The liberal reform of 1861 which freed the Russian peasant from serfdom is already a thing of the past. Small and big banks have already been founded for financing industrial development and railway construction. Capitalism is manifesting its power ever more confidently and tangibly, and alongside it a new social class, the industrial proletariat, is rising and gathering strength.

France
Nikolai Chernyshevsky, the spiritual leader of the radically-minded intelligentsia, is serving the sixth year of penal servitude in Siberia. Alexander Herzen, the great exile, thinker and revolutionary and the organizer of the first uncensored Russian printshop, had died in England three months beforehand. Two years later the Russian translation of the first volume of Karl Marx's *Capital* will be published and after four years the best representatives of the young generation, inspired by the idea of fulfilling their duty to the peasantry, which is crying out for "genuine freedom," will "go to people" in order to incite them to fight the autocracy and to awaken a spirit of rebellion in the Russian land-tiller.

As yet, however, all this is still part of the future. For the time being Russia's social life consists mainly of provincial cities and towns where people get up and go to bed early, where civil servants fulfil their duties faithfully and take bribes as a matter of course, where some people are engrossed in concentrated and critical thoughts for which others banish them methodically to Siberia.

April 22 saw the birth of a son who was named Vladimir in the family of Ilya Ulyanov, inspector of primary schools of Simbirsk Province, and his wife Maria. It was a family where mutual trust and friendship existed between the parents and children, where the great humanists were loved and revered, where music could be heard in the evening and where the light would not go out till late at night in the father's study. It was in fact a typical family of Russian intellectuals who thought a

great deal about the future and saw to create it in their children, who would follow after them devoting all their efforts and knowledge to those who needed them so urgently and holding this to be their civic duty.

Things were far from idyllic in Russian society of that time: the apparent calm and steadfastness of the vast empire were like a lull before a violent storm. The gradual transformation of a country of the wooden plough into a country of the steam engine and mechanical loom, a transformation in fact in the very way people lived, could not but lead to unprecedented upheavals in society. The character of society and its problems was determined for many decades by the new classes that arose after the 1861 reform. The consolidation of the capitalist mode of production in the city and its gradual penetration of village life inevitably led to the impoverishment of the vast majority of the population (particularly peasants) and the enrichment of a specific and tiny section. The breakdown of society's traditional structure brought with it tensions which could erupt at any moment in a revolutionary outburst. This necessitated the formulation of a revolutionary ideology and an appropriate program of action. The advance contingent of the Russian revolutionary and liberation movement were composed of *raznochintsi* (people with different social levels—*Ed.*) who were drawn from among the intellectuals, small merchants and clergy. Aware of the grievous plight of the poverty of the people and attributing it to the country's capitalization they sought to find a way of saving Russia from the "scourge of capitalism." The revolutionaries of the 1870s saw the way out in strengthening the rural commune which, they believed, could become the primary cell of the country's future socialist organization. Since it was possible, they held, to do without the excruciating torture of capitalist evolution, they should devote all their strength, knowledge and, if necessary, their lives for the good of the people, and above all the peasants, as the revolutionaries believed them to be "socialists by their very nature."

The 1870s were characterized by the persistent attempts of the Narodniks (*narod* in Russian means "the people"—*Ed.*) to ignite the flames of peasant rebellion against the autocracy. However, the revolutionary situation which had arisen in Russia did not develop to become a democratic revolution. The inertia of the peasantry, who failed to become the motive

force of the revolution, prompted the Narodniks, who had not given up their goal of overthrowing the hateful autocracy, to assume the tactics of individual terrorism against the empire's top dignitaries and the tsar himself. They paid no heed to the fact that the entire world experience of revolutionary activity did not affirm but, rather, refuted terrorism as a method of revolutionary action.

There was urgent need to replace the obsolete notions of how and with what means the tsarist autocracy, which personified all varieties of oppression, be it economic, social or national, was to be fought.

However, the decades of stubborn search by the Narodniks to find a sound scientific theory of social development, the choice of the forms and methods of propaganda and agitation, and the organization of the movement itself were not wasted, for they prepared the way for the new, proletarian ideology that was Marxism. Consistent democrats as they were, the Narodniks counted on the participation of the toiling masses in the revolution; they began to elaborate the theory of a political party and established a ramified network of secret organizations (the largest of which was the Narodnaya Volya party). It was ultimately thanks to the Narodniks that a type of Russian revolutionary was formed combining revolutionary vigor and staunchness with a highly developed sense of secrecy in everything carried out, for all revolutionary or reforming activity had to be secret due to the conditions that existed under the tsarist regime.

Many decades ago, in 1920, Lenin was to write in his work *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* that Russia had achieved Marxism through the experience of "...the seekings and vacillations, the errors and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia," "...through the agony she experienced of unparalleled torment and sacrifice, of unparalleled revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, ... verification and comparison with European experience."

That crucial time was also the time which saw the shaping and development of Lenin himself as a personality. By an auspicious coincidence he took Marx's *Capital* into his hands for the first time the year he turned 16 and decided to devote his life to the struggle for overthrowing the existing socio-political order. It stands to reason that the distance between a very superficial acquaintance with Marx's main work and

Lenin's thorough mastery of and profound belief in Marx's theory could be covered only through a tremendous intellectual effort, through comprehending the entire history of the revolutionary and liberation movement both in Russia and Europe and the achievements and delusions of the preceding generations of revolutionaries. As it was, the very first step was taken when Lenin was 16 years old.

The transition from the Narodniks' theory to Marxism, to the scientific doctrine of socialism was not a matter of purely academic endeavor on Lenin's part. In fact revolutionary ideas intruded upon his life with tragic reality when his elder and beloved brother Alexander was executed at the age of 21 for plotting to assassinate the tsar. The pages which follow give us an idea of the very beginning of Lenin's life as a revolutionary. Many years later he would write in the questionnaire of the 10th Party Congress concerning his participation in the revolutionary movement: "1892-1893. Illegal Social-Democratic circles in Samara."

These were the years when Lenin made an in-depth study of Marxism, comparing the general laws of social development with the concrete facts of the condition of the Russian economy. We can safely say that Lenin's personality developed and matured along with the dissemination and consolidation of Marxist ideology in Russia.

Despite the disunity of the few Social-Democratic groups in the country, by the mid-1880s Marxism had emerged as a specific and potentially major trend in Russian revolutionary thought. While the Narodniks' theory was clearly living through an ideological crisis, the Social-Democrats were growing increasingly confident of the righteousness of Marxism. This confidence was further enhanced after the appearance of the illegally published works of G. V. Plekhanov*.

Not only had the advanced Russian intelligentsia manifested its clear attraction to Marx's theory by the middle of the 1880s but also the industrial proletariat had been mainly shaped as a social class. The working class movement was attaining sufficient scope and organization that would enable it to branch off as an independent force from the general

* *G. V. Plekhanov* (1856-1918) was an outstanding leader of Russia's and the international Social-Democratic movement, philosopher and propagandist of Marxism. He organized the Emancipation of Labor group (1883) which was the first Russian Marxist organization abroad and was one of the founders of the RSDLP. He became a leader of Menshevism after the 2nd Party Congress (1903).

democratic movement. Marxism's "victory" in the West European working class movement and the possibility of using the experience and lessons of that movement also promoted the dissemination of the new revolutionary theory among the Russian proletariat.

Nevertheless, the Social-Democratic trend in Russian social thought and the working class movement still existed as separate entities. Most Social-Democratic organizations did not go any further than the propaganda of Marxism in workers' study circles. Even when members of Marxist circles took part in spontaneous strike action they did not attempt to organize it in any way. The fusion of the theory of scientific socialism with the practice of the working class movement became an increasingly pressing issue. This task could be accomplished only by a solid political organization.

Many Social-Democrats realized the necessity for leading the working class movement. Lenin also thought this way. His excellent knowledge of Marxism was combined with a thorough knowledge of Russian life even at this period. His work as assistant solicitor, direct contacts with workers and peasants and the study of statistical data helped him to orient himself in and analyze all the peculiarities of Russian capitalism. Energetic, purposeful and confident of the righteousness of his cause, Lenin longed to break free from provincial Samara in order to engage in real, full-scale activity. He set his sights on the "northern capital" where industrial production was highly concentrated and intellectual life was agog with activity.

On August 31, 1893 Lenin arrived in St. Petersburg.

1870

April 10 (22)*

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) is born.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Lenin's father, Ilya Ulyanov, came from a lower middle-class family in the city of Astrakhan. The student days of Ilya Nikolayevich were spent during the cruel reign of Nicholas I when the country languished under the yoke of serfdom. The downtrodden mass of peasants was illiterate and devoid of any trace of culture. Rebellions which flared up occasionally against particularly cruel landlords were poorly organized; they were ruthlessly suppressed, and the countryside fell back into darkness and despair. One had to live through that terrible time to be immensely relieved when Nicholas I died, was succeeded by his son Alexander II and Russia entered a period of reforms. New courts, much greater freedom of the press and, above all, public education called for the efforts of progressive people.

Ilya Ulyanov, who was one of such men, was glad to take on the newly established post of inspector of elementary schools of Simbirsk Province. There was a great deal to be done. The few elementary schools in the province were housed in squalid, cramped rooms, while many teachers lacked proper education. Everything had to be done from scratch; peasants had to be convinced to build new schools, other ways had to be found of raising funds for this purpose, and refresher courses had to be organized for young teachers, where they could be taught new educational methods. Ilya Ulyanov had no assistants to cope with the problems involved in the public education of the whole province, while at the same time his health was not very strong. However, his love for what he saw as his purpose in life, coupled with industry and perseverance conquered everything, so that during the 17 years of his work Ilya Ulyanov built almost 450 schools in the province and opened courses which trained teachers of a new type known as "Ulyanovites."

All of Ilya Ulyanov's salary went into maintaining his large family and into the education of the children. He spent very little on himself and avoided crowded society with its noisy entertainments. His rest from work often consisted in talking with people who were interested in that very same work.

* Two dates are given here since Russia lived until 1917 by the Julian calendar (Old Style) which was 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar (New Style) generally used in Europe. All further dates in this work are Old Style.

He demanded much from himself and likewise from others during work hours but could be an interesting and engaging companion in his free time, joking with his children and telling them fairy tales and numerous other stories. He behaved like an older friend when talking or playing (chess or croquet) with the children and was inevitably no less excited than they.

He was burned out by his strenuous work and he died suddenly on January 12, 1886 at the age of 54.

Vladimir's mother, Maria Blank, was the daughter of a doctor, Alexander Blank, who was very progressive in his thinking. As her father had very limited means and the family was large his daughter grew up to be a thrifty and industrious girl. This way of life strengthened Maria's health and tempered her endurance. Her character was steady and firm, but also friendly and cheerful.

Maria took no interest in fashion or gossip which were the basic pursuits of feminine society during that time and entirely devoted herself to the upbringing of her children. If she noticed shortcomings in them she worked patiently and perseveringly to eliminate them. She never raised her voice, almost never punished her children and won their great love and obedience. Her greatest joy was music which she played with great feeling. When they were very young, her children loved to fall asleep and later to work to the strains of their mother's piano.

Ours was a friendly and close family. Our only income was father's modest salary and we were able to make both ends meet only thanks to mother's stringent economy, but the children never lacked any of life's necessities, and all their reasonable cultural requirements were satisfied.

1875

Vladimir Lenin learns to read.

1876-1879

Mother teaches Vladimir foreign languages and music.

1879

August 16.

Vladimir is enrolled in the first grade of the Simbirsk secondary school.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

He was a quick learner. He was the best student from the first year on and passed from one grade to another with highest honors. His excellent abilities were augmented by his seriousness and industry and made him top student. The example set by his father and mother, who were always busy and always working, and especially that of his elder brother, Alexander*, proved to be of great importance for young Vladimir. Sometimes father would take Vladimir to his study to check his home work. He would, for instance, ask about the meaning and use of certain Latin words out of his son's notebook, and Vladimir would usually give the correct answers. He read a great deal in his childhood. Father received all the new children's books and magazines, and we also subscribed to books and periodicals in a public library.

Vladimir willingly shared his knowledge with his classmates, explaining to them difficult lessons, problems, compositions and translations from Greek and Latin. In his last two years at school he coached a teacher of a Chuvash** school so that he would be able to take his examination for a school-leaving certificate necessary to enter university.

Maria Ulyanova:

He loved his elder brother very much. It was a rule with Vladimir, in his own words, "to do everything like Alexander." The elder brother who was very reserved, steady and even-tempered had an immense influence on Vladimir who was boisterous, explosive and not very disciplined in his childhood.

1884-1887

Lenin takes keen interest in the Russian classics—Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Tolstoy, and in the progressive literary critics and journalists, the revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky, Belinsky, Herzen, Dobrolyubov, and also in foreign classics.

* *Alexander Ulyanov* (1866-1887) was later one of the organizers and leaders of the combat groups of the Narodnaya Volya Party.—*Ed.*

** Chuvashes were one of the small peoples of the Russian Empire.—*Ed.*

Nadezhda Krupskaya*:

Vladimir read and many times reread Turgenev and Tolstoy and was in general very fond of the classics and very familiar with their works. Later, when the Bolsheviks came to power, he set the Gosizdat publishing house the task of reprinting the classics in cheap editions. Vladimir had in his photo album, together with the photographs of his relatives and of old revolutionaries convicted to penal servitude, also the photographs of Zola, Herzen and several photographs of Chernyshevsky. He was fond of Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is to Be Done?* despite its inadequate and naive literary level. I was surprised to see how thoroughly he read the novel and what finest nuances he noted in it. In fact, Chernyshevsky's whole image was dear to him. In his time Vladimir also read much of Pisarev and was fond of him. I remember that in Siberia** we also had a copy of Goethe's *Faust*, and a volume of Heine's poems, both in German.

Nikolai Meshcheriakov***:

Lenin had a remarkable diversity of interests. When he selected books on economics to be taken abroad he also took poems by Nekrasov and Goethe. Lenin was fond of poetry, he adored Pushkin and read him with great pleasure.

Maria Essen:****

Vladimir liked to speak about literature, about his favorite writers—Saltykov-Shchedrin, Nekrasov and Chernyshevsky, especially the last named. "Here is real literature which teaches, leads and inspires," Lenin said. "During one summer I read the novel *What Is to Be Done?* five times, and each time I found new exciting thoughts in that work."

* *N. K. Krupskaya* (1869-1939), Lenin's wife and closest associate, is known for her works in pedagogics and the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. She is also one of the most authoritative of Lenin's biographers.—*Ed.*

** During exile to the village of Shushenskoye in Krasnoyarsk Territory (February 1897-January 1900).—*Ed.*

*** *N. L. Meshcheriakov* (1865-1942) was one of the oldest participants in the Russian revolutionary movement, a Bolshevik after the 2nd RSDLP Congress; a literary critic, journalist, author of works on history of literature and history of Russian public thought.—*Ed.*

**** *M. M. Essen* (1872-1956) was an active participant in the Russian revolutionary movement; a member of the RSDLP Central Committee in 1903-1905; she ceased active Party work during the period of reaction following the revolution's defeat in 1905-1907 and resumed it during the 1920s when she was also active in publishing and editorial work.—*Ed.*

1885

Summer.

For the first time Lenin sees *Capital* by Karl Marx, which his elder brother Alexander brought home during summer vacations.

1886

Before January 12.

Lenin breaks with religion. The spur is provided by a conversation his father had with a guest during which Ilya Ulyanov said that his children were poor church-goers. The guest said, looking at Vladimir: "Give them the birch, don't spare it!" Infuriated, the young man decided to break with religion. He ran out of the house and tore off and threw to the ground the cross he wore round his neck.

January 12.

The death of Lenin's father, Ilya Ulyanov, from cerebral hemorrhage.

1887

March 1.

Vladimir's elder brother, Alexander Ulyanov, is arrested.

After March 1.

Lenin visits a close acquaintance of the Ulyanov family who tells him about a letter she received from St. Petersburg about the arrest of Alexander Ulyanov and Anna Ulyanova and asks him to prepare his mother for the sad news.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

In 1886, when Vladimir was not yet sixteen, his father died, and a year later another disaster befell the family—Vladimir's beloved elder brother, Alexander, was arrested for taking part in an attempt on the life of Tsar Alexander III; he was tried and sentenced to death, and was executed on May 8, 1887. This blow made a powerful impression on Vladimir; it steeled him and made him reflect seriously on the path the revolution must take. As it was, even his brother Alexander had already arrived at the crossroads between Narodnaya Volya and Marxism. He had read Marx's *Capital* and accepted the path of development outlined by Marx. He had been conducting political classes among workers, but the soil was not yet ready for Social-Democratic activity at that time. The few industrial workers that existed were disunited and backward. People from the intelligentsia had difficulty in approaching them; as well as this, tsarist oppression was rampant and any attempt to establish contact with the people was punished by prison or exile to Siberia.

All people of honor and integrity had but one desire—to fight, and in the first place to break down, even if ever so little to begin with, the cramping walls which the autocracy had created, and which stifled every living thing within. This carried the risk of death for the most daring, but death did not daunt the most courageous, such people as Alexander Ulyanov. Not only did he leave the University unhesitatingly and abandon his beloved studies (even though people had said that he was certain to make a professor one day) when he felt that he could no longer endure the despotism oppressing the whole country, but he also, equally unhesitatingly, sacrificed his life.

Alexander Ulyanov died the death of a hero, and the halo of his revolutionary martyrdom lighted the path for his younger brother Vladimir.

April 15.

Vladimir writes in one of his school essays, entitled "The Reasons for the Welfare of the People's Life", about oppressed classes in society. When the principal, F.M. Kerensky*, returned the essay he asked: "What are these oppressed classes you're writing about here? Where do they come in?"

* Incidentally, *Alexander Kerensky*, the son of F. M. Kerensky, was one of Lenin's opponents during the February 1917 Revolution and the head of the bourgeois Provisional Government overthrown in October 1917.—*Ed.*

May 8.

Alexander Ulyanov and his comrades Pyotr Shevyrev, Vasili Osipanov, Vasili Generalov and Pakhomi Andreyushkin are executed at dawn in the courtyard of the Schlisselburg prison.

Before May 10.

Lenin learns about his brother's execution.

Beginning of June.

Lenin meets Ivan Chebotarev who studied together with Alexander Ulyanov at St. Petersburg University and asks him about his brother, the last days of their life in the same apartment and his brother's behavior in court.

June 10.

Vladimir Lenin receives a school-leaving certificate and a gold medal awarded by the teachers' council of the Simbirsk Secondary School.

Before the middle of June.

Lenin decides to enter the law department of Kazan University.

Dmitri Ulyanov:

Nadezhda Krupskaya recalled Lenin speak of his school years: "During our last year at school one of my friends invited me to go for a walk in order to talk about our future. But when the comrade began to speak about the choice of a department at the university and our further work I understood that he was only concerned about his career." Vladimir's schoolmates were surprised to learn that he had chosen the law department which they mostly associated with career-making. They could not see how the law department could also be of interest to people who sought to study capitalist society, its economic structure and laws, and modern society of that time as a whole.

Karl Marx is known also to have opted to study law, something which was by no means accidental.

August 13.

Lenin is enrolled at the law department of Kazan University.

August 25.

He begins to attend lectures at Kazan University.

September—before December 4.

Lenin joins a revolutionary students' circle which the police described as a "coterie of an extremely pernicious trend" and becomes a member of the Samara-Simbirsk Club.

Before December 1.

The members of the Samara-Simbirsk Students' Club of Kazan University elect Vladimir Lenin their representative at the University council of students' clubs.

December 4.

Lenin takes part in a meeting held by students at the University's assembly hall in support of students' actions which began in Moscow against the reactionary University statutes of 1884 and the circular letter of the Minister of Public Education of June 18, 1887 concerning the non-admission to secondary schools of the children of "coachmen, lackeys, cooks, washerwomen, petty shopkeepers and people of this type."

When the meeting ended about 4 p.m. Lenin was one of the first to lay down his student's card.

The University Inspector submits to the Warden of the Kazan Educational Area a list of 153 students who took part in the meeting. Students whose names were marked with two or three crosses are to be expelled from the University. Entry No. 139 reads: "Ulyanov, Vladimir Ilyich, law,—expelled on December 4."

The Warden of the Kazan Educational Area sends a memorandum to the Chancellor of Kazan University demanding the expulsion of students who took part in the meeting of protest.

December 4 or 5.

The Chancellor of Kazan University signs "a list of students who attended the meeting on December 4, 1887 and who, on leaving the assembly hall, laid down their student cards stating that they wished to leave the University"; entry No. 83 reads: "Ulyanov."

The night of December 4-5.

Lenin is arrested and imprisoned for his participation in student disturbances.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Those were the years when there was a temporary lull and political depression, when Narodnaya Volya had already been smashed and yet a Social-Democratic party had not been born. The workers and peasants had not yet entered the arena of struggle on a mass scale; only among the students did unrest flare up sporadically instead of lying dormant as was the case with the rest of the population. From their midst sincere and ardent people were continually appearing who refused to conceal their indignation at the existing order and sought ways to combat it. This was why the tsarist government was especially harsh on students—they were the particular victims of its searches, arrests, and sentences of exile. In 1887 a new and general wave of oppression followed the attempt on the tsar's life, committed in the spring of that year in St. Petersburg, in which students almost exclusively were involved.

The system of informers, close surveillance and spying in the University, dismissal of the more liberal-minded professors, prohibition of all organizations, even of such innocuous ones as societies (clubs) of students originating from the same areas, expulsion and the sending home of anyone who was to any extent compromised in the eyes of the authorities—all this electrified the atmosphere in the universities in the very first months of the academic year.

A wave of so-called disorders swept all the universities, including Kazan.

On December 4 the students of Kazan University gathered together, clamoring for the inspector and refusing to disperse. When he appeared they put forward to him a number of demands, not only pertaining to the University conditions, but also to general politics. I remember the account given by mother who went to plead for Vladimir. The inspector declared that Vladimir had been one of those most active at the meeting. He was arrested at home early in the morning of December 5 and, together with 39 others, spent several days in custody at a police station. Then all of them were banished from Kazan.

December 7.

Lenin receives official confirmation of his expulsion from Kazan University.

Evening of December 7.

He is banished from Kazan to the village of Kokushkino, Lapshevo district, Kazan Province, there to be placed under secret police surveillance. In the evening Lenin leaves Kazan together with his mother and sister Maria. The covered cart in which they ride is escorted to the edge of the town by a policeman.

December 27.

Lenin is placed under secret police surveillance.

1888

January 25.

The Chief of the Kazan Province Gendarmes Office requests the Governor of Kazan that there be strict secret surveillance of Lenin who was banished to the village of Kokushkino because he "actively participated and probably continues to participate in the organization of revolutionary circles among school and University students in Kazan."

January 27.

The Kazan Governor orders the police chief of Lapshevo district to immediately place Lenin and persons visiting him under the strictest secret surveillance. The results of the surveillance are to be reported to the Chief of the Kazan Gendarmes Office and personally to the Governor.

June 14.

In connection with Lenin's request to be allowed to continue his studies at Kazan University the Warden of the Kazan Educational Area is ordered by the Department of Public Education to provide a detailed character reference of Lenin and his family, which ends with the words: "...Although he possesses outstanding abilities and is extremely well informed, he cannot at present be considered a reliable person either morally or politically."

The Director of the Department of Public Education writes the following endorsement on this document: "To be reported to the Minister. Isn't this the brother of that Ulyanov? He is from the Simbirsk School, too, isn't he? Yes, this follows from the end of the paper. Not to be admitted under any circumstances." The next inscription made by the same hand reads: "The matter has been reported to the Minister on June 22. His Excellency ordered the application to be declined."

August 19.

By a decision taken by the administrative department of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Imperial Court, Lenin's name is entered in a secret list of persons expelled for various misdemeanors and prohibited to be employed in state service.

Before September 14.

Lenin writes a letter to N. G. Chernyshevsky.

Before September 14.

Lenin moves to Kazan together with his mother and brother Dmitri.

1889

Between autumn and early May.

In Kazan Lenin joins a Marxist circle, attends its meetings and takes part in discussing reports.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

There were then several political circles in Kazan. The need for secrecy prevented them from joining forces or even holding joint meetings. The largest circle was headed by Nikolai Yevgrafovich Fedoseyev*, a very active young revolutionary and a convinced Social-Democrat.

After his expulsion from the top grade at school Fedoseyev took up revolutionary work with great energy. The central circle collected a library of illegal and prohibited literature and in spring they organized the printing of their own publications and reprinting of scarce illegal ones. Lenin knew of this, but he was not himself a member of this circle, nor did he know Fedoseyev personally.

Winter.

Lenin assiduously studies Marxist literature; he reads and makes precise notes of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels and also studies the works of Charles Darwin, Henry Buckle, David Ricardo and other thinkers. He also attends meetings among progressively-minded young people.

* N. Y. Fedoseyev (1869-1898) was one of the first Russian Marxist theoreticians and the organizer of Social-Democratic circles in areas along the river Volga. He died in exile.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

In the evenings, when I came down for a chat, he would explain to me with great fervor and enthusiasm the fundamentals of Marx's theory and talk of the new horizons it opened. I can see him as if it were yesterday, sitting on the paper-covered kitchen range and gesticulating vigorously. He seemed to radiate an optimistic confidence which was infective. Even in those early days his words had a power to influence and convince. Even then he never kept his knowledge to himself, but sought to share every new fact he discovered with others, to win people over to his own point of view. And in Kazan he soon found friends among revolutionary-minded young students of Marxist theory.

In view of the singular position of our family, which was under police surveillance, his friends rarely came to our house. Instead, Vladimir used to meet them at the places where they gathered. I can now recall only two names he used to mention—that of Chetvergova, a middle-aged woman and a member of Narodnaya Volya, of whom Vladimir spoke with warm regard, and that of Yevgeni Chirikov, a student, whether expelled or not I cannot remember, who later became a writer of fiction and left the revolutionary movement.

Maria Ulyanova:

During his stay in Kazan Lenin got acquainted with several revolutionaries, some of whom were members of Narodnaya Volya. While he disagreed with their tactics and methods he always sought to take over from them all that could be used in revolutionary work.

June 23.

A report of the head of the Samara Province Gendarmes Office to the Department of Police states that the Ulyanov family, consisting of Vladimir, Anna, Olga, Maria and their mother, Maria Ulyanova, and Mark Yelizarov* arrived on May 4 at a farmstead near the village of Alakayevka.

* *M. T. Yelizarov* (1863-1919) was an active participant in the Russian revolutionary movement; Lenin's friend and associate in the prerevolutionary and first postrevolutionary years, and husband of Lenin's sister Anna.

July 13.

The arrest of Fedoseyev and the members of Marxist circles he had organized in Kazan, including the members of the circle which Lenin had attended.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Vladimir was saved at that time because our family moved in May 1889 to a farmstead which had been bought by my mother near the village of Alakayevka in Samara Province. Thus Vladimir was fortunate enough to escape the Kazan round-up, which cost Fedoseyev a total of two and a half years imprisonment, including the period in custody before trial and his sentence which he served in the Kresty prison (St. Petersburg).

September 5.

Lenin and the family moves to Samara. The head of the Province Gendarmes Office sends a report to the Samara chief of police informing him of the Ulyanov family's movement from the farmstead near the village of Alakayevka to Samara.

From September 1889.

Lenin works on the book *The Destiny of Capitalism in Russia* by V.V. (V.P. Vorontsov) in which he makes notes and calculations. The book was later criticized in Lenin's works *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, and *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

In Samara, a town more remote than Kazan, Vladimir could be left in peace to continue his Marxist studies and later to work for his University degree examination.

Among the first acquaintances Vladimir made in Samara was Vadim

Ionov, a friend of my husband Mark Yelizarov. Ionov was older than Vladimir and adhered to the ideas of Narodnaya Volya. At the same time he was probably the most prominent figure among the young people of Samara and his opinion carried considerable weight. Gradually Vladimir won him over to his side. Alexei Skliarenko*, for his part, a young man the same age as Vladimir, sided with him from the very beginning. Skliarenko had been expelled from the Samara school and had already served a sentence in the Kresty prison.

After September 17.

Lenin learns about the death of N. G. Chernyshevsky and makes this inscription on his photograph: "October 17, 1889, in Saratov."

From the end of 1889.

Lenin works on Marx's *Capital* and translates the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* which was read at illegal cricles of Samara and Syzran (it was later destroyed by the mother of a Syzran circle member out of the fear of a search); he studies *The Poverty of Philosophy*, *Anti-Dühring*, *The German Ideology*, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and other works of Marx and Engels, many of which are available only in German or French.

1890

Spring.

In Samara Lenin often visits old members of Narodnaya Volya.

* Later Skliarenko became a Bolshevik. During the first Russian revolution (1905-1907) he was one of the leaders of the Saratov organization of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) and contributed to Bolshevik newspapers. He died in 1916.—Ed.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Disputes also flared up in the course of his encounters and conversations with old members of Narodnaya Volya. Vladimir who always tried to profit by whatever was good in anything or anybody, not only argued with members of Narodnaya Volya but also assimilated their revolutionary experience; he would listen attentively and commit to memory what they had to say about methods of revolutionary struggle. about trials of the Narodniks and of Narodnaya Volya members. Most of Vladimir's opponents considered his boldness and uncompromising spirit to be merely youthful impetuosity and excessive self-assurance. They could not forgive him either during his Samara years or later when he made sharp attacks against such pillars of public opinion as Mikhailovsky. All through the four winters that Vladimir spent in Samara he was looked upon by the stuffer members of the forward-looking community as a young man who had great ability, but was too self-confident and sharp-tongued. It was only in the circles of young people, future Social-Democrats, that he commanded unbounded respect.

Summer, before August 19.

Lenin and the family live at the farmstead near Alakayevka; in the evening he often visits A. A. Preobrazhensky, a member of Narodnaya Volya and organizer of a Narodnik agricultural colony situated not far from Alakayevka.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

I remember that that summer he made himself a sort of study in a secluded spot by an avenue of shady lime-trees. He had a table and bench set into the ground, and each morning after breakfast he would go there carrying a lot of books in his arms, as punctual as if a strict teacher were awaiting him. And there he would stay, completely alone, until lunch at 3 p.m. The rest of us never went into that avenue, so as not to disturb him. Having finished his studies in the morning, he would retire after dinner to the same nook with a book on social or political questions. At one time, I remember, it was the German edition of Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Later he would walk and go for a swim, and after tea in the evening he would take a lamp out on to the balcony in order not to attract gnats into the rooms, and again his head would be bent over a book. And just as his studies

never made him a gloomy bookworm even in later years, so it was in his youth. In his free time, during dinner, for instance, or while walking, he joked and chatted, a whirlpool of gaiety drawing in everybody around him. If he could work like no one else, he could also play like no one else.

1891

Winter.

In Samara Lenin gets acquainted with Apollon Shukht*, a member of Narodnaya Volya who later became a Bolshevik. This acquaintance was kept up in St. Petersburg and in emigration.

Between March 21 and 26.

Lenin leaves Samara for St. Petersburg together with Shukht's family to take examinations in law at St. Petersburg University in two stages—in the spring and autumn.

End of March—before May 17 or autumn.

Lenin visits Sergei Oldenburg, assistant professor at St. Petersburg University, in order to learn more about the student's life and scientific work of his brother Alexander.

April 4-24.

Lenin passes his examinations in law at St. Petersburg University (spring term).

End of April—beginning of May.

Lenin takes to Alexandrovskaya hospital his sister Olga

* Lenin remained friendly with Shukht and his family till the end of his life. Shukht joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. One of his daughters was admitted to the Party in 1918 on Lenin's recommendation. Shukht's other daughter married Antonio Gramsci, the outstanding leader of the world communist movement.—*Ed.*

who falls ill with enteric fever and regularly visits her there; he also sends telegrams to his mother in Samara.

May 8.

Olga Ulyanova dies.

Dmitri Ulyanov:

Very little is known about Olga, yet she was Vladimir's best and closest companion in childhood and youth. She was one and a half years younger than her brother, but not behind him in accomplishment. At the age of 18 she could speak German, French, English and Swedish. She studied Swedish in order to enter an institution of higher learning in Finland (where tuition was held in Swedish). She read a lot of books, wrote abstracts of more serious ones, began to study Volume One of *Capital*, and was fond of mathematics of which she had an excellent command for her age. She was remarkably industrious and tore herself from books only for the sake of music which she also took seriously (she studied the piano and theory of music at Kazan Conservatory). It could be said about Olga that she stopped working only when she was asleep...

May 10.

Lenin together with his mother and close friends buries Olga at Volkovo Cemetery in St. Petersburg.

May 17.

Lenin leaves St. Petersburg for Samara together with his sister Maria.

September.

Lenin leaves Samara for St. Petersburg to take the second part of his examinations at St. Petersburg University. There he meets Marxists and obtains Marxist literature.

November 14.

Lenin returns to Samara from St. Petersburg.

November 15.

Lenin is awarded a first-class diploma by the examination commission of the Law Department of St. Petersburg University.

1892

January 30.

A general assembly of the Samara District Court appoints Lenin assistant solicitor.

April.

Lenin twice appears at the Samara District Court as counsel for the defense in a case of several poor peasants accused of petty theft.

June 5.

Lenin appears at the Samara District Court as counsel for the defense in the case of a peasant accused of stealing various items of clothing. The sentence was mitigated because Lenin had proved that the defendant's actions were caused "by extreme circumstances and lack of sustenance."

Summer.

Lenin writes articles that criticize the views of the ideologists of liberal Narodism V. P. Vorontsov, P. K. Mikhailovsky and others, and reads them at illegal circles. The articles also served as preparatory material for Lenin's

book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats.*

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Naturally, in Samara, which was not a university town, there were not so many revolutionary-minded young people as in Kazan, but all the same a few of them did exist. There were also some older people, former exiles in Siberia who were living under police surveillance. The latter all shared the views of the Narodniks or of Narodnaya Volya. For them the Social-Democratic movement was something new. In the remote villages where they had spent their Siberian exile they had not been able to keep abreast of developments and changes in the social and economic life of the country, which had been going on without them in the major cities. Yet even in the big cities the direction taken by the Social-Democrats did not have many followers at that time, while the few that it had were mostly young people.

The new ideas were only forcing their way through, the Narodniks were still the pillars of public thought, while Mikhailovsky, the critic and publicist, who formerly had close connections with Narodnaya Volya, held sway over the minds of the public. In 1894, Mikhailovsky launched an open attack against the Social-Democrats in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, the most progressive journal of that time. To fight these deep-rooted ideas it was necessary, first and foremost, to arm oneself with Marxist theory and with statistical data on the trends of development in Russian industry, agriculture, etc., to which this theory could be applied. Almost no work of a general nature had been done in this field—one had to study the existing statistical material and to draw one's own conclusions on this basis. This was the great and hitherto unattempted task that Vladimir set himself in Samara.

September.

Lenin reads works by N. Y. Fedoseyev, making notes on the pages.

Not earlier than November.

Lenin reads A. P. Chekhov's short story *Ward No. 6* which produces a tremendous impression on him. He tells his sister Anna that when he finished reading the short story he felt

positively scared. He says he just could not remain in his room, got up and went out; he says he had the feeling, too, that he was locked up in "Ward No. 6."

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

By the end of that year he was often restless, longing for a livelier place and greater scope for revolutionary work. Samara in those years was a sort of half-way place between the exile region proper, Siberia, and the cultural centers, the capitals and university towns.

I realized that for him Samara was also something like "Ward No. 6" which he wanted to get out of almost as desperately as the poor man in Chekhov's story. He made up his mind that he would leave next autumn. But when it came to choosing where to go he decided against Moscow where the rest of the family was moving with the younger brother Dmitri who was entering Moscow University. He resolved instead to settle in St. Petersburg which was a livelier city and had a stronger claim to being the center of intellectual life and revolutionary struggle. In those years Moscow was known in St. Petersburg as the "big village"; there was indeed much that was provincial about it at that time, and Vladimir had had his fill of the provinces. Besides, he was probably thinking of his family, whom he might have compromised had he lived with them, since he intended to seek contacts among workers and to start revolutionary activity in earnest.

1893

From January.

Lenin begins to correspond with Fedoseyev in January. Lenin reads Fedoseyev's manuscript dealing with the causes of the fall of serfdom and makes his notes on the text.

Dmitri Ulyanov:

I remember that in this same year 1893 I read the article by Comrade Fedoseyev entitled "The Causes of the Fall of Serfdom in Russia" which was passed among Samara's Marxists in manuscript form. I do not

remember who gave it to me, but unfortunately I was unable to make a copy of it, it being rather large and given to me only for a very short time. The point of this extremely interesting article of Fedoseyev's was that the reform of 1861 resulted least of all from a liberal mood among the upper classes, and to no great extent either from political considerations to the effect that to "emancipate" the peasants from above was better than to wait for emancipation to come from below. The reform was caused purely by economic reasons. The biggest landowners with the most advanced forms of production on their estates were in favor of the "emancipation," because hired labor was something more advantageous from their point of view. At that time when absurd prejudices about the tsar's and his close advisers' love for freedom were still strong, especially among the liberals and to some extent among the people, it was very important for a young Marxist like Fedoseyev to demolish those prejudices which were harmful to the masses, and to expose this lie about the "emancipation" of the peasants. It was necessary to show that the reform had been carried out in the interests of the richest and economically strongest section of the ruling class, if not of the ruling class as a whole. Nowadays this is clear to every competent Marxist, but at the time it was something one had to prove. This was the reason why Vladimir rated the works of Fedoseyev so highly and, as we know, sought his acquaintance.

Beginning of March.

Lenin meets Isaak Lalayants*, banished from Kazan to Samara to live under police surveillance. Lalayants becomes an active member of a Marxist circle.

Not earlier than March.

Lenin studies V. Y. Postnikov's book *Peasant Farming in South Russia*, making notes and calculations on the pages and underlining those parts that interest him. He thoroughly analyzes the book in his article "New Economic Developments in Peasant Life"**, "On the So-Called Market Question" and later in his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

* I. K. Lalayants (1870-1933) was an active participant in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia and a Bolshevik. He was many times arrested, exiled and sentenced to penal servitude. In 1913 he was deported for life to East Siberia and ceased political activity. After the October 1917 revolution he wrote his memoirs *At the Sources of Bolshevism* and worked in public education.—Ed.

** The article is the first of Lenin's works that has been preserved.

Not later than spring.

Lenin works on the book *Results of the Economic Investigation of Russia According to Zemstvo Statistical Data* by the Narodnik P. A. Karyshev, mentioned by Lenin in his works *New Economic Developments in Peasant Life* and *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book*; later he criticized the book in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

Lenin reads an article on Marx's book *The Poverty of Philosophy* at a meeting of the Marxist circle in Samara.

Spring or Summer.

Lenin studies the *Essays on Our Postreform Public Economy* by Nikolai-Don (N. F. Danielson), criticizes them in a letter to Fedoseyev and writes an article on them which he reads at the Marxist circle in Samara.

Before August 20.

Lenin writes *On the Substantiation of Narodism in the Works of V. V.* in connection with the book *The Destiny of Capitalism in Russia* by V. P. Vorontsov and writes another article on the subject which he reads at the Marxist circle in Samara.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

While continuing his serious studies of all the works of Marx and Engels, some of which such as *The Poverty of Philosophy* could then be obtained only in foreign languages, he also read through everything that had been written by the Narodniks. Furthermore, to check the validity of their statements and to find out the possibilities for Social-Democracy in Russia, he undertook research in the field of statistics.

Dmitri Ulyanov:

In these years Vladimir worked a great deal on the statistics of peasant holdings. The statistical data (on the division of peasant holdings into groups

according to the number of draught animals, acreage under crops, leasing of land, etc.) testified that economic inequality was growing among the peasants and that the peasantry was becoming differentiated into a well-to-do and economically strong group on the one hand and poor peasants on the other, i.e., into a rural bourgeoisie and a proletarian or semi-proletarian mass of peasants. These facts exploded the Narodnik myth about the homogeneity of the peasantry and were clear evidence of the development of capitalism in Russia. They confirmed the correctness of the Marxist line on the policy which Russian revolutionaries should pursue.

August 20.

Lenin leaves Samara for St. Petersburg.

August 23.

On his way from Samara to St. Petersburg Lenin stops at Nizhni Novgorod where he becomes acquainted with the local Marxists Pyotr Skvortsov, Mikhail Grigoriev and Sergei Mitskevich and obtains a secret address in St. Petersburg.

Sergei Mitskevich*:

During one of my trips from Sormovo to Nizhni Novgorod I dropped in on Skvortsov where I saw a stranger talking animatedly with the host and Grigoriev. We were introduced and I learned that Vladimir Ulyanov had made a stopover at Nizhni Novgorod on his way from Samara to St. Petersburg where he had decided to settle. He had called on Skvortsov whom he knew by his articles in the *Juridical Bulletin*, which were the first Russian legal Marxist articles on Russia's economy. He had also decided to stop at the city of Vladimir after Nizhni Novgorod in order to meet Fedoseyev who, he had been told, should have been released from prison on bail. But Lenin did not see Fedoseyev at that time because the latter's release from prison was somewhat delayed.

We began to talk about Fedoseyev. Skvortsov and Grigoriev, who knew him well, said that he was a wonderful person who promised well and worked

* *S. I. Mitskevich* (1869-1944) was a Social-Democrat, one of the organizers of the Moscow Workers' Union. He was an active participant in all three Russian revolutions: that of 1905-1907, the February 1917 and the October 1917 revolutions. He was also a writer and a journalist.

hard. Then we changed the subject: we told Lenin about our connections among young intellectuals and the beginning of work among workers in Moscow and Nizhni Novgorod. I remember Lenin especially stress the need to build a strong organization and to establish connections between towns. Lenin gave me the Moscow address of his sister Anna at whose apartment he intended to meet with Moscow Marxists during his visits from St. Petersburg. We also talked about the prospects of capitalism's development in Russia, about peasants, the struggle against the Narodniks and the working class movement in the West.

Young Lenin struck one with his great erudition and his exceptional solidity and profundity of thought.

August 25 or 26.

On his way to St. Petersburg Lenin stops at his relatives' house in Moscow where he gets acquainted and establishes links with local Marxists.

August 31.

Lenin arrives in St. Petersburg.

In the "northern capital"

The St. Petersburg period holds a special place in Lenin's life. In less than two and a half years he turned from a starting Marxist from Russia's "heartland" into one of the prominent leaders of Russian Social-Democracy.

By the time Lenin arrived in St. Petersburg several Social-Democratic circles already existed in the city, and there was, of course, the experience of the preceding generation of Social-Democrats. The groups, which formed in the early 1880s, made the first attempt to acquaint workers with Marxist ideas, however, their views and actions were no doubt often not thought out and prepared carefully enough and were in many cases somewhat amateurish. The Marxists' contacts with the workers and consequently their influence on the latter were irregular and insubstantial. More than this, many of the St. Petersburg Marxists themselves were not

sufficiently versed in theoretical matters. Nevertheless, the first Marxist circles and groups in St. Petersburg laid the basis from which serious organizational and propaganda work among the proletariat could be embarked upon. It was the traditions that already existed concerning the enlightenment of workers, developing their social awareness and explaining to them the aims of the struggle that Lenin relied upon when he began his activity in St. Petersburg, the "northern" and "chief" (compared with the "old," the "first-seat-of-sovereigns" Moscow) capital of the Russian empire.

During his work in political circles, Lenin gave workers simple (but not vulgarized) explanations regarding points of Marxist theory and illustrated them with examples from the life of his listeners themselves. Impressions from these lessons have reached us in the form of reminiscences written by such disciples of Lenin's as Ivan Babushkin, Vasili Shelgunov and many other workers. There is no doubt that the outstanding qualities Lenin possessed, such as powerful intellect, the firmness of convictions and iron logic combined with captivating ingenuousness and great charm greatly contributed to the expansion of the Social-Democratic work in the capital. He began naturally and organically to guide the work which had been begun earlier by quite a strong and cohesive group of Social-Democrats. Suffice it to say that whereas in the autumn of 1893 there were five workers' circles in the city under the influence of Social-Democrats their number began to grow vigorously with Lenin's arrival and was not less than 30 by 1895. But the numerical growth cannot be considered the most important. Lenin saw the principal objective of the revolutionary efforts of Social-Democrats as lying in the transition from propaganda in specific circles to broad Social-Democratic agitation among the proletarians. This had to be done, of course, not only in Moscow and St. Petersburg but also in other major industrial centers of the country.

In the autumn of 1895 all the circles of St. Petersburg merged to form The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Similar leagues were formed in other cities. This organization did the historic service of linking the theory of scientific socialism with practical actions of the working class in Russia.

Organizational measures alone, however, were insufficient if this link-up were to be made the guiding force of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalist

exploitation and lack of political rights. There was an urgent need for a profound theoretical understanding of the course of capitalism's development and a concomitant critical analysis of the various ideological and political doctrines that appeared in this connection.

It should be noted that in spite of the slump that had occurred in the revolutionary activity of the Narodniks in the late 1880s, the tsarist government still regarded the "bomb throwers," i.e., political terror, to be the principal danger. This, combined with the critical attitude of Russian Marxism to Narodnik ideas and actions, enabled the Marxists to publish their literature even under conditions of censorship. The situation in this respect was almost something incredible in the autocratic country in the early 1890s when, as Lenin wrote, "Marxist books were published one after another, Marxist journals and newspapers were founded, nearly everyone became a Marxist, Marxists were flattered, Marxists were courted, and the book publishers rejoiced at the extraordinary, ready sale of Marxist literature."

The result was a peculiar trend of social thought known as "legal Marxism." Its proponents, the economist, philosopher and historian Pyotr Struve (1870-1944), the economist, historian and journalist Mikhail Tugan-Baranovsky (1865-1919) and others attempted to present capitalism as the concluding stage of the development of human society, slurred over its antagonisms and rejected the historical inevitability of socialist transformations, thus trying to divest Marxism of its revolutionary spirit. But since the "legal Marxists" came out against Narodism the Social-Democrats agreed to enter into a temporary alliance with them, thanks to which, as Lenin wrote, "an astonishingly rapid victory was obtained over Narodism, and Marxist ideas (albeit in a vulgarized form) became very widespread."

Note should also be made of the major changes in the theoretical postulates of Narodism of the 1890s compared to the revolutionary nature of their doctrine of the previous years. The idea of struggle to destroy the existing regime was replaced by liberal dreams of "improving" it with the help of half-measures and half-reforms. The ideologists of liberal Narodism Vasili Vorontsov (1847-1913), Nikolai Danielson (1844-1918) and Nikolai Mikhailovsky (1842-1904), who rallied around the journal *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth),

came out with a series of articles which grossly distorted the basic provisions of Marxism.

Lenin was the main opponent in the dispute with these Narodniks. He subjected the entire system of the philosophical, economic and political views of liberal Narodism to a masterly critical analysis in his book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* and in the article "The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book." In his book he made a profound scientific prediction of Russia's future socio-economic development and advanced a highly important thesis on the union of the working class and the peasantry as a condition of victory in the struggle against the autocracy. Lenin also demonstrated the limitations of "legal Marxism" which concentrated on the purely economic aspects of Marx's theory, thus eviscerating its revolutionary substance. These two works of Lenin's made him at once a prominent theoretician (along with Plekhanov) of the Russian liberation movement.

This could not, of course, be ignored by the authorities. The tsar's secret police duly noted Lenin's activity and imposed very strict surveillance on assistant solicitor Vladimir Ulyanov. In December 1895 he was arrested together with his comrades, who made up the core of The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.

End of September—beginning of October.

Lenin gets acquainted with Mikhail Silvin*, a first-year student at St. Petersburg University, and hands him a letter from Marxists in Nizhni Novgorod.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

On his arrival in St. Petersburg, Vladimir began to search out for new acquaintances cautiously and without haste, for he knew that he was compromised in the eyes of the authorities as Alexander Ulyanov's brother.

* *M. A. Silvin* (1874-1951), an active member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, was arrested and exiled many times. The culmination of his revolutionary activity fell on 1900-1907. After the October 1917 revolution he devoted himself to educational work.

Shrinking from all empty and useless talk he wanted only to take his knowledge and his abilities to that section of society which he knew was destined to accomplish the revolution, the working class. He sought acquaintance with people who shared his views. He was looking for people who, like himself, were convinced that revolution in Russia would either be made by the working class or not at all (as Plekhanov said).

October.

In St. Petersburg Lenin joins a Marxist circle consisting mainly of students of the Technological Institute, which included Stepan Radchenko*, Vasili Starkov**, Pyotr Zaporozhets***, Gleb Krzhizhanovsky****, Anatoli Vaneyev*****, Mikhail Silvin and Gherman Krasin*****.

Lenin's first meeting with the members of the circle took place at the apartment where Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov lived.

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

When I returned in the autumn of 1893 from my summer factory work I found our circle to be in a state of great excitement because of our new friend.

* *S. I. Radchenko* (1868-1911) was one of the organizers of the League of Struggle and a participant in the 1st RSDLP Congress (1893) at which he was elected a member of the Party's Central Committee. He was exiled to Siberia several times. He ceased his participation in active political work after the defeat of the first Russian revolution.—*Ed.*

** *V. V. Starkov* (1869-1925) was exiled to East Siberia for three years as a member of the guiding center of the League of Struggle. He maintained contacts with Social-Democratic organizations from the end of his period in exile until the revolution of 1905-1907. During the last years of his life he was engaged in foreign trade.—*Ed.*

*** *P. K. Zaporozhets* (1873-1905) was sentenced to exile for the longest period—5 years—among other organizers of the League of Struggle. He fell seriously ill during the preliminary investigation, was temporarily released on parole to his parents and was kept under police surveillance. He died from tuberculosis of the lungs.

**** *G. M. Krzhizhanovsky* (1872-1959), a power engineer, was Lenin's devoted associate and one of the oldest participants in the revolutionary movement in Russia. After the October 1917 revolution he headed on Lenin's instruction the Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO). For many years he was the Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the director of the Power Engineering Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which he founded. He is the author of fundamental scientific works.—*Ed.*

***** *A. A. Vaneyev* (1872-1899) was banished to Siberia together with other comrades as an active member of the League of Struggle. There he became seriously ill and died two years later.—*Ed.*

***** *G. B. Krasin* (1871-1947) was a participant in the revolutionary movement in Russia who ceased active political work in the years of reaction following the defeat of the First Russian revolution. He was a talented engineer, designer and inventor and brother of the well-known revolutionary and outstanding Soviet diplomat Leonid Krasin.—*Ed.*

Vladimir Ulyanov who had come to us from the banks of the Volga and became the leader in our organization in a very short time. The mere fact that he was the brother of Alexander Ulyanov, one of the last of the famous Narodnaya Volya members, created the most favorable conditions, and made for a friendly reception in our circle. Looking back and recalling the figure of 23-year-old Vladimir as he was then, I today clearly see the distinguishing features of extreme spiritual neatness and the constant ardor which were equal to the constant readiness for heroic exploits and self-sacrifice that stemmed from family tragedy and the heroic image of his brother and which linked him in a different way than us with the traditions of the preceding heroic revolutionary struggle. But we, Marxists to the point of pedantry, were much greater impressed by his remarkable mastery of Marx's weapons and his superb, simply astounding first-hand knowledge of the country's economic situation gleaned from statistical reference books.

Having settled among us Vladimir proceeded to revolutionize the way in which we worked. He demanded first of all that our "extremely profound" studies within small circles of selected workers be transferred to work among the broader proletarian masses of St. Petersburg, i.e., a switch from propaganda to agitation.

Autumn.

Lenin writes his work *On the So-Called Market Question* and reads a lecture on this subject at a meeting of the Marxist circle of students of the Technological Institute as a reply to Krasin's report. He often visits Krasin at his place. It was there that he first met Vasili Shelgunov*, a worker of the Baltiyski plant, in the late autumn of 1893.

1894

Before January 9.

Lenin travels from St. Petersburg to Moscow where he stays with his relatives. There he attends meetings of the statistics subsection of the 9th Congress of Physicians and

* V. A. Shelgunov (1867-1939) was one of the first workers among the Russian Social-Democrats. He joined the revolutionary movement in 1886, was a Bolshevik and a member of the League of Struggle in St. Petersburg. He lost his sight in 1906 but continued Party work. He took part in all three Russian revolutions.—Ed.

Natural Scientists which was organized by Moscow University, hears reports and is introduced to congress delegates.

January 9.

Lenin speaks against Narodnik Vorontsov at a secret meeting. A report later made by the Moscow secret police to the Department of Police pointed out that he had stated his views "with skill and knowledge." This is Lenin's first public speech in Moscow.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

It was when he came to visit us during the Christmas holidays. Evening parties were usually organized during the holiday period, and at one such party, held in the apartment of student friends, Vladimir clashed with the Narodniks in the course of the discussion which formed part of the proceedings. Vladimir spoke with his customary spiritedness and conviction, fully equipped with his vast knowledge. Vorontsov's supporters found the presumption of the unknown young man outrageous, but the young people of Marxist leanings were delighted at this unexpected support. His speech did a great deal for the young Marxists of Moscow, casting light on many problems and giving them a basis and an incentive on which they could advance.

Not later than January 12.

Lenin acquaints himself with the activity of the first Marxist organization in Moscow for propaganda and agitation work among workers, which was formed at the end of September 1893.

End of February.

Lenin takes part in a conference of St. Petersburg Marxists which was held at the apartment of engineer Robert

Klasson. Here he meets Nadezhda Krupskaya for the first time.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Vladimir came to St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1893, but I did not get to know him until some time later. Comrades told me that a very erudite Marxist had arrived from the Volga. I met him at Shrovetide. It was decided that a conference be arranged between certain St. Petersburg Marxists and the man from the Volga at the apartment of engineer Klasson, a prominent St. Petersburg Marxist with whom I had attended the same circle two years earlier. The conference was disguised as a pancake party.

Beginning of March.

V. A. Ionov informs Lenin about the trip he made to New York, London, Paris and Geneva in order to establish contacts with Russian revolutionary emigrants, Plekhanov in particular.

April.

Lenin completes his work on the first issue of the book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats (A Reply to Articles in Russkoye Bogatstvo Opposing the Marxists)*.

Mikhail Silvin:

During that period Narodnik journals, in particular *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, one after another began to print articles against Marxism and Marxists, written by various authors, but mostly by Mikhailovsky. We all began to insist that Lenin should give a response to them and promised to do everything in order to multiply his work at least by hectograph in order to disseminate it as widely as possible outside our small circle. Lenin got down to business, so that the book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* was ready in the spring of 1894. He worked so fast that by April the "Mikhailovsky" part was already finished.

We were certainly delighted by Lenin's work.

Not later than May.

Lenin completes his work on the second issue of the book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. Unfortunately this issue has not been found to this day.

Before June 14.

Lenin completes his work on the third issue of the book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*.

Mikhail Silvin:

The second part was begun in April also in St. Petersburg. Lenin wrote the third part in summer in Moscow or near Moscow. In the spring of 1894 the first issue was published simultaneously in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Several copies were sent to various editorial offices, including that of *Russkoye Bogatstvo*. The book was an immense success, the first edition was sold out immediately, and plans were made for printing a second edition.

Sergei Mitskevich:

After the publication of this book, Lenin became an even more popular authority among the Marxists. The young Russian Marxist trend realized that it had acquired in him a tremendous political and theoretical force.

From the end of September.

Lenin conducts a workers' study-circle and takes part in meetings of progressive workers of the Nevskaya Zastava district of St. Petersburg.

Autumn.

Lenin reads a paper entitled "The Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature," directed against P. B. Struve's book

Critical Remarks on the Subject of Russia's Economic Development, at a discussion meeting of revolutionary Marxists and representatives of St. Petersburg "legal Marxists." The main provisions of Lenin's paper were later incorporated in his work *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book*. Revolutionary Marxists were represented at the meeting by Lenin, Starkov and Radchenko, and "legal Marxists" by Struve, Klasson and others.

From autumn.

Lenin conducts lessons in political economy in a circle of workers of the Nevskaya Zastava district in the room of Ivan Babushkin*, a worker at the Semyannikov (now Nevsky Engineering) Plant.

Ivan Babushkin:

Our lectures were very lively and interesting. We were all most satisfied with them and always expressed our admiration of the intellect and erudition our lecturer possessed.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

In the winter of 1894-95, I became more closely acquainted with Vladimir. He was lecturing to workers' circles in the Nevskaya Zastava district, where I had been working for over three years as a teacher in the Smolenskaya Sunday Evening School for Adults. Quite a number of the workers who attended Vladimir's circles were students from my Sunday School. In those days the Sunday Evening School offered an excellent opportunity for studying everyday life of workers, labor conditions and the mood of the masses.

I lived in Staro-Nevsky Street at the time, in a building that had a

* *I. V. Babushkin* (1873-1906) was a worker, professional revolutionary, Bolshevik and Lenin's disciple. From 1895 he was an active member of the League of Struggle. Later he took an active part in organizing the Marxist newspaper *Iskra* ("Spark"). He was arrested, imprisoned and exiled many times. In 1905 he was a member of the Irkutsk and Chita RSDLP Committees and directed preparations for an armed uprising. In January 1906 he was shot without trial or investigation by a tsarist punitive expedition.

courtyard, and Vladimir used to drop in on Sundays after his circle work, when we would start endless conversations. I was in love with my school work and would go on about it for hours if I wasn't stopped, talk about the school, the students, the Semyannikov and other plants and mills in the neighborhood. Vladimir was interested in every little detail that might help him piece together a picture of the life and conditions of the workers, to find some sort of avenue of approach to them where revolutionary propaganda was concerned.

After December 24.

Lenin writes the first agitation leaflet of Russian Marxists addressed to the workers of the Semyannikov (now Nevsky Engineering) Plant in connection with the disturbances that took place at their plant on December 23.

Ivan Babushkin takes part in writing and distributing the leaflet.

Mikhail Silvin:

A strike involving great disturbances took place at that plant at the end of 1894 or the very beginning of 1895. The workers smashed the plant office and hurled stones at policemen who sought to pacify them. Lenin collected the necessary information and wrote a one-page appeal to the workers. He then went to Zaporozhets who also conducted a circle with Semyannikov workers to find out if the leaflet could be multiplied, which proved to be impossible. There was no time to be lost, so the two men wrote several copies of the leaflet in block letters and sent them to the Semyannikov circle to be distributed.

Winter.

Lenin conducts a conference of St. Petersburg Marxists with representatives of workers' circles to discuss the transfer from the methods of study-circle propaganda to mass political agitation. The conference hears excerpts from the booklet *On Agitation* published by the Vilno (now Vilnius) group of Social-Democrats and adopts the decision, without discontinuing propaganda in study-circles, immediately to launch oral and printed propaganda among workers on the

basis of their urgent economic and political demands. Lenin writes *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book*. He also composes a questionnaire for the study of the working and living conditions of workers, which was distributed among the members of the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic group and propagandists from other circles.

1895

February 18 or 19.

Lenin takes part in a conference of members of the Social-Democratic groups of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Vilno, which was held in St. Petersburg and discussed the questions of transition from Marxist propaganda in narrow circles to mass political agitation and of publishing popular literature for workers. The Social-Democrats of Vilno and Moscow propose to conduct only economic agitation since they hold that Russia's proletariat is not yet mature enough to receive political slogans, while Lenin argues for the need to combine economic and political agitation.

April 2.

Lenin conducts a conference of the St. Petersburg group of Social-Democrats in connection with his intended trip abroad, which is held at Mikhail Silvin's place at Tsarskoye Selo near St. Petersburg.

Mikhail Silvin:

Lenin was preparing to go abroad in order to establish closer ties with the Emancipation of Labor group and to promote our more regular provision with illegal popular literature. We had a meeting on Easter Day at my place in Tsarskoye Selo, at which Lenin summed up the current situation, outlined plans for future work and how duties were to be distributed in case he was arrested.

April 25.

Lenin goes abroad.

Between May 3 and 27.

In Switzerland Lenin gets acquainted with members of the Emancipation of Labor group, visits Georgi Plekhanov in Geneva and Pavel Akselrod* in Zurich, spends a week together with Akselrod in the village of Affoltern near Zurich, works out methods of constant communication with them, agrees on the publication abroad of a popular collection of articles for workers entitled *Rabotnik*, meets Alexander Potresov** and spends several days with him.

End of May—beginning of June.

Lenin travels to Paris where he meets Paul Lafargue, a prominent figure in the French and international working class movement and the son-in-law of Karl Marx.

May 27.

Lenin's name is the first to be placed on the list compiled by the Department of Police of those persons suspected of being members of the Russian Social-Democratic society. The character attached to the list says that Lenin, together with several other Social-Democrats, "is the leader of a circle engaged in revolutionary propaganda among workers and went abroad on April 25 in the interests of this circle to establish revolutionary contacts."

* *P. B. Akselrod* (1850-1928) was a participant in the Russian revolutionary movement, a Social-Democrat. He was a member of the Emancipation of Labor group from 1883 and a member of the *Iskra* editorial board from 1900. He became a Menshevik at the 2nd RSDLP Congress and was one of the leaders of that wing of Russian Social-Democracy. He emigrated after the October 1917 revolution.—*Ed.*

** *A. N. Potresov* (1869-1934) adhered to Marxists during the 1890s but became one of the Menshevik leaders after the 2nd RSDLP Congress. He emigrated after the October 1917 revolution.—*Ed.*

September 2.

Georgi Plekhanov sends the following recommendation for Lenin to Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party and the editor of its central organ, the newspaper *Vorwärts*: "I recommend to you one of our best Russian friends. Since he will return to Russia it is necessary that no one should know about his visit to Charlottenburg. He will tell you about a matter which is very important for us. I am sure that you will do everything you can. He will also bring you news about us."

Between September 2 and 7.

Lenin visits Wilhelm Liebknecht in Charlottenburg near Berlin.

September 7.

Lenin returns to Russia bringing with him illegal Marxist literature concealed in the double bottom of his suitcase. The police surveillance of him is intensified.

Between September 7 and 29.

Lenin visits Vilno, Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo, establishes contacts with the members of the local Social-Democratic groups and agrees with them about the publishing abroad of the *Rabotnik* miscellany.

September 29.

Lenin returns to St. Petersburg.

After September 29.

Lenin conducts a joint conference of the group of

St. Petersburg revolutionary Marxists and the Martov* group, which discuss the questions regarding merging the groups in a single Social-Democratic organization and launching mass political agitation among the workers. The conference, attended, besides Lenin, by Krzhizhanovsky, Starkov and Martov, is held at Krzhizhanovsky's apartment.

The conference of St. Petersburg revolutionary Marxists finally completes the organizational formalization of a single city Social-Democratic organization; Lenin is elected into the guiding center and appointed the editor of all the organization's publications. On Lenin's proposal the organization of St. Petersburg Social-Democrats, consisting of the central group and workers' circles, is also to incorporate district groups in order to strengthen ties with workers' circles**.

Mikhail Silvin:

There was rapprochement with Martov when he arrived in St. Petersburg in autumn. Supporting Martov there was a whole group which had reliable connections at the border and which also possessed a mimeograph, a new invention and a blessing for us because of its capacity to print leaflets.

The next step, according to the idea put forward by Lenin, was the complete unification of all Social-Democratic groups functioning in St. Petersburg. This, however, was something that was done only after his arrest***. The merging with the Martov group was formalized, a five-member guiding center was formed (to which Ulyanov, Martov, Krzhizhanovsky, Starkov and Vaneyev were elected as representatives of districts), and the structure of the organization was improved.

Beginning of November.

Lenin writes a letter to Akselrod in Zurich, informing him of the state of affairs in the Social-Democratic groups in Vilno, Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo, supplying the ad-

* *L. Martov* (Y. O. Zederbaum), 1873-1923, was a participant in the Russian revolutionary movement, a Social-Democrat. He was one of the organizers of the League of Struggle in St. Petersburg and from 1900 a member of the *Iskra* editorial board. After the 2nd RSDLP Congress he was a Menshevik and leader of the Left Menshevik wing. He emigrated from Soviet Russia in 1920.—*Ed.*

** On December 15 the city Social-Democratic organization was named The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.—*Ed.*

*** Lenin was arrested on the night of December 8-9.—*Ed.*

dresses and methods of secret correspondence and inquiring about the preparation of the publication of the *Rabotnik* miscellany. He attaches to the letter several messages for the *Rabotnik* about the working class movement in Russia.

After November 7.

The St. Petersburg group issues the leaflet "To the Working Men and Women of the Thornton Mills" written by Lenin.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

I remember, for instance, how the material about the Thornton Mills was collected. I was to call out my student Krolikov, who worked at the mills as a sorter, and collect all the information from him according to the plan outlined by Vladimir. Krolikov's information was very valuable. Vladimir fairly pounced on it. Afterwards Apollinaria Yakubova and I, with shawls over our heads to make us look like mill workers, went to the Thornton dormitory, where we visited both the single and married quarters. Conditions there were appalling. It was only from information gathered in this way that Vladimir wrote his reports and leaflets. Look at the leaflet to the men and women employees of the Thornton Mills. What a thorough knowledge of the subject it shows. And what a schooling this was for all the comrades who worked at that time. That was when we really learnt "to give attention to detail." And how deeply those details have engraved themselves in our minds.

Middle of November.

Lenin writes a letter to Akselrod in Zurich, informing him of the receipt of an account of the Breslau Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, of the forthcoming publication of the newspaper *Rabocheye Delo* and of the information available on strikes in Russia.

November—not later than December 8.

Lenin directs the publication of the first issue of the illegal newspaper *Rabocheye Delo*, writes the editorial article and edits the entire material of the newspaper.

Mikhail Silvin:

As editor of *Rabocheye Delo*, Lenin read to us all the articles which were to be printed in the first issue. Four articles of the first and only issue had been written by Lenin: the editorial, which was of a general political nature; "The Yaroslavl Strike of 1895"; "Friedrich Engels"; and an article concerning Durnovo's* circular letter ("What Are Our Ministers Thinking About?"). Several days earlier Zaporozhets had convinced Lenin not to send articles written in his characteristic hand to the printing press and had rewritten them himself. As a result the gendarmes ascribed the authorship of the articles to Zaporozhets, regarded him as the leader and sentenced him to a much longer term of exile than the others. Right after the meeting at which the first issue of the newspaper was discussed, Lenin handed over all its material to Vaneyev who maintained contact with the printers.

Night of December 8-9.

Lenin is arrested together with his associates—Vaneyev, Zaporozhets, Krzhizhanovsky, Starkov and others. At Vaneyev's apartment the police seize the manuscript, ready for printing, of the first issue of *Rabocheye Delo*. Lenin is sent to a preliminary detention prison where he is placed in solitary cell No. 193 in which he spends more than 14 months.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

And so the first period of Lenin's activity ended with the prison doors closing on him. Yet during these two and a half years both he personally and the Social-Democratic movement covered a lot of ground. He had waged decisive battles against the Narodniks, had unequivocally showed himself to be a revolutionary Marxist by denouncing the various deviations, and contacted the group of Russian Marxists abroad who had first propagated Marxism in Russia. But even more important, he began to carry on practical work, he had established contact with the workers, and had come forward as the leader and organizer of the party at a time when even the possibility of founding it in the conditions then prevailing in Russia was still in doubt. And

* *I. N. Durnovo* (1834-1903), a reactionary Russian statesman, was Minister of the Interior in 1889-1895 and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers from 1895. The circular letter in question imposed certain restrictions in the curricula of Sunday schools for workers and prohibited students of both sexes of certain institutions of higher learning in St. Petersburg to teach at these schools.—*Ed.*

although it was founded (1st Party Congress) without his personal participation, for he was already in exile, it was formed under his pressure and after he had built the first political organization of Social-Democrats in St. Petersburg, drafted the first political newspaper and led the first great strikes, involving the whole of St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

This St. Petersburg period of Vladimir Lenin's work was of great importance, although the work itself was in essence not noteworthy and hardly noticeable. This is the way he had himself described it: "It was no tangible effect. It was a matter not of heroic deeds but of establishing close contact with the masses, getting closer to them, learning to be the vehicle of their finest aspirations, learning how to win their confidence and rally them behind us." However, it was during this period of his St. Petersburg work specifically that Vladimir Lenin was moulded as a leader of the working masses.

Prison and exile

Russian prisons were constructed with competence and expertise. Painstaking care was taken of every detail, including where a cell window was located and the color of the walls. The objective of those who built these defensive ramparts of tsarism was not only to isolate political activists from social life and to isolate them from the world using stone walls, but also to force them to doubt, reject and betray their views, their world outlook and their comrades in arms. Sometimes they succeeded.

One method often applied by the jailers was the use of loneliness as a weapon. Solitary confinement literally meant no direct communication with other people. The only way to maintain mental health under such conditions, and something practised by most political prisoners, was to use the time spent in forced isolation as a period of preparation for further struggle.

It is paradoxical that, despite the carefully devised punitive and repressive system, Russian prisons became something approaching universities, the students of which were incarcerated enemies of the autocracy. Some of them set about tutoring themselves, others discovered abilities in themselves

of which they had previously not been aware, delved into the depths of political knowledge, mastered the logic and beauty of foreign languages, or wrote scientific treatises. All this naturally required indomitable persistence, iron discipline and a great capacity for work.

Lenin did not lose heart when he was put behind bars, and decided to use the time of his preliminary detention for scientific work. Even before his arrest he had planned to study the state of the Russian economy, the formation of a capitalist market and the evolution of commodity-money relations in the country.

However, Lenin's mind was not preoccupied exclusively by the problems of political economy, for he also continued his revolutionary activity. After a while he succeeded in establishing contacts with his comrades in the League of Struggle outside prison and wrote two leaflets and the booklet *On Strikes*. In his letters to those outside prison Lenin insisted on the necessity of convening a Party congress. He prepared a draft Party program and wrote an explanation of it.

Every day of Lenin's detention from early morning to late evening was filled with well organized work. The tsarist authorities proved incapable of isolating Lenin from socio-economic and political life, and were unable to limit his influence on young Russian Social-Democracy, just as they were unable to break his will and character.

After more than 14 months spent in preliminary detention, Lenin was informed on February 13, 1897 of "His Majesty's order" to exile him to East Siberia under police surveillance for three years. He was to serve his term of exile in the village of Shushenskoye.

The village had long been used by the tsarist government to deport "undesirable elements" from the center of Russia, beginning with those who had participated in the December 1825 uprising and who had lived there during the 1830s.

Little had changed in Shushenskoye since those distant times. The large village with its dirty and dusty streets lay in the steppe 600 kilometers away from the railroad, and it took the mail from the center of Russia 13 or 14 days to reach it. It was Lenin's dauntless energy that helped him endure all the hardships of exile. He quickly started extensive correspondence with other exiled Social-Democrats, wrote articles and reviews (a total of thirty in three years), translated foreign

books into Russian and completed his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* which he had begun in prison.

Nadezhda Krupskaya, who had agreed to marry Lenin back in St. Petersburg, joined him in Shushenskoye early in May 1898. She informed him about a congress which had been held in Minsk in March 1898 and which proclaimed the establishment of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP).

However, the Central Committee elected by the congress was soon arrested, and this meant that the Marxist organizations were once again disunited. Another negative factor was the spread among Social-Democrats of the trend of "economism" which sought to limit the workers' struggle exclusively to economic demands while leaving all political activity to "liberal-opposition elements."

Lenin countered these attitudes held by some of Russia's Social-Democrats by stating that they were in effect aimed at abandoning the task of fusing the working class movement with Marxism and with the fundamentally constructive proposal of forming a single political organization of the Russian working class. To this end Lenin believed it was necessary to start the publication of a Party newspaper which would be closely connected with all local Marxist groups and which he viewed as a collective propagandist, agitator and organizer; he held that such a newspaper would be, given the specific conditions that existed in Russia, a conductor of the ideas of revolutionary struggle as well as a rallying point for all like-minded Social-Democrats and the main means of reviving the Party.

Lenin longed to be free and return to European Russia so that he could set up strong points for the future newspaper, secure the support of Social-Democratic organizations and settle technical and financial questions.

At length, in January 1900 the Police Department informed Vladimir I. Ulyanov that his term in exile was complete and simultaneously prohibited him to reside in capital and university cities and major industrial centers. Lenin chose Pskov as a place to settle. It was near St. Petersburg and had direct railroad communication with "the two capitals," as St. Petersburg and Moscow were traditionally referred to. Straight after his return from Siberia, Lenin established contacts with Marxists in Ufa, Yaroslavl, Samara, Astrakhan and Smolensk, acquainted them with his master plan, care-

fully noted the opinions of his comrades and weighed up all the pros and cons where the matter of starting a Marxist newspaper in Russia was concerned. As a result he came to the conclusion that the project could be implemented only outside Russia because of police persecution and surveillance, frequent arrests and the lack of political freedom within the country.

In July 1900 Lenin went abroad.

After December 9.

Lenin writes a draft program for the Social-Democratic party. He gets in touch with fellow prisoners by marking certain words in prison library books and by using a special prison code; he makes contact with those members of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle on the outside; he insists that a party congress should be convened and sends booklets and leaflets which he has written. In his letters he often asks that visits be organized to prisoners who have neither relatives nor friends who can come to see them and that warm clothes be sent to comrades who need them.

1896

January 2.

In a letter to his comrades outside prison Lenin writes of his intention to work on his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. He sends them a list of books he needs to do this, at the same time using the secret code to ask about the fate of fellow-members in the League of Struggle.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Lenin had been confined in a preliminary detention prison, which meant relatively easy conditions. Food parcels were received three times a week, and parcels with books twice a week. Moreover, the books were examined not by the police but by clerks of a nearby court and, owing to the large number of books involved, apparently not very thoroughly at that. Prisoners were even permitted to receive monthly journals or magazines, followed later by weeklies. Thus they were not shut off from outside life, which is one of the worst things about solitary confinement. In addition, there was a rather extensive prison library, which had been compiled from donations, and many comrades, especially those from the working class, considerably broadened their education with its help.

Lenin, with the prospect of a long imprisonment and subsequent exile to far-off regions to think about, intended collecting substantial material for his proposed work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia**. Mother and I lived

* During his work on *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* Lenin studied, compared and analyzed material on the country's socio-economic development using more than 50 statistical surveys, articles, booklets and reports.—Ed.

in St. Petersburg throughout the greater part of Lenin's imprisonment and I had to carry large numbers of books to him to add to the piles already stacked in a corner of his cell. He was then able to go on with his work, making notes from statistical reviews, while also reading other books, both scientific works and fiction, in Russian and other languages. Later on conditions worsened in this respect with the number of books allowed limited in a strict and miserly manner.

Dmitri Ulyanov:

When Lenin was arrested and imprisoned in St. Petersburg in December 1895 he decided to get down to some serious literary work. Day after day he pored with his characteristic perseverance over books and statistical surveys which he received from outside, studying and selecting material, drawing up numerical tables, etc. In this way he was able during his 14 months of solitary confinement to complete a rough copy of his large work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

In early 1897, when he learned from visitors that his case had been concluded and that he would soon be liberated from prison and exiled to Siberia, he exclaimed: "Too early! I haven't yet collected all the material I need!"

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

During that time he wrote numerous leaflets, a booklet on strikes, which was unfortunately not published because of the disclosure of the secret printing shop of the Narodnaya Volya party, and began to write an extensive work, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which he completed during his exile. When many basketfuls of books were dragged with much noise along the corridors I was quite sure that only Lenin could be the voracious reader of them. He had an astounding gift of being able to get intimately acquainted with a book with incredible speed, after what seemed only a cursory perusal.

February 4.

The central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Vorwärts*, reports the publication in Russia of Lenin's booklet *Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers*. The report notes that such booklets are of great

importance for promoting Social-Democratic awareness among broad circles of workers and that there is every reason to hope that such workers' literature will become a significant factor in the political awakening of the Russian proletariat.

Spring.

In his correspondence with Krupskaya Lenin discusses the question of preparing the first congress of the party.

June—July.

Lenin writes "Explanation of the Program" for the Social-Democratic Party.

Before August 12.

Lenin writes a coded note to Krupskaya asking her and A. A. Yakubova to come to a certain place on Shpalernaya Street at 2.15 p.m. where they could stand so that he could see them, when he would be taken out for exercise.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

For all his self-discipline and restraint, Vladimir could not help succumbing to the misery of prison life. In one of his letters he proposed the following plan. When they were taken out for exercise one of the windows in the corridor afforded a momentary glimpse of the sidewalk of Shpalernaya Street. His idea was that Apollinaria Yakubova and I, at a designated time, should come and stand on that bit of pavement so that he could see us. Apollinaria was unable to go for some reason, and so I went alone and stood on the pavement for a long time several days running. Only the plan did not work, I don't remember exactly why.

Before November 25.

The St. Petersburg League of Struggle publishes the leaflet "To the Tsarist Government" written by Lenin in prison.

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

Though I am unable to reconstruct at present our active prison correspondence with Lenin I distinctly remember that receiving and reading a letter from him was like taking a bracing, refreshing drink, it set one up immediately and acted like a moral tonic. This man possessed such vast reserves of moral strength, such an ability to raise the spirits of any person in need of it, that these qualities alone whatever the conditions, and particularly under prison conditions, made him an indispensable comrade.

1897

January 29.

“An Order of His Imperial Majesty” is signed stating that Lenin be exiled to East Siberia under open police surveillance.*

February 14.

Lenin is released from the preliminary detention prison and allowed to stay in St. Petersburg until the evening of February 17. He stays with his mother.

From February 14 to 17.

Lenin conducts conferences of the members of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle where heated debates are waged between the “old” members of the League, who had been arrested together with Lenin, and the “young” members, who had not been arrested, over the deviation of “the young

* One month after Lenin and other members of the League of Struggle had been exiled to Siberia the Romanian newspaper *Miscarea Socialistă* (Socialist Movement) published the article “From Russia” which said, in particular: “The great emperor has rid himself of a group of young fighters for the liberation of the proletariat. Student of the Technological Institute Pyotr Zaporozhets has been sent to serve a five-year sentence in East Siberia. His comrades, civil servant Ulyanov and mechanical engineers Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov, will also have to go to that “pleasant” land and live there for three years.” —Ed.

ones" towards "economism." Lenin sharply criticizes the incipient opportunism of "the young."

The conferences are held at S. I. Radchenko's apartment in Vyborg district and at L. Martov's apartment on Nevsky Prospekt.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

At the first meeting discussion flared up between the "Decembrists" and those who later supported the *Rabochaya Mysl*: it was a debate between Lenin, supported by all the "old timers", and Yakubova. The latter was so upset that tears stood in her eyes. It was evidently hard for her to argue with Lenin whom she esteemed so highly and whose release from prison was a great joy to her, and yet she could not abandon her opinion. Her view was that the newspaper should really be a workers' organ, written by them and reflecting their ideas, and she rejoiced in the initiative that was awakening among the workers and in its mass character. Lenin pointed to the danger of "economism", which he had foreseen before anyone else. So the debate became a duel between the two of them. I felt sorry for Yakubova, for I knew how utterly devoted she was to the revolution, and what tender sympathy and compassion she had displayed for my brother during his imprisonment. It also seemed to me that my brother exaggerated the danger of any deviation of "the young ones."

February 14.

Lenin declares his love for Nadezhda Krupskaya in a "chemical" (invisible-ink) letter he sends to the preliminary detention prison where she is being held.

February 17.

Lenin leaves St. Petersburg on his way to Siberian exile (via Moscow).

February 18-23.

In Moscow Lenin visits the reading room of the Rumyantsev Museum (now the Lenin State Library of the USSR).

Dmitri Ulyanov:

He lived with us and every morning went to the Rumyantsev Museum because he wanted to use material for his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. He took Maria Ulyanova with him to help him copy out extracts.

February 23.

At 14.30 p.m. Lenin leaves Moscow for Siberian exile by train on the Moscow-Kursk Railroad. His brother Dmitri sees him off at Kursk Station.

March.

Lenin arrives in Krasnoyarsk.

Not before March 2—not later than April 30.

Lenin meets political exiles, visits the city library, reads the latest journals, magazines and newspapers and also goes sightseeing.

March 9—not later than April 30.

Lenin studies regularly at the personal library of merchant G. Yudin, continuing work on his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

April 4.

At Krasnoyarsk railroad station Lenin meets Vaneyev, Krzhizhanovsky, Martov and Starkov who arrived with a group of exiles.

April 11.

Lenin is put under police surveillance by order of the Yenisei Governor.

April 30.

Lenin leaves Krasnoyarsk for Minusinsk aboard the steamship St. Nicholas together with Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov; from Minusinsk he is to go to the village of Shushenskoye, his place of exile.

May 6.

Lenin arrives in Minusinsk together with Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov.

May 8.

Lenin leaves Minusinsk and on the same day reaches the village of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk district, Yenisei Province, where he is to spend his exile under open police surveillance.

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

Vladimir Lenin, Starkov and I were to spend the three-year exile in Minusinsk district. Starkov and I were to live in the village of Tesinskoye and Lenin in the village of Shushenskoye, more than 100 versts away from us. But this did not prevent us from keeping in constant contact, Lenin being, of course, the most punctual correspondent. His letters, which we received twice a week, kept us informed about his own work and the news he had received from his extensive correspondence.

Sad as it is, the whole pile of letters which I received from Lenin during the exile perished as a result of our hardships and the constant danger from the police to which we were later subjected. These letters could have served as useful material for characterizing the vast preparatory work carried out by Lenin during his exile. We discussed with him questions connected with the multifarious subjects treated in the book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* which he was writing then, various novelties of the Russian and German literatures which reached us and everything else which we considered important and topical at that time. I also think that this correspondence well characterized Lenin's remarkable skill and ability to treat the substance of any matter directly, without any preliminaries. It was this quality that accounted for the exceptional clarity and lucidity of his literary language.

May 25.

In a letter to his sister Anna living in Moscow Lenin asks her to subscribe to several journals (*Russkoye Bogatstvo*, *Russkiye Vedomosti*, *Bulletin of Finance, Industry and Trade*, etc.), lists books which are especially necessary for him. He inquires as to whether books can be obtained in libraries, asks for more library and book-shop catalogues to be sent to him, sends his regards to Krupskaya and asks about her case.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

In those years I maintained a very active correspondence with Lenin. In ordinary letters he requested books, gave me assignments, wrote about his literary activities, about his life and comrades; in letters written in chemical, invisible ink I told him about the course of the revolutionary struggle and work in Russia, while he sent me his articles to be forwarded to St. Petersburg's League of Struggle or abroad, to the Emancipation of Labor group, for publication.

June—July.

During her trip abroad, Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, acting on her brother's instructions, establishes contact with G. V. Plekhanov, V. I. Zasluch* and P. B. Akselrod, brings them best regards from Lenin and agrees on methods of corresponding with him and how books can be got to him.

Before July 19.

Lenin learns from a letter received from Liakhovsky in Verkholensk (Irkutsk Province) that Fedoseyev has arrived there to serve his exile.

* *V. I. Zasluch* (1849-1919), a very prominent figure in the Narodnik and then Social-Democratic movement, was one of the organizers of the Emancipation of Labor group. She was a member of the *Iskra* editorial board from 1900 and a Menshevik leader after the 2nd RSDLP Congress.—*Ed.*

August 15.

Lenin receives letters from abroad from his mother and sister Maria as well as a letter written with invisible ink from his sister Anna in which she tells him that Plekhanov and Akselrod have told her to let him know that "nobody in Russia writes for the workers as well as he."

August 16.

In a letter to Akselrod Lenin tells of his wish to write for workers and the difficulties of doing this in exile, mentions his work on the book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and agrees on the methods of correspondence.

The letter, like others sent to Akselrod, is written with invisible ink and hidden in the back of a book addressed to Ulyanova-Yelizarova to be forwarded to Akselrod in Zurich.

September 27-28.

Lenin makes a trip to Minusinsk where he meets with members of the Narodnaya Volya party and other political exiles.

Before December 21.

Lenin receives a letter from L. Martov describing the latter's life in Turukhansk.

End of December.

Krzhizhanovsky visits Lenin in Shushenskoye where he spends a few weeks.

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

It was, if I remember correctly, in the very first year of exile that I managed, under some pretext or other, to obtain permission to stay for a few

weeks in the village of Shushenskoye. Life there together with Lenin remains very vivid in my memory. He was quite alone at that time and his working day consisted of the excellent sequence of large portions of work interrupted at regular intervals by spells of essentially necessary rest. In the morning Lenin usually had a mighty surge of vitality and vigor, was willing to wrestle and romp, so that I frequently had to tussle with him until he calmed down with the most active resistance on my part. Then we went for a short, brisk walk which was followed by studies according to a rigid schedule. Certain hours were allotted to literary works, preparation of material from statistical reference-books, philosophical studies, economic literature, both Russian and foreign, and the reading of easy fiction left for refreshment. Lenin was a great lover of clean frosty air, fast walking, ice skating, chess and hunting. What a merry, lively and hearty comrade he was during such recreation in the open air or encounters over the chessboard!

End of 1897.

Lenin writes the booklet *The Task of the Russian Social-Democrats*.

1898

January 4.

In a letter to his mother in Moscow, Lenin asks about the results of Anna Ulyanova's efforts on behalf of the arrested Dmitri and writes that Krupskaya is soon to come to Shushenskoye.

January 8.

Lenin sends a telegram to the Director of the Police Department asking that his fiancée Nadezhda Krupskaya be permitted to serve her exile at the village of Shushenskoye.

Not before March 8—August 16.

Lenin begins translating into Russian Volume One of the book *History of Trade Unionism (Industrial Democracy)* by

Sidney and Beatrice Webb and adding footnotes to the translation.

May 7.

Nadezhda Krupskaya, exiled for three years for her part in the case of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, comes to Shushenskoye to Lenin together with her mother Yelizaveta Krupskaya.

Not before May 7.

X Lenin learns from Krupskaya about the 1st RSDLP Congress which was held in Minsk in March 1898.

May 10.

In a letter to his mother Lenin thanks her for a parcel he has received from her, informs her of his forthcoming marriage and writes that he will be very glad if she came to Shushenskoye. He applies to the police chief of Minusinsk district for the issue of documents necessary to marry.

After May 20.

Lenin and Krupskaya travel from Shushenskoye to Minusinsk where Lenin visits the police chief of Minusinsk district in regard to procuring documents necessary for marriage.

July 10.

Lenin and Krupskaya have their marriage registered. Their witnesses are Shushenskoye peasants.

July 14.

Lenin receives a letter from Liakhovsky* in Verkholensk informing him of N. Y. Fedoseyev's death; the letter says that Fedoseyev wanted Lenin to be told that he was dying "with complete and supreme faith in life."

Before July 15.

Lenin receives a letter from Mitskevich, one of the organizers of the Moscow Workers' Union, who is in exile in the Yakutsk region.

August 9.

Lenin completes the draft of his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia. The Process of the Formation of a Home Market for Large-Scale Industry.*

September 2.

Lenin writes to A. N. Potresov asking him to help obtain copies of the journal *Die Neue Zeit* which contains Plekhanov's articles.

Between October 9 and 15.

Lenin's first collection of works, entitled *Economic Studies and Essays*, is published in Russia in an edition of 1,200 copies. It is signed Vladimir Ilyin and includes the articles "A Characterization of Economic Romanticism;" "The Handicraft Census of 1894-95 in Perm Gubernia and General Problems of Handicraft Industry;" "Gems of Narodnik Project-Mongering;" "The Heritage We Renounce;" and "On the Question of Our Factory Statistics."

* Y. M. Liakhovsky (1871-?), a Social-Democrat and a physician by profession, was arrested for his part in the case of the League of Struggle and exiled to Siberia. When his exile ended Liakhovsky ceased his political activity and emigrated to America.—Ed.

November 18.

In its account to the Police Department with regard to Vladimir Ilyin's book *Economic Studies and Essays* the St. Petersburg branch of the secret police reports: "His real surname is known to very few people since the Social-Democrats ensure it is a securely guarded secret in order to safeguard one of their leaders. His real name is Vladimir Ilyin (old form of the patronymic "Ilyich"—*Ed.*) Ulyanov, brother of the terrorist Alexander Ulyanov executed in 1887."

Autumn.

Lenin's booklet *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* is published in Geneva.

December 24—January 2.

Lenin and Krupskaya travel to Minusinsk where exiled Marxists from various villages of Minusinsk district are gathering to see in the New Year. Lenin and Krupskaya stay in the house where Krzhizhanovsky and the Starkovs live.

Panteleymon Lepeshinsky*:

We usually gathered in Minusinsk, sometimes at the place of our hospitable Vladimir, and two or three times at the village of Yermakovskoye where my wife and I, the Vaneyev and Silvin families, and Kurnatovsky and Panin lived.

The house we met in would fill with noise, shouts and merry laughter. Everybody was eager to have his fair share of speaking, laughing and arguing. Vladimir Lenin was the most lively and cheerful member of the assembled society. During the preceding weeks he would store many questions in his mind, which he wished to discuss. Much attention was devoted to the latest issue of the newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* where "the young" ("economists"—*Ed.*) were bordering on a point of lunacy. In other words,

* P. N. Lepeshinsky (1868-1944) was a Social-Democrat and one of the oldest members of the Bolshevik Party. After the Revolution he worked in the field of education and was one of the organizers of the Institute of the Party's History.—*Ed.*

the two or three days fate had granted in the person of the Minusinsk police chief flitted by like one happy hour for Vladimir Lenin.

Yet we could not, of course, spend all our time discussing and making speeches. In summer Lenin and some others would go hunting. The best entertainment in winter was skate racing along the frozen river. Lenin, an excellent sportsman in general, was a fine skater.

From the second part of the year.

Lenin corresponds with the exiled Social-Democrat F. V. Lengnik* on philosophical questions, resolutely opposing subjective idealism and defending the philosophical views of Marx and Engels. According to Lepeshinsky their letters were as large and elaborate as treatises.

Fridrikh Lengnik:

These letters were, I am sad to say, lost during my travels after Siberian exile.

During the exile I became interested in questions of philosophy, including those posed by Hume and Kant. Hume's scepticism, it would seem, corresponded with the hopeless conditions of exile in Siberia. Lenin must have learned about my interest in philosophy from our comrades, and we struck up a very lively correspondence on philosophical questions. I sought to convert him to my faith, describing the poetic beauty of Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*, and sometimes affected extreme scepticism after the manner of Hume and his brilliant disciple Schopenhauer who also attracted my attention languishing in exile. As far as I can remember Lenin objected, very delicately but quite definitely and resolutely, to Hume's scepticism and Kant's idealism and opposed to them the life-asserting philosophy of Marx and Engels. He argued vigorously that there could be no limit to human knowledge which would continue to progress.

After only a few letters from Lenin my convictions were shaken at their very foundations, so much so that I abandoned my idealist philosophers and turned to the study of Marxist philosophy.

* F. V. Lengnik (1873-1936), a professional revolutionary and a Bolshevik, took part in the Social-Democratic movement from 1893. He actively participated in the preparation of the 2nd RSDLP Congress at which he was elected in his absence to the Central Committee and the Council of the Party. He took an active part in the October 1917 revolution after which he worked in the field of education and foreign trade.—Ed.

Winter.

Lenin writes in his letter to L. Martov that the St. Petersburg newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* is ignoring the tasks of the revolutionary struggle and that the “young” members of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad—“economists”—are systematically attacking the Emancipation of Labor group.

End of the year.

Lenin writes the article “A Note on the Question of Market Theory.”

1899

February 12-13.

Silvin stops over at Lenin’s place in Shushenskoye on his way to the village of Yermakovskoye. During his talk with him, Lenin asks Silvin about current affairs and the life of his close friends. He gives Silvin an issue of the newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* and asks him to form his view as to the newspaper’s direction.

After February 13.

Lenin acquaints Silvin with the Manifesto of the 1st RSDLP Congress, the booklet *Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* and other Social-Democratic literature and recommends that he study books on economic questions.

March 13.

Victor Kurnatovsky* and Mikhail Silvin come to Lenin in

* *V. K. Kurnatovsky* (1868-1912) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1888. He took an active part in the revolutionary events in 1904-1905 in the Far East and was sentenced by the tsarist court to death; but his sentence was committed to life imprisonment. He escaped from prison and emigrated.

Shushenskoye from the village of Yermakovskoye. Lenin requests Kurnatovsky and Lepeshinsky to help him by making calculations for his new work (a review of Russia's factory statistics).

March 24-31.

The book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia (The Process of the Formation of a Home Market for Large-Scale Industry)* comes off the press under the pen-name of Vladimir Ilyin.

April 4.

Lenin writes to his mother in Podolsk (near Moscow) expressing his great desire to see her; he specifies the time of the trip (the second half of May) in order to be able to reach Minusinsk by steamship. He also writes that he has read in the newspaper *Russkiye Vedomosti* that M. T. Yelizarov has won a game against M. I. Chigorin, the founder of the Russian chess school.

After April 18.*

Lenin reads and makes corrections in the leaflet of the Moscow Committee of the RSDLP "An Appeal for May 1."

Before April 27.

Lenin learns of a split in November 1898 at the 1st Congress of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad caused by the growth of the "economists'" influence in the League.

* May 1 New Style.

April 27.

In his letter to A. N. Potresov, Lenin sharply criticizes the article "A Contribution to the Question of the Capitalist Evolution of Agriculture" written by the "legal Marxist" S. N. Bulgakov under the pretext of criticizing the book *The Agrarian Question* by Karl Kautsky while in fact seeking to revise Marxism; he informs Potresov about the publication of his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and explains the meaning of his article "The Heritage We Renounce."

May 1.

Lenin and Krupskaya celebrate May Day together with the exiled workers Oskar Engberg, Ivan Prominski and the latter's family.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

I remember how we celebrated May Day. Prominski called in the morning, looking very festive in a clean collar and tie, and himself shining like a new penny. His mood quickly infected us, and we all three went to Oscar Engberg, taking the dog Zhenka with us. Zhenka ran on ahead, yapping joyfully. We walked along the bank of the River Shusha. The ice had broken up and was drifting downstream. Zhenka waded into the icy water and defied the shaggy Shushenskoye watchdogs to follow his example.

Oscar was excited at our coming. We all sat down in his room and began singing together. Having sung in Russian, we sang in Polish, and decided to celebrate May Day out in the fields after dinner. That is what we did. There were six of us in the field, for Prominski had brought his two little boys along with him. He was radiant as ever. Stepping on to a dry mound in the field, Prominski pulled a red handkerchief out of his pocket, laid it out on the ground and stood on his head. The children squealed with delight. In the evening we all got together at our place and once more sang songs. Prominski's wife also came along. My mother also joined in the chorus.

That night Lenin and I could not fall asleep thinking of the huge workers' demonstrations which we would one day take part in.

May 2.

Lenin is interrogated and his lodging at Shushenskoye searched because the police discovered that he has corresponded with other exiled Social-Democrats concerning a tombstone for Fedoseyev's grave.

June 18.

Lenin receives a letter from Potresov with a positive appraisal of his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Lenin also learns from the letter about how some Social-Democrats in St. Petersburg have been acting in the spirit of "economism."

June 20.

In a letter to his brother Dmitri, Lenin approves Plekhanov's action against Bernstein.*

June 27.

Lenin writes a letter to Potresov telling the latter that the term of his exile expires on January 29, 1900.

After July 11.

From his sister Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, Lenin receives a letter written with invisible ink to which was appended a copy, also rewritten in invisible ink, of a manifesto of the "economists" written by their leader Kuskova, which Anna Ulyanova named "the 'Credo' of the young."

* *Eduard Bernstein* (1850-1932), one of the leaders of the opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic Party, made repeated attempts to revise the basic provisions of Marxism, even through the falsification of the works of Marx and Engels. He was extremely hostile to the international communist movement and to Soviet Russia.—*Ed.*

July 13.

Publisher Maria Vodovozova writes in a letter: "The success of some of my latest editions is simply amazing; I mean in particular, Ilyin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. I published it in spring and it is selling incredibly fast despite it being summer and the absence of young people from the capitals before Easter... One cannot read this book without the most captivating interest."

Before August 20.

Lenin writes the draft of "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" directed against the "economists'" manifesto, the "Credo"; Lenin urges the Russian Social-Democrats to declare war on the entire range of ideas reflected in the "Credo" and to rise in defense of revolutionary Marxism.

August 20-22.

Lenin organizes a conference of the exiled Marxists of Minusinsk district in the village of Yermakovskoye to discuss the "Credo." During the meeting, which took place at Vaneyev's lodgings, 17 exiled Marxists adopted the Protest by Russian Social-Democrats directed against the "economists" document.

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

When we learned in our Minusinsk steppes of the message of Madame Kuskova, her well-known "Credo" in which she attempted to prove the inadvisability of political preaching among the proletariat which should in the near future follow only economic ways of struggle while all struggle of a political kind should be borne by the "blue blood," i.e., Messrs. liberals and all manner of common intellectuals, the attitude of our exiles to this message was quite diverse. Lenin alone correctly assessed the utter banefulness of distorting the consciousness of the proletariat which might result from this reptile tailing behind truncated Russian liberalism and the entire shortsightedness of the allegedly practical adherents of purely economic struggle.

The energetic rebuff to the author of the "Credo," which later circulated all over Russia as a letter signed by 17 exiles in East Siberia, was written entirely by him.

August 22.

Lenin and Krupskaya return from Yermakovskoye to Shushenskoye. In her letter to Maria Ulyanova in Podolsk Krupskaya writes about life in Shushenskoye and about how she and Lenin are studying English.

In a letter to Maria Ulyanova in Podolsk, Lenin writes that he is very glad that the book by Bernstein, *The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of Social-Democrats*, has been obtained for him; he also asks to make sure beforehand that he will be sent newspapers in good time with accounts of the Hanover Congress of the German Social-Democrats that is to be held in October 1899, the agenda of which includes an item on "an attack on the basic views and tactics of the party" in connection with Bernstein's pronouncements.

After August 22.

Lenin writes a letter to L. Martov in Turukhansk, attaching copies of "Credo" and of the Protest adopted at a conference of exiled Social-Democrats of Minusinsk district.

Lenin learns from Martov's letter in reply that the Turukhansk exiles have joined the Protest.

Lenin sends a copy of the Protest by the Russian Social-Democrats to A. N. Potresov in Viatka* Province where a colony of 17 exiled Social-Democrats are also in protest against the "Credo."

Summer.

Lenin devotes much time and effort to philosophical questions: he rereads Plekhanov's works and studies French materialist and idealist philosophers.

* Now Kirov.

September 9-15.

Lenin's and Krupskaya's Russian translation of Volume One of the book *History of Trade-Unionism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb comes off the press.

September 10.

Lenin attends the funeral held in Yermakovskoye of Anatoli Vaneyev, a member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, and makes a speech over his grave.

October 12.

Lenin receives from his relatives the journal *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, the publication of which began in Paris in January 1899, and the minutes of the Stuttgart Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party held on October 3-8, 1898.

October 13.

The Protest by the Russian Social-Democrats is received by Plekhanov in Geneva and is sent to press for No. 4-5 of the *Rabocheye Delo*.

Second half of November—beginning of December.

Within two weeks Lenin and Krupskaya translate into Russian Kautsky's* book *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Program. Anticriticism*. The translation of Kautsky's book, written in school notebooks in Lenin's characteristic small hand, passes from hand to hand, traveling among the nearby

* *Karl Kautsky* (1854-1928), one of the leaders and theoreticians of the German Social-Democratic Party who broke away from revolutionary Marxism during the First World War.—Ed.

colonies of political exiles, being rewritten and sent to other, more remote colonies.*

End of the year.

Lenin writes the articles: "A Draft Program of Our Party,"** "On Strikes," "The Reversal in Russian Social-Democracy," and "On Industrial Courts."

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

I remember particularly well one of my last walks with Lenin along the bank of the broad Yenisei. It was a frosty moonlit night, and stretching before us was the endless shroud of Siberian snow. Lenin told me with great inspiration about his plans and propositions for the time when he would be back in Russia. His arguments centered around organizing a party newspaper, transferring its publication abroad and forming a party with the help of that central newspaper which would thus serve as scaffolding by which the entire building of a revolutionary organization of the proletariat might be constructed. I must confess that at first I thought that he overestimated the role of such a party newspaper, only because during the long exile he himself had no choice but to emphasize the literary aspect of his activity. Life, however, has shown the path charted by Lenin to be quite correct.

1900

January 12.

Lenin writes in his letter to Starkov in Minusinsk that a document has arrived regarding his release and with regard to sending Krupskaya to Ufa and that they are leaving Shushenskoye in the early morning of January 29.

* This translation was published for the first time in 1905 under the title "A Collection of Articles," without mentioning the translator's name. The second edition (1906) bore the inscription: Translated by Lenin.—*Ed.*

** During his last year in exile, Lenin conceived an organizational plan of building a Marxist revolutionary proletarian Party, based on the idea of publishing a national illegal Marxist newspaper abroad.—*Ed.*

January 28.

Lenin sends books and some of his belongings from Shushenskoye to Pskov. The inventory made later by the Moscow police when things were held up for inspection at the Moscow railroad station included 243 titles of books and journals. Their actual number, however, was much greater. Among the books sent by Lenin from Siberia were works by Marx and Engels, numerous books on political economy and philosophy and works of Western and Russian literature.

January 29.

Early in the morning Lenin, N.K. Krupskaya and her mother Y.V. Krupskaya leave Shushenskoye on their way to European Russia. Because of the prohibition on residing in the capital, university cities and large industrial centers, Lenin chooses Pskov as a place to live in order to be nearer to St. Petersburg.

February 2.

At 7 a.m. Lenin, Krupskaya and her mother board an Irkutsk-Moscow train at Achinsk. Lenin and his family are heading to Ufa where Krupskaya has to serve the remainder of her exile.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Thus Vladimir Lenin emerged from exile not only as an experienced revolutionary with a well-defined individuality and an established authority in the underground movement; not only as a man who had written a scholarly book but also as a man who, as a result of living for three years in the very midst of the peasantry, had acquired a thorough knowledge of this principal section of Russia's population.

February 6.

Lenin and Krupskaya arrive in Ufa and put up at a hotel.

February 6-8.

Lenin has many meetings with local Social-Democrats, talks about the revolutionary struggle and tells them of his plan to have an all-Russian illegal political newspaper published abroad.

Not before February 9.

Lenin leaves Ufa for Moscow.

Not later than February 16.

On his return from exile Lenin is met at Podolsk railroad station by his brother D. I. Ulyanov who is living in Podolsk under police surveillance.

Lenin journeys on to Moscow and stays at the apartment of Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

At that time we lived on the outskirts of Moscow in Bakhmetyev Street, off the Kamer-Kollezhsky Rampart. As soon as we saw the cab we all rushed down the stairs to greet Lenin.

"Has Yuli come? Has there been a letter from him? Or a telegram?" Vladimir showered questions upon us as soon as he had exchanged greetings with us, taken off his coat and entered the dining room.

Yuli Zederbaum, better known by the pseudonym Martov he later assumed, had been exiled to Turukhansk for the same reasons as Lenin and for the same period of time. Being a Jew he had been assigned the remotest and grimmest hole of Yenisei Province.

Our answer that we had heard nothing either from him or about him for some time disturbed Lenin.

"How is that? I made an arrangement with him. What can this mean?" he kept saying. "I must send him a telegram. Dmitri, take it for me, please, will you?"

And he immediately set about writing the telegram and giving instructions to his brother, to the disappointment of the latter as well as of the rest of us, who wanted, naturally, in those first minutes of Lenin's arrival, to have him all to ourselves. He regarded Zederbaum as his closest comrade for future

work, particularly in the launching of a national newspaper. He was extremely enthusiastic about Yuli's revolutionary spirit. He worried a great deal until news came that Yuli had safely left Turukhansk.

February 18 and 19.

At the apartment of Ulyanova-Yelizarova Lenin meets I. K. Lalayants, a representative of the Yekaterinoslav* RSDLP Committee and of the newspaper *Yuzhny Rabochy* and discusses the proposed convocation of the 2nd RSDLP Congress and other important questions concerning the activity of the Russian Social-Democrats.

Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova:

Later Lenin told me that mainly they had talked about the convening of the Second Party Congress, then still planned to take place inside Russia. The sweeping arrests made in the South in April 1900 (Lalayants being among those arrested) finally convinced Lenin that it was impossible to hold the congress in Russia.

"If mere preparations for the congress result in such catastrophes," he said, "and ruin our organization almost completely by leading to arrests of the most valuable workers, the congresses inside autocratic Russia are a luxury we cannot afford. Other means must be used to weld the Party. These means can be found by having a national newspaper published abroad; with its help the Party will be built much in the same way as a building is built with the help of the scaffolding erected around it."

From this idea *Iskra* emerged, the newspaper which succeeded in accomplishing the task of uniting the Party.

Between February 20 and 24.

During his stay in Nizhni Novgorod Lenin meets local Social-Democrats.

Not later than February 25.

Lenin arrives in St. Petersburg, meets a group of Social-

* Now Dnepropetrovsk.

Democrats and acquaints them with the plan of publishing an all-Russian political newspaper.

Lenin meets V. I. Zasluch who has stolen into Russia illegally; they talk about the publication of a newspaper and a theoretical and political journal and the Emancipation of Labor group's participation in these publications. From St. Petersburg Lenin travels to Pskov where he is immediately placed under secret police surveillance.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Vladimir went to live in Pskov, where Potresov and Radchenko with his children later stayed. He once laughed about how Radchenko's little girls, Zhenyurka and Lyuda, used to mimic him and Potresov. They would walk up and down the room with their hands behind their backs, one saying "Bernstein" and the other answering "Kautsky."

There, in Pskov, Vladimir assiduously wove the threads of the organization that were closely to bind the future national newspaper abroad with activities at home. He had meetings with Babushkin and many other comrades.

March 10.

Lenin sends a request to the Director of the Police Department asking that N. K. Krupskaya be allowed to serve her term of open police surveillance in Pskov instead of Ufa.

End of March.

Lenin meets L. Martov who visits him in Pskov on his way from exile to Poltava; he acquaints the latter with the plan of having the newspaper *Iskra* and the journal *Zarya* published abroad; discusses the tasks facing the Social-Democrats in Russia; he writes a draft statement of the editorial boards of *Iskra* and *Zarya* outlining the program and objectives of an all-Russian political newspaper and a theoretical and political journal.

Lenin receives a letter from Silvin inviting him to come to Riga in order to meet the local Social-Democrats; he takes part in a conference of revolutionary Marxists and "legal

Marxists," reads his draft statement of the editorial boards of *Iskra* and *Zarya* and explains its basic points. The conference approves Lenin's draft statement.

March—the first half of May.

At the proposal of the Pskov Province Office of Statistics Lenin takes an active part in drafting the program of a broad statistical and evaluation survey of peasant holdings, handicrafts and the cottage industry of Pskov Province. He goes from Pskov to Izborsk on a mission of the Pskov Statistical Office, takes part in meetings of the local revolutionary and opposition intelligentsia, and criticizes "economism." He agrees with the Pskov Social-Democrats on the organization in Pskov of a group promoting *Iskra*.

April 2.

From Izborsk Lenin illegally travels to Riga to establish contacts with the Lettish Social-Democrats and stays at Silvin's apartment. On the same day he meets the leaders of the Riga Social-Democratic organization, inquires after the details of their work, agrees as to their participation in the publication of a newspaper and a journal abroad as well as on contacts and addresses.

April 20.

Lenin writes a request to the Director of the Police Department asking for permission to visit his sick wife in Ufa and to stay there for a month and a half.

Second half of April—before May 19.

Lenin writes a report of the *Iskra* group to the 2nd RSDLP Congress and receives a mandate to the congress from the Emancipation of Labor group.

May 5.

Lenin receives a passport for a trip to Germany; he also inquires at the chancellery of the Podolsk Governor concerning his request for permission to visit Ufa which he submitted on April 20. The request is declined.

After May 13.

In response to a personal request from Lenin's mother Maria Ulyanova, Lenin receives permission from the Police Department for his mother and himself to visit Nadezhda Krupskaya in Ufa and stay there for a month and a half.

Lenin sends his belongings (a box of books) to Podolsk c/o Dmitri Ulyanov. Then he leaves Pskov for St. Petersburg taking an evening train.

May 20.

For reasons of secrecy he disembarks at 7.25 a.m. at Alexandrovskaya station, goes to Tsarskoye Selo and leaves it for St. Petersburg by another train at 9 a.m.

Lenin pays two visits to the editorial office of the newspaper *Severny Kuryer* where he meets and talks with Social-Democrats.

May 21.

In the morning Lenin is arrested by the police for making an illegal visit to the capital and is kept in custody at the detention section of the St. Petersburg Governor's Office.

May 24.

Lenin is interrogated in connection with objects and money found in his possession when he was arrested.

May 31.

Lenin is released from detention and goes to his mother in Podolsk accompanied by a police official.

Between June 1 and 6.

Lenin talks with Lepeshinsky, who has come to Podolsk at his request and discusses his future work in Pskov and support for the newspaper *Iskra*.

Before June 7.

Lenin writes a letter to Krupskaya in Ufa telling her of his prospective arrival there together with his mother.

June 7.

Lenin, together with his mother and sister, leave Podolsk to visit N.K. Krupskaya in Ufa. They reach Nizhni Novgorod by rail and there board a steamer to Ufa.

June 8 or 9.

Lenin makes a stop in Nizhni Novgorod where he meets local Social-Democrats, discusses the plan for publishing an illegal all-Russian Social-Democratic newspaper and agrees about support they will give for the newspaper and the methods of communication.

June 15.

Lenin arrives in Ufa to meet Krupskaya.

Between June 15 and July 2.

Lenin resides in Ufa where he meets local Social-Democrats with whom he makes agreements as to the assist-

ance they will make to the future newspaper and means of communication, and also Social-Democrats from other cities—Yaroslavl, Samara and Astrakhan—with whom he talks about the proposed publication of *Iskra*, agreeing on codes, addresses and means of communication.

After July 2.

Lenin leaves Ufa for Podolsk.

Between July 2 and 10.

On his way from Ufa to Podolsk, Lenin makes a stop in Samara where he agrees with the local Social-Democrats about the newspaper and communication methods. He also visits Syzran where he meets Pyotr Yelizarov, brother of M. T. Yelizarov, and his family, tells them about his life in Siberian exile and asks them about peasant life in the Volga region.

Before July 10.

At the request of his mother, Maria Ulyanova, the Police Department allows Lenin to come to see her in Podolsk for three days.

July 13-15.

While making his way abroad Lenin stops in Smolensk where he meets Social-Democrats and discusses questions with them connected with the publication of the newspaper *Iskra* and their work for assisting *Iskra*.

July 16.

Lenin goes abroad.

The birth of a revolutionary party

At the time of Lenin's arrival in Geneva, the Marxist Emancipation of Labor group was the most influential organization of Russian Social-Democrats abroad. Its leaders, generally considered to be the pillars of Marxism, Georgi Plekhanov, Pavel Akselrod and Vera Zasulich, took a positive view of establishing an all-Party publication. However, certain complications arose from the very beginning, mainly due to the stand taken by Plekhanov who laid claim to a privileged position in the future editorial board. The agreement, which had just begun to take shape, was under threat of disruption.

Lenin saw the danger in the situation, since the discord could lead to the collapse of the plans which he had elaborated with such consistence and conviction during his long exile and to the implementation of which he intended to apply all his energy and the profound theoretical and political research he had made. Fortunately, a way was found of placating the incipient conflict, and preparations began for setting up an editorial center in Germany.

Lenin devoted all his energy to this task. He established contacts with the German Social-Democrats Clara Zetkin and Adolf Braun, obtained Russian type, found suitable premises for the printshop and contacted correspondents for the newspaper in Russia.

Nadezhda Krupskaya, who joined Lenin in Munich, has left, as in many other cases, invaluable material for Lenin's biographers. Her ingenuous, sincere reminiscences serve as a guide by which we can understand the conditions in which *Iskra* ("Spark," as the newspaper was called) was started and the relations between its editors (in all six), and what great intellectual and emotional energy Lenin put into his work at that time.

In his numerous publications of that time Lenin vigorously promoted the idea of building a principally new party organization, particularly in the book *What Is To Be Done?* which he wrote in 1902. He believed that a revolutionary proletarian party should accumulate, critically appraise and creatively implement the entire experience of the preceding liberation movement both in Russia and the West. Socialist knowledge, the lessons of the struggle that had been waged by generations of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia,

coupled with the skilful methods of work with the masses and the excellently organized working class press, which were undeniable achievements of the West European Social-Democrats, were to serve as the base on which a workers' party in the specific conditions of Russia of the early 20th century should be organized.

In June 1902, an issue of *Iskra* was printed in London, where its editorial board had moved, with the finally edited draft of the Party Program which was "a concise, clear and definite statement of everything the Party is striving and fighting for" (the elaboration of that fundamental Party document is described in this book). Now it had become possible to convene a Party congress.

It was particularly necessary to convene a congress as soon as possible because the world economic crisis of 1900-1903 had imposed a monstrous burden on the working people of Russia. Wage cuts, curtailed production and mass dismissals compelled the proletariat to actively defend its rights. In order to guide the growing working class movement a vanguard was required that was not only ideologically strong, but also organizationally solid.

The 2nd RSDLP Congress opened in Brussels on July 17, 1903. This was a highly significant fact in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, for it was the first time when the secret organization emerged from underground and openly stated its immediate and ultimate goals. The congress attained ideological unity formulated in the Party Program and succeeded in putting an end to the limited, narrow activity of revolutionary circles. Thus a Russian revolutionary Marxist Party was established.

Yet the congress was also the arena of extremely heated debates regarding the question of the organizational structure of the Party. Should it be monolithic in both ideology and organization, or a purely formal association of individual persons and groups free to ignore the elementary rules of joint work, discipline and secrecy?

This was the problem around which passions seethed, while purely personal traits of the debators were also embroiled in the heat of the polemic and the differences which revealed themselves broke old and friendly relations which had once seemed to be so strong.

Lenin was supported by a majority of the congress in upholding the idea of forming a party that had been elab-

orated and advanced by *Iskra's* editorial board. Despite their former differences he did have on his side Plekhanov who insisted that the truth was on Lenin's side. But some of the former Iskraists (the so-called "soft Iskraists") joined representatives of the "economists" and the Bund in renouncing the positions which they had previously maintained in their articles and public statements. The congress delegates split into Bolsheviks who supported the majority and Mensheviks who opposed Lenin in the matter of the Party's organizational structure.

This division obviously hindered the consolidation of the revolutionary forces and restrained the development of the working-class movement. In order to overcome contradictions, end the division into factions and rally Social-Democrats around the Central Committee and the Central Organ, Lenin was prepared to compromise on many issues, unless they questioned the Party's very existence. However, the situation was not normalized—on the contrary, the relations within the Party became even more complicated.

After being defeated at the supreme Party forum, the Menshevik leaders started to struggle against its decisions and the leading bodies elected by the congress. It was in these difficult conditions that Plekhanov suddenly agreed to grant very considerable concessions to his erstwhile opponents.

The entries that follow and the reminiscences left by those involved in the events reflect the dramatic situation confronting the newly formed Party. It was further aggravated by the fact that for the uninitiated (and especially biased), it was merely a "clash of characters" caused by the ambition of some and the obstinacy and intolerance of others.

Lenin took all this very keenly. The coalition of his opponents threatened to deprive him of the possibility of communicating with the Party and to reduce to naught the Bolsheviks' influence on the local Party organizations. To this end it resorted to methods of argument which were far from correct. The minority, eager to discredit Lenin and his adherents on the political front, were prepared to go as far as spreading false rumors and incredible gossip.

As Lenin was now unable to publish his articles in *Iskra* (the editorial board of which was at that time headed by Mensheviks) he could keep in contact with Russian Social-Democrats only by correspondence. Each month he received from and sent to St. Petersburg, Nizhni Novgorod, Samara,

Odessa, Kiev and other towns as many as 300 letters. One of the main questions under discussion was the urgent need to convene the 3rd Party Congress. In his letters to Russia Lenin described the real state of affairs in the central institutions of the RSDLP. This was in fact preparation for leading the Party out of the crisis.

The majority of Party organizations working in the very midst of the working masses and well familiar with the real sentiments of the proletariat took Lenin's side. Local Party committees demanded unity and that the Party prepare itself for a decisive onslaught on tsarism now that conditions were increasingly revolutionary in their nature, a situation further aggravated by the Russo-Japanese war which broke out in January 1904. In the autumn of 1904 regional Party committees elected a united Bureau of Majority Committees which began practical preparations for the congress. There was no time to lose. Revolution was persistently knocking at the gates of what seemed the impregnable fortress of the Russian empire. The country entered the new year of 1905 amid flashes of lightning that boded for a violent thunderstorm.

1900

After July 19.

Lenin arrives in Zurich where he spends two days with Akselrod discussing the draft statement of the editorial board on the publication of *Iskra* and *Zarya*.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

He had a soft spot for the Emancipation of Labor group, a great affection for both Akselrod and Vera Zasulich, not to mention Plekhanov. "Wait till you see Zasulich," he told me the first evening I arrived in Munich. "She is true to the core." And he was right.

Pavel Akselrod was much more of an organizer than either Plekhanov or Zasulich. He carried on correspondence with comrades in Russia and was well up on techniques for secrecy. One can well imagine how a Russian revolutionary organizer must have felt, living for years in Switzerland as a

political emigrant. Akselrod worked at only a quarter of his former capacity; he did not sleep for nights on end, and writing was a tremendous strain on him; it took him months to finish an article he had started, and his handwriting was almost illegible owing to the nervous way he wrote.

After July 19.

Lenin meets Plekhanov and discusses questions relating to the publication of the newspaper *Iskra* and journal *Zarya*.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Plekhanov's was a tragic fate. In the theoretical field his services to the workers' movement are almost inestimable. Long years spent as a political emigrant, however, told on him and isolated him from Russian realities. The broad mass movement of the workers started after he had gone abroad. He saw representatives of different parties, writers, students, even individual workers, but he had not seen the Russian working class, had not worked with it, nor felt it. Sometimes, when letters came from Russia that lifted the veil over new forms in the movement and revealed new vistas, Lenin, Martov and even Vera Zasulich would read them over and over again. Lenin would then pace the room for a long time and not be able to fall asleep afterwards. I tried to show those letters to Plekhanov when we moved to Geneva and was surprised at the way he reacted. He seemed to be staggered, then looked incredulous, and never spoke about them again.

Before August 11.

At the village of Vesenez Lenin meets Nikolai Bauman*, discusses the plan of publishing *Iskra* and *Zarya* and learns from him of the desire of a group of Social-Democratic emigrants in Paris led by Yuri Steklov** to participate in

* *N. E. Bauman* (1873-1905), a Social-Democrat and a Bolshevik after the 2nd RSDLP Congress, took part in establishing *Iskra* and did much to help its distribution in Russia. In 1904 he was the Chairman of the Moscow RSDLP Committee and of the Northern Bureau of the Party Central Committee. He was brutally murdered by an agent of the tsarist secret police. Bauman's funeral became a 300,000-strong political demonstration.—*Ed.*

** *Y. M. Steklov* (1873-1941) was a participant in the Russian revolutionary movement from 1893, a writer and journalist. In 1917 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. After the October 1917 revolution he devoted himself to journalistic work. Steklov is the author of works on the history of Russian public thought and the history of the European and Russian revolutionary movement.—*Ed.*

these publications. He asks Bauman to invite Steklov to Switzerland for negotiations and later meets Steklov.

August 11-13.

In Corsier (a suburb of Geneva), Lenin takes part in a conference with the Emancipation of Labor group, where the draft of a declaration of the editorial board is discussed. During the discussion Plekhanov expresses his disagreement on several basic issues involved in the program and on tactics and his unwillingness to reckon with the conditions and tasks of the practical revolutionary movement. He also shows his intolerance on questions regarding the organization of the editorial board, demanding to be the one and only editor-in-chief.

August 13.

Lenin discusses with Potresov the results of the conference; they decide to make a statement on the impossibility of continuing negotiations with the Emancipation of Labor group and on their intention to go to Russia in order to discuss the question of publishing the newspaper with other comrades. Yet Lenin takes part in the continued conference with the Emancipation of Labor group. Plekhanov makes concessions and agreement is reached on the publication of the newspaper and the composition of the editorial board.

August 15.

Lenin discusses the question of the journal *Zarya* with Potresov. They decide to try proposing to the Emancipation of Labor group that by way of an experiment, the material jointly collected for the journal be published in a separate edition.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Things were not moving as fast with the newspaper as Vladimir wished. He had trouble coming to an understanding with Plekhanov. His letters were

short and cheerless, and ended with: "I shall tell you all about it when you come over"; "I have written down for you a full account of the conflict with Plekhanov."

August 25.

Lenin goes from Geneva to Munich where it was decided to establish the editorial office of *Iskra* and *Zarya*.

End of August.

Lenin reads, prepares for the press and edits eight reports, letters and articles.

October 6.

Lenin receives a letter from a group of Russian Social-Democrats in Paris who offer their conditions concerning cooperation with the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya* in the proposed publication of a supplement to the journal *Zarya*.

Between October 8 and 14.

Lenin receives a letter from Plekhanov with his thanks for the Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* which he has received, an account of his work on an important article and advice concerning the selection of a responsible official person as the publisher of the *Zarya* journal.

Not before October 11.

A. A. Yakubova sends Lenin a letter from London describing the activity of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and a suggestion that he contribute to the newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl*. Lenin declines the offer due to the "economic" orientation of the newspaper.

Before October 26.

Lenin writes in a letter to Plekhanov that the first issue of *Iskra* is ready except for a review of the foreign situation. He asks Plekhanov to write such a review.

October 27.

Lenin sends material by registered book-post to Plekhanov for publication in the first issue of the journal *Zarya*.

Before November 3.

Lenin writes the article "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," an editorial for the first issue of the newspaper *Iskra*.

After November 27.

Lenin receives a letter from S. in Leipzig about the work of the printing-house where the first issue of *Iskra* is being put together.

Before November 28.

Lenin receives a letter where L. Martov writes of his intention to visit Munich soon.

December 11.

The first issue of the all-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper *Iskra* is published.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Plekhanov and Akselrod wanted the newspaper to be published somewhere in Switzerland, under their direct guidance. They did not, as Zasukhich also did not at first, attach much importance to the organizational role it could and did play; they were much more interested in *Zarya*.

Vladimir believed that *Iskra* should be printed away from the emigrant center, that it should be kept well secret, something which was of immense importance for communication with Russia, for correspondence and for visits. The "old timers" were not at all eager to help, which Vladimir took very keenly. Of the Emancipation of Labor group Vera Zasukhich alone became attached to *Iskra*. She lived by the life of the *Iskra* editorial board, by its joys and sorrows, by news that came from Russia.

Gleb Krzhizhanovsky:

The old *Iskra* will always remain an instructive example of how a party newspaper should be organized and conducted in such a way that it serves both as a guiding beacon, attracting the seafarer and warning him of dangers, and a battle cry arousing a powerful revolutionary passion and will to action.

From December.

Lenin takes part in negotiations on the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya* with Pyotr Struve who has come to Munich regarding the forms joint publishing activity will take abroad. He writes a draft agreement of the *Iskra* and *Zarya* group with representatives of "legal Marxism" on the joint publication of *Modern Survey* as a supplement to the *Zarya* journal. Lenin proposes that negotiations be stopped because of Struve's obvious desire to use Social-Democratic publications exclusively in the interests of his own group.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Other people also came to Munich. Struve had been there before my arrival. Things were already heading for a break-up with him. He was passing

A view of Simbirsk in the
1870s.



Документы

Handwritten text in Cyrillic script, likely a birth certificate or official document.

Second paragraph of handwritten text in Cyrillic script.

Third paragraph of handwritten text in Cyrillic script.

Fourth paragraph of handwritten text in Cyrillic script.

The birth certificate of Vladimir Ulyanov.



The outbuilding in the court of the house in Streletskaya Street where Lenin was born.

Handwritten signature or name in Cyrillic script.

Official stamp and additional handwritten text at the bottom of the document.



Maria and Ilya Ulyanov
with their children: Olga,
Alexander and Anna
(standing), Maria, Dmitri
and Vladimir.

Nikolai Chernyshevsky (1828-1889) was among Russia's 19th-century revolutionary democrats (V. G. Belinsky, A. I. Herzen, N. A. Dobrolyubov, D. I. Pisarev) whose works nurtured Lenin's spiritual education.



Women barage haulers on the river Volga.

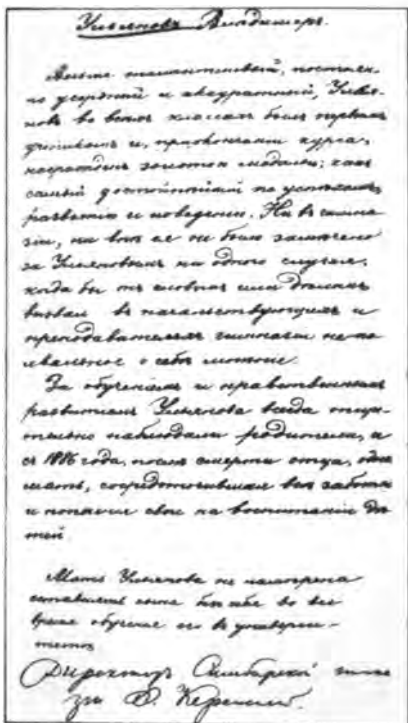


A typical picture: seasonal workers and peasants who have come to town in search of a living waiting to be hired.



Young Vladimir was immensely influenced by his elder brother Alexander who was an unquestioned authority for him. Alexander Ulyanov was an excellent student of St. Petersburg University, and his studies in zoology and chemistry drew the attention of some outstanding scientists, including the great Mendeleev. But Alexander chose a different road, that of struggle against the tsarist autocracy. He was executed in May 1887 for his participation in an attempt on the tsar's life. Vladimir was shocked by his brother's execution. However, it was this that made him give serious thought to the ways and means of struggle. He resolutely rejected the path of individual terrorism chosen by his brother.

In 1887 Vladimir Ulyanov entered Kazan University.



Vladimir's application to the university chancellor requesting permission to leave the university, dated December 5, 1887.



The house in Kazan where Lenin was arrested on the night of December 4-5, 1887.



The prison near the walls of the Kazan Kremlin where Lenin was held after his arrest.

The village of Kokushkino.





Nikolai Fedoseyev, one of the first Russian Marxist revolutionaries, organizer of secret revolutionary circles in Kazan.



On September 12, 1888 Lenin wrote an application to the Minister of the Interior requesting permission to go abroad to continue his education. The request was declined in view of Lenin being considered "an unreliable person."

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels with whose works Lenin became acquainted at that time.



Samara at the end of
the 19th century.



Lenin at the age of 21.



Members of the first Marxist circle Alexander Skliarenko and Isaak Lalayants.



Works of the founders of Marxism which the members of the Samara circle studied.



The public library in Samara which Lenin frequently visited.



St. Petersburg at the end of the 19th century.

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9 Сент
8 Сентября

28900

1893 д.

Въ Департаментъ Полиціи.

Состоящій подъ негласнымъ надзоромъ по-
лиціи

Фамилія Ульяновъ

Имя Владиміръ

Отчество Ильичъ

Званіе Сынъ Дмитрія Степан. Новикова

Пробылъ 21 Августа 1893 г. въ С.-Петербур-
бургъ и поселился въ Д. № 38 по Александрову ул.
4 зр. Алтайской г.

* 1654

"7" Сентября 1893 г.

С.-Петербургскаго
Городначальника.



Report of the St. Petersburg secret police division to the Police Department on Vladimir Ulyanov's arrival in the city.



Ivan Babushkin and Vasili Shelgunov were the first workers who attended Marxist circles in St. Petersburg.



The circle was conducted by Lenin in Vasili Shelgunov's room at this house in the outskirts of St. Petersburg.

Nadezhda Krupskaya. 1895.

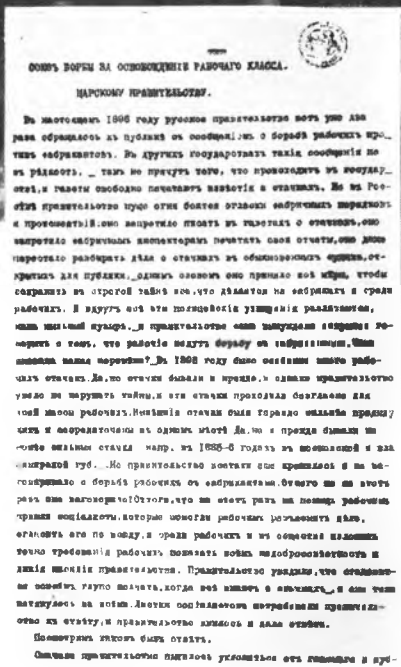




Cover of the third edition of *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats.*

The building of the Royal Public Library in Berlin where Lenin worked in 1895.





Leaders of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class: Starkov, Krzhizhanovsky, Ulyanov, Martov, Malchenko, Zaporozhets and Vaneyev. 1897.

The leaflet "To the Tsarist Government" written by Lenin in prison in 1896.



Members of the
Moscow Workers'
Union Dmitri Ulyanov,
Maria Ulyanova and
Mark Yelizarov. 1900.

The remote village of
Shushenskoye where
Lenin spent three
years of his Siberian
exile.



This photograph of Lenin taken in 1900 was presented by him to O. A. Engberg with the inscription: "To Comrade Oscar A-ch in memory of our life together from 1897-1900."

Nadezhda Krupskaya with her mother Yelizaveta during her Siberian exile. 1898.

The 1st Congress of the RSDLP was held in this house in Minsk in March 1898.

ИЗДАНИЕ М. И. ВОДОВОЗОВОЙ.

Владимир Ильинъ

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Типо-литография А. Лефевра, Вол. Морская, 65.
1899.

The cover of Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* published by M. I. Vodovozova's publishing house in St. Petersburg in 1899.



Lenin's sister Anna assisted him greatly when he was working on *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. She sent to him in Shushenskoye the necessary literature, prepared the book for printing and corrected the proofs.



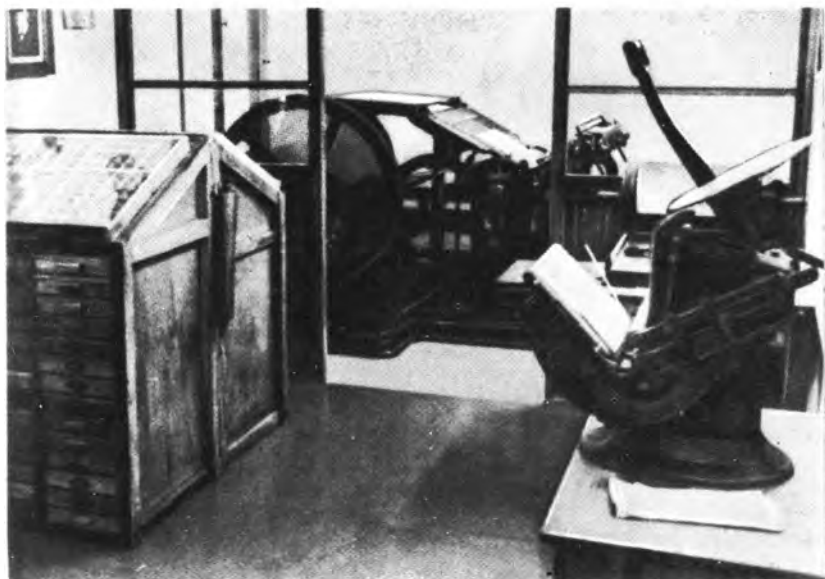
Works written by Lenin in exile: *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* and *Economic Studies and Essays*.



The house in Ufa where Nadezhda Krupskaya served the last year of her exile.



The printshop of the newspaper *Iskra*.



◀ The house in the village of Yermakovskoye where a conference was held of 17 exiled Marxists who signed "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" criticizing the ideology and politics of "economism."

◀ The house in Pskov where Lenin lived after his return from exile.



The house in
Kaiserstrasse, Munich,
where Lenin lived at the
end of 1900 and the
beginning of 1901.



Ivan Babushkin, Nikolai Bauman, Zinaida Krzhizhanovskaya, Gleb Krzhizhanovsky, Maxim Litvinov, Fridrikh Lenghik and Panteleymon Lepeshinsky were *Iskra's* distributors in Russia.



The house in Munich where meetings of the *Iskra* editorial board were held between 1900 and 1902.



№ 2-3

Декабрь
1901-го г.



В
ИЗДАНИИ
№ 2-3
December 1901

ЗАРЯ

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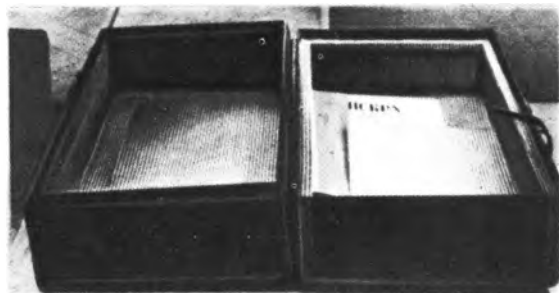
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1901

Cover of *Zarya*, a
theoretical and political
journal of the Russian
Social-Democrats.



Objects used for the secret transportation of *Iskra* to Russia.



The collection *Songs of the Revolution* published by *Iskra* in 1902-1903.



The house in Kishinev where articles and some complete issues of *Iskra* were printed in the newspaper's first secret printshop.



Lenin was often to be seen in the reading room of the British Museum.

Lenin edited the Party's newspaper at 37a Clerkenwell Green, London.

Lenin and Krupskaya lived in this house in London in 1902-1903.

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

Н. ЛЕНИНА.

The cover of Lenin's book
What Is To Be Done?
published in Stuttgart in
1902.

...Партизанская борьба приводит партию
к глупости и неискренности. Исключительный доклад

The dossier started by the
tsarist Police Department
on Lenin's book.

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Что дѣлать Грота, Ленин
Н. Ленина (получено из Цесаревича)
Копія. Это секретное дѣло.
Получено 3. Апрель 1902.
Копія 2. Май 1902 г.
ИЗ 2 ЛИСТОВЪ.



The 2nd RSDLP Congress opened at the end of July 1903 in Brussels (it was later forced by police persecution to move to London). The delegates of the congress represented 26 Party organizations of Russia.

Notes made by Lenin during the work of the congress.





The cover of the full text of the records of the 2nd RSDLP Congress.

The reading room of the public library at Geneva University where Lenin worked on his book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. A form filled in by Lenin at the library Société de Lecture in Geneva.

SOCIÉTÉ DE LECTURE

Grand'Rue, 11, Genève

Est présenté pour devenir membre
affilié de la Société

Monsieur, (nom et prénom) *N. Ladonov
Oulianoff*

déjà de la Société *1870*

adresse *3 Rue de la Chapelle, S. Genève.*

profession *Publiciste*

origine *Russe*

Il est présenté par Messieurs:
*Paul Bourkoff
Armand Deschamps.*

Genève, le 12 Décembre 1904

Le Secrétaire

Paul Bourkoff





The house in Secheron, a suburb of Geneva, where Lenin lived in 1903-1904.

Cafe Landolt in Geneva where Russian Social-Democrats met.



The main points of Lenin's report on the situation within the Party, 1904.



Beaumont, le 9 décembre 1904

Weyden usm
Prepepame.

1. *Справка по делу о выборах в комитет по подготовке съезда (ссылка на протокол), представляющая собой отчет о работе комитета и о деятельности его членов.*
2. *Отчет о работе, сделанный в течение года, с указанием на успехи и на недостатки работы.*
3. *Вопрос о выборе кандидатур (ссылка на протокол), представляющий собой отчет о работе комитета по выбору кандидатур и о деятельности его членов.*
4. *Справка, представляющая собой отчет о работе комитета по подготовке съезда.*



A conference of 22 Bolsheviks held in August 1904 in the Swiss town of Carouge adopted an appeal to the Party calling on all Bolshevik organizations in Russia to campaign for the convocation of the 3rd Party Congress.

from the Social-Democratic to the liberal camp. On the occasion of his last visit there had been a serious clash. Vera Zasulich had nicknamed him "the book-fed calf." Both Vladimir and Plekhanov had given upon him, but Vera Zasulich still thought there was hope. We jokingly called her and Potresov the "Struve-freundliche Partei."

1901

Not before February 8.

The second issue of *Iskra* is published.

February 15.

Lenin travels from Munich to Prague in order to organize Krupskaya's coming abroad.

February 17.

Lenin leaves Prague and goes to Vienna for two days in search of a Russian consulate where his signature on his application can be certified enabling his wife to be issued with a passport.

February 28.

Lenin receives a letter from Plekhanov in Geneva with lavish comments of the second issue of *Iskra*.

February.

Lenin meets a representative of the Kishinev group of Social-Democrats who has arrived from Russia and talks with him about establishing an illegal printshop in Kishinev for printing *Iskra* and related literature.

Not later than March 3.

Akselrod informs Lenin in a letter from Zurich that the second issue of *Iskra* and other material he has taken have been sent to Russia.

March 7.

Replying to Akselrod's letter Lenin writes about the success of the second issue of *Iskra* in Russia and about mass political demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkov and Kazan.

March 9.

In a letter to Fyodor Dan* in Berlin, Lenin asks him to step up fund raising for the newspaper and asks for information regarding how matters stand concerning the transportation of *Iskra* to Russia.

March 10.

The first issue of the journal *Zarya* is published. It includes three articles written by Lenin under the same title, "Casual Notes."

Not later than April 1.

Nadezhda Krupskaya comes from Ufa to join Lenin in Munich.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

When I came to Munich, Vladimir was living without a residence permit. His little room was inconvenient, he lived like a bachelor and had his mid-day

* *F. I. Dan* (Gurvich) (1871-1947) took part in the revolutionary movement from the 1890s. He became a Menshevik leader after the 2nd RSDLP Congress. During the First World War he was an ardent supporter of "bringing the war to a victorious end." After the victory of the October 1917 revolution he became an active and irreconcilable enemy of Soviet Russia.

meals at a German woman's. Morning and evening he would make tea which he drank from a tin cup which he would wash thoroughly, wipe and then hang on a nail near the sink.

After April 1.

After Krupskaya's arrival Lenin moves to another apartment where he lives with a passport made out in the name of a Bulgarian Doctor of Law Jordan K. Jordanov.

April 6.

Lenin writes a letter in German to Stockholm stating the intention of *Iskra's* editorial board to establish close contacts with Swedish and Finnish Social-Democrats. He asks for a permanent Finnish correspondent to be found for *Iskra* and *Zarya* in order to write about the political situation in Finland and about the Finns' struggle against the autocracy.

April 9.

In a letter to Berlin written together with Krupskaya, Lenin inquires about the delivery to St. Petersburg of an *Iskra* leaflet concerning May Day, advises the Berlin group backing *Iskra* to intensify fund raising in Berlin for the transportation of literature, and recommends that the offer of Polish Social-Democrats to render assistance in the transportation of *Iskra* literature to Russia be accepted.

April 12.

Lenin acquaints the Emancipation of Labor group with a plan to unite all Russian revolutionary Social-Democratic organizations in a League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad.

Not later than April 14.

Lenin sends to Radchenko, *Iskra's* agent in Poltava, the plan of a letter written by Krupskaya on his instructions. The

letter gives advice on how *Iskra* literature should be dispatched and its distribution at various places, expresses the view of *Iskra*'s editorial board regarding the undesirability of supporting the initiative of the editorial board of the journal *Rabocheye Delo* for convening the 2nd Congress of Russian Social-Democrats, and stresses the importance of intensifying the activity of the Russian organization of *Iskra*.

Ivan Radchenko:

I was acquainted with Lenin from 1900 on. During our meetings he taught me the art of organization as applied to revolutionary work. After he left abroad I continued to receive directions from him, now in a written form. from 1900-1902. While then the organizer of *Iskra*'s "technology," he taught me how to organize workers' circles and how to conduct the Party's general line at that time in the struggle against the "economists" who published the newspaper *Rabocheye Delo*. He taught me, finally, how to prepare Russian organizations of professional revolutionary Social-Democrats for the 2nd Party Congress.

April 18.

Lenin and Krupskaya attend a May Day demonstration of German workers.

April 19.

The third issue of *Iskra* is published including in it Lenin's article "The Workers' Party and the Peasantry."

End of April.

Lenin takes part in a conference of the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya* which discusses the plan to establish a League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad and its draft rules.

April.

Lenin begins to work on his book *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Vladimir had then started writing *What Is To Be Done?* When he wrote he would usually pace swiftly up and down the room, muttering what he was going to write. I had already adapted myself to this mode of working, and when he was writing I never spoke to him or asked him any questions. Afterwards, when we went out for a walk, he would tell me what he had written and what he was thinking about. This became as much a necessity for him as muttering his article to himself before putting it down in writing. We went for long rambles on the outskirts of Munich, choosing the loniest spots where there were fewer people about.

May 5.

Lenin and Krupskaya move to a new apartment.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

A month later we moved into an apartment of our own in Schwabing, a suburb of Munich, in one of the numerous newly erected buildings, and got ourselves some furniture (we sold it all for twelve marks when we left). We now settled down to real home life.

After lunch, which was at twelve, Martov and others came to attend what might be called an editorial meeting.

After May 5—December.

Lenin has numerous meetings with German Social-Democrats who have helped organize the printing of *Iskra* and *Zarya*.

May 12.

Lenin writes a letter to Akselrod in Zurich about the proposal put forward by the Parisian group Borba ("Struggle") regarding the beginning of negotiations on merging the foreign organizations of the RSDLP.

May 13-15.

Lenin's article "Where to Begin," which set forth a concrete plan of building a revolutionary party of the working class in Russia, is printed as an editorial of the fourth issue of *Iskra*.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

We had no transport facilities as yet for smuggling *Iskra* into Russia. It was mainly sent in double-bottom suitcases with various travellers who delivered them at secret addresses in Russia. One such secret rendezvous was at the Lepeshinskys' in Pskov. Another was in Kiev, and still another in some other town. The comrades in Russia took the literature out of the suitcases and handed it over to the organization. Shipments had only just begun through the Letts Rolau and Skubik. All this took up a lot of our time.

May.

In Schwabing Lenin meets Rosa Luxemburg* for the first time and talks about her participation in the journal *Zarya*.

June 12 or 13.

Lenin writes in a letter to Bauman in Moscow about the news from Latvia on the possibility of shipping literature across the border.

Before June 24.

Lenin meets Karl Kautsky making a stopover in Munich and discusses various questions regarding the activity of

* *Rosa Luxemburg* (1871-1919) was a prominent figure in the German, Polish and international workers' movement, one of the leaders of the Left wing of the German Social-Democrats, and from the end of 1919 a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. She was brutally murdered by counterrevolutionaries.—*Ed.*

Social-Democrats and, in particular, Kautsky's contribution as an author to *Zarya*.

June 24.

In his letter to Plekhanov in Geneva, Lenin informs him about reports from Russia on preparations for the 2nd RSDLP Congress; he stresses the importance of speeding up the drafting of a party program.

June 26.

Lenin meets comrades on their way from London to Russia as *Iskra* agents and talks with them about work at the local level.

June 30.

In his letter to Plekhanov in Geneva, Lenin writes that he has begun to work on the article "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'". He thanks Plekhanov for his offer to send material on France and Belgium and asks Plekhanov to send him the book *Zur Grund und Bodenfrage* ("On the Agrarian Question") by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

July 17.

Lenin expresses satisfaction at the news he has learned from Plekhanov's letter from Vaud Canton in Switzerland that Plekhanov has begun to work on the party program. He thanks Plekhanov for books on the agrarian question the latter has sent him.

Between July 18 and 30.

Lenin sends a coded telegram to Baku on behalf of *Iskra*'s editorial board agreeing to have *Iskra* printed in an underground printshop in the Caucasus.

July 21.

Lenin writes a consolatory letter to his mother, in Podolsk, telling her that the investigations in the case of his sister, Maria Ulyanova, and M. T. Yelizarov* will soon be concluded and expresses the hope that Maria will not be exiled far away from Moscow. He also asks when his brother, Dmitri, will be going to Yuriev** to take examinations and what his plans for the future are.

From September 3.

Lenin repeatedly meets with the Krzhizhanovsky couple who have come from Russia to visit him. He also agrees with them on a plan regarding the formation of a central *Iskra* organization in Russia.

Between September 16 and 19.

Lenin leaves Munich for Zurich in order to attend a congress of foreign organizations of the RSDLP.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

We went to Zurich in October to amalgamate with *Rabocheye Delo*. Nothing came of it, however. Martov worked himself up to such a pitch in his attack on *Rabocheye Delo*'s adherents that he even tore his tie off. I had never seen him get like that before. Plekhanov scintillated with wit. A resolution was drawn up to the effect stating that amalgamation was impossible. Dan read it out at the conference in a wooden voice. "Papal nuncio," his opponents shouted at him.

This split was a painless one. Martov and Lenin had not collaborated with *Rabocheye Delo*, and strictly speaking no break had occurred since there had never been any cooperation. On the other hand, Plekhanov was triumphant, for the opponent he had been grappling with for so long was at last worsted.

* They were accused of having contacts with revolutionary emigrants and of assisting in the transportation of political literature to Russia.—*Ed.*

** Now Tartu.—*Ed.*

September 22 or 23.

Lenin attends a conference of members of *Iskra's* organizations abroad—*Zarya* and the *Social-Democrat*—that have merged into the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad.

Lenin leaves Zurich for Munich.

November—December.

Lenin works on the book *What Is To Be Done?*

Before December 6.

Lenin writes a message of greeting to Plekhanov on behalf of the *Iskra* editorial board in order to mark the 25th anniversary of his revolutionary activity.

Before December 21.

Replying to a letter from Kishinev concerning a proposed congress of *Iskra's* agents in southern Russia, Lenin writes of the readiness of the *Iskra* editorial board to help the organization of southern *Iskra* agents that is in the process of being formed; he advises that the congress should set up an executive committee and stresses that the committee should concern itself with the whole of Russia, and not with one particular region, since the entire future of *Iskra* depends on whether it will be able to overcome local amateurish activities and regional separation and become a genuinely all-Russian newspaper.

1902

January 8.

Lenin attends a conference of *Iskra's* editorial board held at his apartment in Schwabing; he criticizes the first draft of

the program which Plekhanov has written and suggests which amendments should be made.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Iskra was going well. Its influence was increasing. The Party program was being prepared for the congress. Plekhanov and Akselrod came to Munich to discuss it. Plekhanov attacked parts of the draft program which Lenin had drawn up. Vera Zasulich did not agree with Lenin on all points, but neither did she agree entirely with Plekhanov. Akselrod also agreed with Lenin on some points. The meeting was a painful one. Vera Zasulich wanted to argue with Plekhanov, but he looked so forbidding, staring at her with his arms folded on his chest, that she was thrown off balance. Vladimir was terribly upset. Working in this way was impossible. The discussion was so unbusinesslike. Organizing the work on a businesslike footing without introducing any personal element into it, and thus ensuring that caprice or personal relations associated with the past would not have any influence on decisions, had now become a clear necessity. All the differences with Plekhanov distressed Vladimir greatly. He fretted and did not sleep at night. Plekhanov on the other hand was sulky and resentful. After reading through Vladimir's article for the fourth number of *Zarya*, Plekhanov returned it to Vera Zasulich with marginal notes in which he gave full vent to his annoyance. When Vladimir saw them he was greatly upset.

From January 8.

Lenin drafts the RSDLP program.

Middle of January.

Work on the book *What Is To Be Done?* is completed.

January 25.

In a letter to Plekhanov in Geneva, Lenin asks him to indicate what parts of the draft program being sent to him do not satisfy him, and whether he would introduce his amendments or set forth his version of the draft; he also asks Plekhanov about his work on an article for the journal *Zarya*.

Beginning of March.

Lenin's book *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement* is published by Dietz publishers in Stuttgart.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

The pamphlet was an ardent appeal for organization. It outlined a broad plan of organization in which everyone would have a role to fulfil. The pamphlet urged the necessity of making intensive and tireless efforts to build the foundation that had to be laid if the Party was to be something that existed through its actions and not just through its words under the conditions then prevailing in Russia.

Before March 14.

The question is discussed of shifting the publication of *Iskra* to London due to police surveillance in Munich.

March 30.

Lenin and Krupskaya leave Munich for London. On the train Lenin writes notes on the draft program of the RSDLP which have been drawn up by the conciliatory committee of *Iskra*'s editorial board. He writes: "as it is, it would be better if the illustrious committee goes over it once more, thinks it over, digests it and gives us a draft of its own, an integral draft, rather than one that has been pasted together."

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

We looked back on this time in Munich afterwards as a bright period. Our later years spent in emigration were a much more distressing experience. During the Munich days the right in personal relations between Lenin, Martov, Potresov and Zasluch were not so deep. All energy was concentrated upon a single object, the setting up of an all-Russian newspaper. An intensive rallying of forces had occurred around *Iskra*. Everyone had the feeling of the organization growing, the sense that the path for creating the party had been rightly chosen.

Beginning of April.

Lenin and Krupskaya arrive in London.

Nikolai Alexeyev*:

For a little over a week Lenin and Krupskaya lived in one of the numerous London "bed-sitters" offered by poorer landlords. Then they found two unfurnished rooms near King Cross Road. Until *Iskra* moved to Switzerland in the spring of 1903 Lenin and Krupskaya lived permanently in these two rooms for which very modest furniture (bedsteads, tables, chairs and a few plain bookshelves) had to be obtained. Krupskaya herself did all the daily chores, such as buying provisions, cooking on a kerosene stove washing floors, etc.

April 4.

Lenin conducts negotiations with Harry Quelch, editor of *Justice*, the central organ of the British Social-Democratic Federation, on the use of that newspaper's printshop for printing *Iskra*.

April 8.

Signing himself Jacob Richter, Lenin writes a letter to the director of the British Museum, asking if he might be issued a ticket to visit the museum's reading room in order to study the agrarian question.

Not before April 12.

Lenin receives a notification from the director of the British Museum that a ticket for admission to the museum's reading room could be issued to him for six months upon producing the notification in hand to the person in charge of the reading room.

* *N. A. Alexeyev* (1873-1972), a participant in the Russian revolutionary movement from 1897, was a member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, an agent of and contributor to *Iskra*, and took part in the struggle for Soviet power in Siberia. He was engaged in research and educational activity after the October 1917 revolution and wrote historical and journalistic works.

April 22.

Lenin adds a postscript to Krupskaya's letter to Pskov concerning the establishment of a staging post in Vardo (Norway) for the transportation of illegal literature to Russia; he thanks the Pskov comrades for the books on statistics he has received from them and asks them to send him material on the evaluation of lands in Vladimir Province.

April 23.

Lenin writes to Krzhizhanovsky in Samara of his suspicion that Dan, *Iskra's* delegate at a Social-Democratic conference held in Belostok (western Russia), has been arrested; he proposes going underground immediately and sets forth, as the main task in connection with the decision of the Belostok conference, to form an organizing committee for the convocation of the 2nd RSDLP Congress, ensuring the support of Iskraists by local Party committees, especially in central and southern Russia and in the Urals.

April 25.

In a letter to his mother in Samara Lenin writes that he hopes she will soon come to see him, recommends the most convenient route and asks whether she has corresponded with Krupskaya in St. Petersburg at the time.

After April 27.

Lenin and Krupskaya, eager to improve their knowledge of English, take lessons from Mr. Raymond, a publishing house employee, Mr. Williams, a clerk, and Mr. Young, a worker, to whom they give Russian lessons in return.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

We found ourselves rather helpless. We thought we knew English, what with having in fact translated a thick book from English into Russian (the

Webbs' book) while in Siberia. I had studied English in prison using a self-instructor but had never heard a word of spoken English. When we started translating the Webbs in Shushenskoye, Vladimir was horrified at my pronunciation. I did not argue, and started learning all over again. When we arrived in London we found we could not understand a thing, and that nobody could understand us. At first this got us into comical situations. It amused Vladimir, but at the same time put him on his mettle. He tackled English in earnest. We started going to all kinds of meetings, getting as close as we could to speakers and carefully watching their mouths. Listening to English speech helped us a lot. Later, through an advertisement, Vladimir found two Englishmen, wanting to take Russian lessons in exchange for English, and began studying assiduously with them. He got to know the language fairly well.*

After May 8.

Lenin acquaints himself with Ivan Radchenko's** letters from Samara and Pskov to *Iskra's* editorial board concerning the distribution of *Iskra* and literature promoted by it and the establishment of contacts with *Iskra* agents. "We badly need more copies of the newspaper's latest issues and of *What Is To Be Done?*", Radchenko writes. "We have been giving the booklet only to those who need it for their work and have no copies to spare for the general reader, while the demand for it is very great. This booklet carried on an immense, splendid evolution."

* During his time in London Lenin often met Russian Social-Democrats living in the city or paying a visit and also prominent figures of the British working-class movement. He went quite often together with Krupskaya to hear debates at Hyde Park, to museums, especially the museum of the 1848 revolution, public houses, reading rooms and churches where services were usually followed by various reports and discussions, in particular the Seven Sisters Church where Social-Democrats often took part in debates. Lenin and Krupskaya travelled a great deal about London either by cab or on foot in order to get acquainted with life in workers' areas; they attended mass meetings at Whitechapel, the well-known workers' district of London. They also visited the city's suburbs, mostly Primrose Hill and Highgate Cemetery where they paid homage to the grave of Karl Marx.—Ed.

** I. I. Radchenko (1874-1942) joined the revolutionary movement in 1898. He was a member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, an active supporter of *Iskra* in Russia and a participant in the three Russian revolutions. He was a prominent economic executive in 1918-1931.—Ed.

June 1.

No. 21 of *Iskra* publishes a draft program of the RSDLP drawn up by the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*.

June 13 or 14.

Lenin leaves London for Paris.

Second half of June—July 12.

Lenin lives in Loguivie (in Brittany, on the northern coast of France) with his mother and sister Anna.

After June 26.

Lenin receives a letter from Martov in Paris along with the text of the proposals of the foreign department of the organizing committee for the convocation of the 2nd RSDLP Congress to the Russian Organizing Committee.

July 3.

In his letter to I. I. Radchenko in St. Petersburg Lenin writes: "Be sure to pass this on to your workers, with our request that they themselves should write to us *not only for publication*, but simply to exchange ideas and not to lose contact and mutual understanding"; he is also interested in the workers' opinion of his book *What Is To Be Done?* and discusses the basic practical tasks for uniting the St. Petersburg RSDLP organization along *Iskra* principles and also the composition of the Russian organizing committee for convening the 2nd RSDLP Congress.

July 12.

Lenin leaves Loguivie for London.

August 2.

Lenin conducts a conference of Iskraits in London who have represented the St. Petersburg RSDLP Committee, *Iskra's* Russian organization and the Northern Workers' Union, at which an *Iskra*-oriented nucleus has been formed of the organizing committee for the convening of the 2nd Party Congress.

September 1.

In Lenin's letter to his mother in Samara, he asks whether her return from abroad was not too tiring and writes that he has received intact photographs of his brother, Alexander Ulyanov, sent to him by sister Anna.

Between September 1 and 11.

Lenin writes "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks" in which he develops the plan for building the Party.

September 3.

Replying to a letter from the Southern Worker group, Lenin writes of the need to build an all-Russian organization which would prepare "the ideological unity of committees and the practical organizational unity of the Party"; he recommends a leaflet be issued soon or that a statement be printed in *Iskra* defining the group's position within the Party, he also advises against hurrying the publication of a local newspaper saying that all Party forces must be concentrated on the publishing of *Iskra*.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Vladimir played a special part in the struggle for the correct structure of the organizations. His "Letter to Yerema," better known as "Letter to a Comrade," played an exceptionally important role in organizing the Party. It

helped to strengthen the worker element in the Party and ensure that the workers actively cooperated in deciding all urgent questions of policy. It broke down the wall which the adherents of *Rabocheye Delo* had erected between the workman and the intellectual.

September 14.

In a letter to his mother Lenin inquires about her health and what plans she is making to prepare for the winter. He tells her that he is spending a great deal of time in libraries.

September.

Lenin has talks with Ivan Babushkin who has come to London after escaping from prison. Plekhanov, who has come from Geneva, is also present at the talks during which the immediate tasks of *Iskra* organizations in Russia are discussed; Lenin asks Babushkin to write down reminiscences about his revolutionary activity.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Babushkin, who had escaped from prison in Ekaterinoslav, arrived at the beginning of September 1902. Where politics were concerned, he had developed beyond recognition during this time. He was now an experienced revolutionary who could think for himself, a man familiar with all types of working class organizations, and who, being a worker himself, had nothing to learn in the matter of approaching the workers.

At that time Plekhanov arrived in London. A meeting was arranged with Babushkin. Russian affairs were discussed. Babushkin had opinions of his own and stood up for them very firmly, so much so that Plekhanov was impressed and began to study him more closely. With regard to his future work in Russia, though, Babushkin spoke to no one but Vladimir, with whom he was particularly intimate.

He soon left for Russia. We did not see him any more. He was seized in Siberia in 1906 with a consignment of arms and was shot with other comrades over an open grave.

September.

Lenin meets Bauman and other comrades* who have escaped from a Kiev prison and left the country.

October 27.

Lenin leaves London for Switzerland in order to read a report on the program and tactics of the Party of the Socialist Revolutionaries.

Before November 28.

Lenin attends a conference of the *Iskra's* editorial board, which discusses the agenda for the 2nd RSDLP Congress. Lenin keeps to his proposal that the question regarding the Party's central organ should be one of the first to be discussed by the congress.

December 14.

In his reply to a letter by Fridrikh Lengnik from Kiev in which he writes that the Kiev RSDLP Committee has been seized by "economists," Lenin stresses the necessity of entering the committee immediately and waging a resolute struggle with "economists"; he also writes that *Iskra's* literature would soon be arriving in Kiev and urges that some of it be forwarded to St. Petersburg.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Intensive preparations for the congress went ahead all winter. An Organizing Committee (O.C.—*Ed.*) for preparing the congress was established in December 1902. The word "organizing" was very much to the

* Russian *Iskra* adherents held a conference of representatives of the St. Petersburg RSDLP Committee, the Russian *Iskra* organization and the newspaper *Yuzhny Rabochy* (Southern Worker) in Pskov in November, which formed the *organizing committee for the convocation of the 2nd Congress of the Party.*—*Ed.*

point. Without the O.C. it would not have been possible to convene the congress. The complicated task of organizationally and ideologically coordinating bodies which were either newly formed or still in the process of formation, and arranging for their representation at a congress to be held abroad, had to be carried out under the extremely difficult conditions of a police state. Actually, the entire work of communicating with the O.C. devolved on Vladimir. Correspondence with Russia made his nerves very bad. Those weeks and months of waiting for answers to his letters, the constant state of uncertainty and suspense, were anything but congenial to Vladimir's character.

I shall never forget those sleepless nights. It was Vladimir's passionate desire to create a united and solid party and that all the detached groups whose attitude to the party was based on personal sympathies or antipathies would merge into one. He dreamt of a party where there would be no artificial barriers, national ones included.

1903

January 14.

In his letter to Krzhizhanovsky in Samara, Lenin outlines his views regarding the causes for the inadequate work done by the organizing committee for convening the 2nd Congress of the Party and on the advisability of Krzhizhanovsky's going to Poltava to direct the activity of the O.C.

January 22 or 23.

In his letter to the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad in Paris Lenin writes on behalf of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad that the League shares the opinion of the Union on the necessity of setting up a foreign section of the Russian Organizing Committee.

Before February 10.

Lenin prepares lectures to be read in Paris and studies literature on the agrarian question.

February 10-13.

Lenin reads four lectures at the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris on the subject "Marxist Views on the Agrarian Question in Europe and in Russia."

Not later than February 18.

Lenin works at the National Library in Paris, preparing a report on the agrarian policy of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats and making notes on literature on the agrarian question.

February 18-21.

Lenin delivers his report at a meeting of Russian political emigrants in Paris. He is present when the report is discussed, notes down his comments, prepares the plans and summaries of his concluding speech, then makes the concluding speech.

February 24.

Lenin returns from Paris to London.

Between March 1 and 28.

Lenin works on the booklet *To the Rural Poor. An Explanation for the Peasants of What the Social-Democrats Want*. He collects material on the economic state of the peasantry and draws up statistical tables. He writes four versions of his plan for the booklet; and edits the booklet's final text.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

One job in London, which did not play on Vladimir's nerves but, rather, gave him satisfaction, was writing the pamphlet *To the Rural Poor*. The peasant uprisings of 1902 suggested to him that it was necessary to write a

pamphlet for the peasants. In it he explained what the workers' party was all about and why the peasant poor should side with the workers. This was the first pamphlet where Lenin addressed himself to the peasantry.

Before March 5.

Lenin addresses a meeting of emigrant workers from Russia in Whitechapel (London) with the report "Narodism and Social-Democracy" which is directed against the program and tactics of the Socialist Revolutionaries.

March 5.*

Lenin delivers a speech on the anniversary of the Paris Commune before emigrant workers from Russia at a mass meeting held in Whitechapel.

Another speaker at the meeting is Louise Michel, one of the Communards.

End of April.

Lenin falls ill before he and Krupskaya are about to depart for Geneva, a move to be made because of the transfer there of the publication of *Iskra*.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Soon the Emancipation of Labor group once more raised the question of moving to Geneva, and this time Vladimir had been the only one to vote against it. We began making preparations for the journey. Vladimir's nerves were in such a bad state that he developed a grave nervous disease called "holy fire" caused by the inflammation of the nerve endings in the back and chest. As soon as I saw the rash on his skin I looked up a medical handbook. It seemed to me to be ringworm, and I painted Vladimir with iodine, which caused him excruciating pain. It had not occurred to us to send for an English doctor, as that would have cost a lot. Workers in England are usually their own doctors, since medical assistance is very expensive. During the journey to Geneva, Vladimir tossed about on the berth in great pain, and on arriving there he took to bed and stayed there for a fortnight.

* March 18 New Style, Paris Commune Day.—*Ed.*

Beginning of May.

Lenin resumes editing *Iskra* and making preparations for the Second Party Congress.

Second half of May—June.

Lenin writes the first draft of the Party Rules.

May—June.

Lenin delivers lectures on the agrarian question in several Swiss towns. A young woman listening later writes to St. Petersburg: "Lenin is now reading lectures here on the agrarian question. What a talented person he is!"

After June 20.

Numerous requests are received from local Social-Democratic committees for Lenin's pamphlet *To the Rural Poor*.

End of June—beginning of July.

Lenin contributes the money earned from lectures he read in Berne to the *Iskra* fund.

June—first half of July.

Lenin gets acquainted with delegates who have arrived for the 2nd RSDLP Congress and takes an active part in conferences among members of *Iskra's* editorial board with *Iskraist* congress delegates in order to work out a common position.

Before July 17.

During his talk with L. Martov and A. N. Potresov, members of *Iskra's* editorial board, Lenin acquaints them with his "Program of the 2nd Regular Congress of the RSDLP." He

writes the final version of the draft Party Rules which he later submits to the rules commission of the 2nd Congress and which differs from the second version in that it defines the Party Council not as being the arbitration but the supreme body of the Party. Lenin and L. Martov are elected delegates to the 2nd RSDLP Congress from the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad.

On the eve of the 2nd RSDLP Congress Lenin draws up a list of the congress delegates divided into groups in accordance with their expected attitude to *Iskra's* revolutionary principles. Lenin's prediction—32 *Iskraist* votes, 8 anti-*Iskra* votes and 11 uncertain votes (the center, or "the swamp")—coincides almost completely with the actual distribution of the votes at the congress (33 *Iskraist* votes, 8 anti-*Iskra* votes, and 10 centrists).

Lenin leaves Geneva for Brussels together with other delegates. On their arrival in Brussels Lenin takes special care of the accommodation and living conditions of the delegates, especially those who are unable to speak any foreign languages. He recommends the most interesting sights to be seen in the Belgian capital.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

How Vladimir had dreamt of such a congress! He always, as long as he lived, attached tremendous importance to Party congresses. He held the Party congress to be the highest authority, where all things personal had to be cast aside, where nothing was to be concealed, and everything was to be open and above board. He always took great pains when preparing for Party congresses, and was particularly careful when it came to thinking out his speeches.

July 17.

Lenin takes part in the first sitting of the 2nd RSDLP Congress which is declared open by G. V. Plekhanov at 2.55 p.m. By secret ballot Lenin is elected vice-chairman of the congress and member of its credentials commission.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Plekhanov had looked forward to the congress just as eagerly as Vladimir. He opened it. Everyone was excited. Plekhanov's speech, spoken with deep and genuine feeling, sounded very solemn. And no wonder! The long years of emigrant life seemed to be receding into the past. He was present at and opening a congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

The 2nd Congress was in effect inaugural in its character. The basic questions of theory were raised there, and the foundations of Party ideology were laid. At the 1st Congress only the Party's name and a manifesto on its formation had been adopted. The Party had had no program up to the time of the 2nd Congress. *Iskra's* editorial board had drafted such a program.

The evening and night of July 17-18.

Lenin takes part in a sitting of the congress's credentials commission.

July 19.

Lenin attends the morning session of the congress which discusses the second item on its agenda, the place of the Bund in the Party.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

A question of tremendous importance and one discussed at the 2nd Congress was that of the Bund. During the five years that had elapsed since the 1st Congress, the Party, practically speaking, had not existed as a united whole, and the Bund had led a separate existence. Now the Bund wanted to reaffirm this separateness and to establish merely federative relations with the RSDLP. The motive behind this was that the Bund, reflecting as it did the mood of the artisans of small Jewish towns, was much more interested in the economic than the political struggle, and therefore sympathized much more with the "economists" than with *Iskra*. The issue at stake was whether the country was to have a strong united workers' party, rallying solidly around it the workers of all nationalities living on Russian territory, or whether it was to have several workers' parties constituted separately according to nationality. It was a question of achieving international solidarity within the country. *Iskra's* editorial board stood for the international consolidation of the working class. The Bund stood for national separatism and merely friendly contractual relations between the national workers' parties of Russia. The stand taken by *Iskra's* editorial board as regards the Bund was resolutely supported by the organizing committee and many delegates from the audience. The thesis that national peculiarities must not interfere with the unity of Party work and the monolithic cohesion of the Social-Democratic movement was securely established.

July 24.

Lenin takes part in the evening session of the congress which continues to discuss reports of local Party committees. During the session the work of the congress in Brussels is interrupted due to the interference of the Belgian police.

Between July 24 and 29.

Together with Krupskaya and Bauman, Lenin travels to London where the 2nd RSDLP Congress continues its work. The route taken is Ostend—Dover—London.

Rozalia Zemlyachka*:

The 2nd Congress began in Brussels from which we were evicted by the police. We moved to London. It was either on our way to London or journeying back to Geneva that our ship ran into a storm. The ship was rolling and pitching violently. Nadezhda Krupskaya and I suffered awfully from sea sickness while Lenin paced along the deck, his cloth cap pulled down over his eyes, peeping every other minute into the cabin to check on our condition. He was very angry when one of our comrades suggested that he was holding out just for the sake of it and should really lie down like many of the others had. It was at that time or during another voyage that I watched him on the deck in stormy seas. Most of us were, as is the English custom, tied to armchairs and wrapped in plaids. Lenin, though, resolutely rejected that procedure.

July 29.

Lenin gives a speech on Party Rules.

Between July 29 and August 10.

During a talk with congress delegates, Lenin expresses his

* R. S. Zemlyachka (1876-1947) participated in the Social-Democratic movement from 1896, was an active Iskraist, took part in the 1905-1907 revolution and the armed uprising in Moscow in October 1917. She was a full-time Party worker during the 1920s and 1930s—Ed.

satisfaction with the fact that Plekhanov stood together with the majority (firm Iskraists) against the Martovites.

Evening of July 30.

Lenin takes part in the work of the commission for editing the draft Party Rules, which discusses L. Martov's amendment to the first clause* of the Rules and other debatable questions.

Rozalia Zemlyachka:

I remember the impression Lenin's speeches had on our opponents. The insipidity of their replies was obvious after Lenin's forceful statements and his iron, irrefutable logic. I was told by the Bundists and Mensheviks at the Second Congress and later by his other opponents that one needed some time after Lenin's clear and simple speeches in order to gather one's thoughts so dispersed had they been by those very speeches. At the end of the commission's session, Lenin took part in the name-by-name voting of the program as a whole. The RSDLP Program was approved unanimously (with one abstention).

August 2.

Lenin attends the evening session of the congress, makes detailed notes on the course of debates on the first clause of the Party Rules and makes a long speech in which he formulates the basic principle of the construction of a proletarian party in the following way: "It would be better if ten who do work did not call themselves Party members (real workers don't hunt after titles!) than that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member."

Lenin takes part in the name-by-name voting on clause 1 of the Rules, voting against Martov's formulation. Lenin's

* This clause defined the status of a Party member and the obligations he had to his Party organization. Martov was against stipulating that each Party member was obliged to support the party line through his personal participation in the work of one of its organizations.—*Ed.*

formulation of the first clause of the draft Rules is declined by a majority of Martovites ("soft" Iskraists), "economists" and Bundists.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

The dispute over the first clause of the Rules assumed an extremely acrimonious character. Lenin and Martov disagreed both on the political and organizational plane with regard to the question of clause 1 of the Party Rules. They had often disagreed before, but such differences had then been confined to narrow limits and had soon been sunk. Now they had come out at the congress, and everyone who had had a grudge against *Iskra*, against Plekhanov and Lenin, went out of his way to fan things up into a disagreement on a fundamental issue.

Beginning of August.

At the congress Lenin converses with one of the "center" delegates who has complained of the difficult conditions in which the congress has been conducted. "How oppressive the atmosphere is at our congress," Lenin wrote afterwards quoting the delegate's words. "What a splendid thing our congress is!" I replied. "A free and open struggle. Opinions have been stated. The shades have been brought out. The groups have taken shape. Hands have been raised. A decision has been taken. A stage has been passed. Forward! That's the stuff for me! That's life! That's not like the endless, tedious word-chopping which stops not because the question has been settled, but because people are too tired to talk any more..."

"The comrade of the 'center' stared at me in perplexity and shrugged his shoulders. We were talking in different languages."

August 4.

When the question of the national organizations and of the Bund is discussed, Lenin takes part in voting on clause 2 of the Bund Rules which state that the Bund is incorporated in the RSDLP as the only representative of the Jewish proletariat; Lenin joins the majority in voting against that

clause. The Bund delegation declare the Bund's withdrawal from the RSDLP and leave the congress. When discussing the statement made by the "economists" Martynov and Akimov in connection with the proposed clause, which in fact requires a reviewal of the Rules that have already been accepted, Lenin makes a speech explaining the fallacy of such a reviewal. Martynov and Akimov walk out of the congress, and the balance of forces at the congress changes in favor of firm Iskraists (Leninists).

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Vladimir moved that *Iskra's* editorial board should consist of three members. He had told Martov and Potresov about this proposal beforehand. It did not take long to persuade Martov that the three-man idea was directed against him, and that if he joined it he would be betraying Zaslulich, Potresov and Akselrod. Akselrod and Zaslulich were greatly upset.

Vladimir's nerves had been keyed up from the very beginning of the congress. In London he worried so much that he stopped sleeping altogether.

August 7.

Lenin is elected to the editorial board of the Central Organ (i.e. *Iskra—Ed.*) together with Plekhanov and Martov. When the congress passes over to the election of the Central Committee Lenin makes a speech, welcoming the existence of a "compact majority" at the congress and insisting on the immediate election of the Central Committee. The congress supports Lenin and declines Martov's proposal to put off the election of the Central Committee.

Lenin takes part in the election of the Central Committee by secret ballot; he votes for the list of candidates of the majority*.

* Lenin's adherents who received a majority of votes in the election of the Party's central institutions began to be known as Bolsheviks (from the Russian word *bolshinstvo*, which means "majority"), while his opponents became known as Mensheviks (from *menshinstvo*, or "minority").

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Although there were no differences among the overwhelming majority of the delegates on the question of the Bund's place in the Party, on the question of the program, and the acceptance of the *Iskra* line as their banner, a definite rift appeared half-way through the congress, and which towards the end went on to deepen. Strictly speaking, no serious differences standing in the way of joint work or making such work impossible had yet come to light at the congress. They existed in a latent form, however, potentially, so to speak. Yet the congress was clearly divided. Many were inclined to blame Plekhanov's tactlessness, Lenin's "vehemence" and ambition, and the unfair treatment of Zasluch and Akselrod—and they sided with those who had a grievance. They missed the essence of the matter by concentrating on personalities.

Between August 7 and 10.

Since Martov was refusing to be a member of the new editorial board of the Central Organ Lenin asks several delegates to talk with Martov in order to end the conflict.

Night of August 7-8.

Lenin decides to withdraw from the editorial board of the Party's Central Organ, *Iskra*.

August 8.

At the morning session Lenin talks with a group of majority delegates, local Party workers from Russia, and explains to them the reasons for his decision to withdraw from *Iskra*'s editorial board. Confronted by resolute opposition on their part, however, he abandons his decision.

August 10.

Lenin takes part in the final session of the congress.

After August 10.

After the closing of the congress Lenin visits the grave of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery together with the Bolshevik supporters.

August 11.

Together with Plekhanov Lenin begins editing *Iskra* as a member of the Central Organ's editorial board.

After August 11.

Lenin returns to Geneva from London together with other Bolsheviks.

After August 11—earlier than October 13.

Lenin, together with Plekhanov, conducts negotiations with the old editors on cooperation in *Iskra* and proposes that they should discuss their differences on the pages of the newspaper. The minority, headed by Martov, refuse to participate in doing work for *Iskra* in any form, draw up a plan of struggle for changing the composition of the Party's highest institutions, begin to publish underground literature and distribute it abroad and in local committees in Russia.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Vladimir could not believe that there was no way out. Obstructing the decisions of the congress, staking the work in Russia and the efficacy of the newly formed Party struck him as sheer madness, something unbelievable. At times he saw clearly that a rupture was unavoidable. He started a letter to Clair* at once, saying that the latter simply could not imagine the present situation, that one had to realize that the old friendship with Martov was at an end; old friendships were to be forgotten, and the fight was starting. Lenin

* One of G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's pseudonyms.

did not finish that letter or post it. It was very hard for him to have to break with Martov. Their work together in St. Petersburg and on the old *Iskra* has brought them close together. Extremely sensitive, Martov in those days had been very quick at grasping Lenin's thoughts and developing them in a talented manner. Afterwards, Lenin fiercely fought the Mensheviks, but whenever Martov's line showed a tendency to right itself, his old attitude towards him revived.

September 21.

Lenin conducts negotiations together with Plekhanov, member of the *Iskra* editorial board, and Lengnik, member of the Party Central Committee, with Martov, Akselrod, Potresov and Zaslulich regarding the conditions of joint work in the Central Organ.

Between September 26 and October 13.

Lenin writes a draft appeal of the Central Committee and the Central Organ to the leaders of the Menshevik opposition, urging them to stop boycotting the central institutions and to clarify where they disagree in principle before the entire membership of the Party.

September—October.

Lenin's account of the Second Congress of the RSDLP is distributed in manuscript form and copied among Social-Democrats. The document plays a great role in rallying together the Bolshevik wing.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

The Bolsheviks remaining in Geneva met periodically. Plekhanov took a very firm stand at these meetings. He cracked jokes and cheered people up...

The Mensheviks were successful with people abroad and decided to challenge the Bolsheviks by calling a congress of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad at which the League's delegate to the 2nd Congress—Lenin—was to report back.

October 13-17.

Lenin attends the sessions of the congress of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad in Geneva.

October 17.

During the fifth session of the League congress Lenin makes three speeches on the League Rules. He stresses that the League Rules could not enter into force before they were approved by the Central Committee. After the congress adopts L. Martov's resolution that the endorsement of the League Rules by the Central Committee was not necessary Lenin makes a protest on behalf of the majority adherents against this gross violation of the Party Rules.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

The Mensheviks were numerically stronger than the Bolsheviks at the League congress. Besides, the Mensheviks had more "generals" on their side. They adopted League Rules which turned the League into a Menshevik stronghold, gave them publishing facilities, and made the League independent of the Central Committee.

October 18.

After the League congress has ended Lenin attends a meeting in the evening of Bolshevik members of the League where Plekhanov speaks in favor of peaceful negotiations with the Mensheviks.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

In order, as he put it, to preserve peace in the Party, Plekhanov decided to co-opt the old *Iskra* editorial board. Lenin resigned from the board, saying, however, that he was not refusing to collaborate and did not even insist on his resignation being reported. Plekhanov could try and make peace if he wanted; he, Lenin, would not stand in the way of peace within the Party. Not

long before this he had written in a letter: "Quitting the job is a dead end." In resigning from the editorial board that was what he was letting himself in for, and he realized it.

October 19.

During a sitting of the Council of the Party Lenin, who does not share Plekhanov's opinion that making concessions to the Martovites and co-opting the old Menshevik editors to the Central Organ is in the interests of the Party, notifies Plekhanov, as chairman of the Council of the Party, of his resignation from the post of member of the Council of the Party and as a member of the Central Organ's editorial board.

October 21.

Lenin confirms his decision to leave the Central Organ's editorial board. He also informs Plekhanov of his decision to become a member of the Central Committee if all members of the Central Committee will agree to this.

October 22.

Lenin and Lengnik call on Plekhanov who tells them about the conditions of peace with the Menshevik opposition, set forth by the Martovites, and insists that the Central Committee should make concessions. Lenin and Lengnik tell Plekhanov that the Menshevik conditions are unacceptable and insist that the opinion of the other members of the Central Committee should be ascertained. On the same day I. K. Lalayants leaves for Russia in order to acquaint members of the Central Committee with the course of events at the League congress and after it and also to insist on the earliest possible departure for Geneva of Krzhizhanovsky who is a member of the Central Committee.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

Clair arrived. He had no idea what a barrier had arisen between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and thought it was still possible to reconcile them. He went to see Plekhanov only to convince himself that a reconciliation was absolutely impossible. He left in a depressed mood. Vladimir was gloomier than ever.

November 12.

Lenin attends a sitting of the Central Committee in Geneva. On his proposal the Central Committee drafts conditions for establishing peace within the Party.

November 20.

In response to Zasulich's request, Lenin confirms his intention to continue making contributions to *Iskra* (but not as an editor), outlines a plan of writing articles for the newspaper and asks his articles to be signed N. Lenin.

Between November 25 and 29.

Lenin writes an open letter for *Iskra*—"Why I Resigned from the *Iskra* Editorial Board"—which the Menshevik editorial board of the newspaper refuse to print. The letter is published as a separate leaflet in December 1903.

November 27.

In his letter to the members of the RSDLP Central Committee in Russia Lenin raises the question as to the necessity of convening a 3rd Party Congress.

1904

January 16.

Lenin makes four speeches at a sitting of the Council of

the Party on the restoration of peace within the Party and submits a draft resolution on this matter.

January 17.

During a sitting of the Council of the Party Lenin proposes they discuss the question of convening the 3rd Party Congress.

Panteleymon Lepeshinsky:

The idea of convening the 3rd Party Congress was something already mature in Lenin's mind by the beginning of 1904. That is why he set great hopes on the next session of the Party Council to be held at the end of January 1904. When Lenin went to the Council session he had prepared his nerves to put up with the stinging remarks of petty-fogging Martov and of Plekhanov, ever playing his prime role of a majestic Jove. But it was essential for him to obtain documentary material, statements of the Menshevik leaders at the Council of the Party, to obtain them for the sake of mobilizing the general opinion of the Party and of agitating for a new congress.

Second half of January—February.

Lenin begins making preparations for writing the book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*; he studies the records of the 2nd Party Congress, copies out extracts from them, compiles a page-by-page index of the delegates' speeches, counts the distribution of votes during the balloting of various questions, etc.

January—February.

Lenin suggests to those organizing a library and archives of the RSDLP Central Committee in Geneva that a section of fiction be included in their plans. He offers a list of writers and poets for such a section, including Belinsky, Herzen, Gogol, Gorky, Griboyedov, Korolenko, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Ogarev, Pisarev, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Uspensky, Saltykov-Shchedrin and other outstanding Russian and foreign authors.

February.

Lenin writes a letter to members of the Central Committee in Russia stressing once again that the convocation of the 3rd Party Congress was the one and only way out of the dissension and disorganization.

March 9.

Lenin gives a speech on the Paris Commune at a meeting of Social-Democrats.

Panteleymon Lepeshinsky:

One could feel that Lenin was glad to forget at least for an hour the Geneva wrangle and the co-optation squabbles, to forget about all this and engross himself in appraising the deeds of the Paris Commune.

As the crowd was dispersing after the meeting I heard some rank-and-file Mensheviks comment on Lenin's report. "This is a real leader," they said. "If only we had one like that!"

May 31.

During a session of the Party Council Lenin gives four speeches on the subject of an inter-party conference; he speaks three times about the representation of the RSDLP at an international socialist congress; several times he rises to a point of order and speaks in the course of the debates.

June 12 or 13.

Lenin and Krupskaya leave Geneva for Lausanne and begin the first stage of their tour of Switzerland.

June 20—first half of July.

During their tour of Switzerland, Lenin and Krupskaya travel from Lausanne to Montreux, climb the mountains near

Montreux, descend into the Rhone valley, visit Krupskaya's girl-friend from her school years at Bex-les-Bains, walk along the River Rhone and to Oberland through Gemmi Pass, reach the Lake of Brienz, spend a week at Iseltwald and then continue the trip.

Nadezhda Krupskaya:

The winter of 1903-1904 was exceptionally hard for us. Our nerves were extremely frayed; we wished we could go away from people and forget all our worries and cares for a time. The mountains were our salvation. The change of surroundings, the mountain air, solitude, physical exercise and normal sleep had a wonderful healing effect on Vladimir. His old vigor and spirit returned to him along with his old cheerfulness.

Between July 15 and 22.

Lenin reads the report, written by Dan, to be delivered, after being translated into German and printed by a RSDLP representative, to the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International. Since the report presents the state of affairs in the Party tendentiously, in a Menshevik spirit, Lenin decides to have a report to the Amsterdam Congress written immediately on behalf of the Bolshevik faction to counter the Menshevik report, and directs all the necessary work.

End of July.

A conference of 22 Bolsheviks, held under Lenin's direction near Geneva, adopts an appeal to the Party, which has been written by Lenin and which is immediately sent to RSDLP committees in Russia. The appeal is to become the Bolsheviks' program of fighting for the convocation of the 3rd Party Congress as the only way out of the party crisis.

End of July—August.

Lenin and Krupskaya live in a little village by Lac de Brêt

near the railroad station of Chèbre in the vicinity of Lausanne.

August 1.

The Odessa RSDLP Committee authorizes Lenin to represent them at the international socialist congress to be held in Amsterdam.

First half of August.

The Bolsheviks' report to the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress is published in German under the title "Material zur Erläuterung der Parteikrise in der Sozialdem. Arbeiterpartei Russlands" (Material for the Clarification of the Party crisis in the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia). It is distributed among congress delegates one day before the end of the congress.

August 19.

A publishing house of Social-Democratic party literature of V. Bonch-Bruyevich* and N. Lenin begins to operate in Geneva.

August 20.

In his reply to L. Martov's invitation to take part in a session of the Party Council on August 21, 1904, Lenin refuses to participate in the Council's sessions until the legitimacy of its composition is confirmed by all members of the Central Committee.

* V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich (1873-1955) joined the revolutionary movement in 1895, was a contributor and activist of the newspapers *Iskra*, *Vperyod* and *Pravda* and organizer of several Bolshevik newspapers and publishing houses. He was the business manager of the Council of People's Commissars in 1917-1920. V. Bonch-Bruyevich is the author of works on the history of the revolutions and religious-public movements in Russia.—Ed.

Before August 25.

Lenin receives information from Russia on the firm stand taken by a number of Party committees there and their support of the Bolshevik line.

September 10.

At Lenin's request Krupskaya sends a letter to a group of comrades imprisoned in Moscow informing them of the Bolsheviks' high spirits as a result of the organization of their own publishing house. She asks them to support it by enlisting new forces for literary work.

End of September.

Lenin conducts a meeting of those who took part in the Conference of 22 Bolsheviks in Switzerland. The meeting nominates the members of the editorial board of the new Bolshevik organ, the newspaper *Vperyod* ("Forward") and of a practical center in Russia, the Bureau of Majority Committees.

October 17.

Lenin writes a letter to the Siberian RSDLP Committee describing the situation within the Party and outlining a program of struggle for the further cohesion of the Bolsheviks and for convening the 3rd Party Congress.

October 28.

In a letter to Baku, Lenin stresses the necessity of setting up the Bureau of Majority Committees in order to fight the Mensheviks and conciliators within the Central Committee who have come out against the convocation of the 3rd Party Congress, and to support and expand the majority's publishing house abroad; he also asks the comrades in Baku to go

promptly to Tiflis* in order to acquaint the Caucasian committees with the latest documents of the majority.

November 19-25.

Lenin visits Paris, Zurich and Berne where he delivers reports on the situation within the Party.

November 25.

Lenin writes a letter to Russia stating the necessity of forming the Bureau of Majority Committees as early as possible. He proposes that an announcement be issued by the Bureau regarding the formation of an organizational committee for the convocation of the 3rd Party Congress. He gives the names of the members of the editorial board of the newspaper *Vperyod*, the future organ of the Bolsheviks.

After November 29.

Lenin receives the resolutions of the regional conference of the Caucasian RSDLP Committee. The conference decides proceeding from the earlier decisions of the Caucasian committees, on joining "the Resolution of 22" and on the convocation of an emergency Party Congress, to organize broad agitation for the 3rd Party Congress, elects to this end a special bureau and instructs it to establish contact with the Bolshevik "Group of 22."

December 13.

In a letter to Rozalia Zemlyachka, member of the Bureau of Majority Committees, Lenin expresses his satisfaction with the work of the Bureau and the results of the conference of the northern Committees. He insists on the earliest possible issuing of the Bureau's announcement on the convocation of the 3rd congress and proposes to step up agitation in support of the newspaper *Vperyod*.

* Now Tbilisi.—Ed.

Before December 22.

Lenin attends a meeting of the Geneva Bolshevik group, announces the forthcoming publication of a Bolshevik newspaper and introduces the meeting to the newspaper's editors: Mikhail Olmsky*, Waclaw Worowski** and Anatoli Lunacharsky***.

Lenin works very hard on preparing the first issue of *Vperyod*, writing articles and editing articles and other material.

December 24.

The first issue of the newspaper *Vperyod*, edited by Lenin, is published in Geneva. Lenin also writes the issue's editorial, "The Autocracy and the Proletariat."

1905

After January 6.

Lenin receives a letter about events in St. Petersburg and the peaceful march scheduled for January 9 towards the Winter Palace, the residence of the tsar.

* M. S. Olmsky (1863-1933), a journalist, critic and literary historian, began his revolutionary activity as a member of the Narodnaya Volya party (1883) and joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1898. He participated in all Bolshevik publications, took part in the October 1917 uprising in Moscow and was the first director of the Institute of the Party's History.—Ed.

** W. W. Worowski (1871-1923), a journalist, professional revolutionary, Bolshevik, one of the first Marxist literary critics and Soviet diplomats. He contributed to *Iskra* and the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and *Pravda*. Worowski was the Soviet ambassador in Scandinavian countries from November 1917 and in Italy from 1921. He was killed by a White Guardist in Lausanne.—Ed.

*** A. V. Lunacharsky (1875-1933) joined the revolutionary movement in 1895, was on the staff of the newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*, and took part in the October 1917 uprising. A brilliant literary critic and journalist, he was the first People's Commissar (Minister) of Public Education.—Ed.

After January 8.

Lenin receives a letter describing the mood of the St. Petersburg workers. The letter informs Lenin about the speeches made by the Social-Democrats at workers' meetings to explain the futility of petitioning the tsar, and the Social-Democrats' intention to go to the Winter Palace together with the workers.

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